

T. Cecill seulp



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THE LIFE AND RAIGNE OF King HENRY THE EIGHTH.

WRITTEN
By the Right Honourable
EDWARD
Lord HERBERT of *Cherbury*.



LONDON,
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TO THE KINGS Most Excellent MAJESTY.

Most Excellent and most Gracious
SOVERAIGNE,

I Present here in all humble manner unto Your Maiesty a Worke, the Authority whereof is solely Yours: not yet so much because it tooke its first beginning from Your Majesties particular, and (I may say) unexpected commands; but that the parts thereof, as fast as I could finish them, were lustrated by Your gracious

Eye, and conſummated by your judicious Animadverſions; beſides, the ſubſtance thereof, in all home affairs hath been drawn chiefly out of your Majeſties Records. So that by more then one Title it craves Your Majeſties protection. As for the defects, I no way preſume to intereſſe Your Majeſty in them: let them all fall on my ſelfe. Though as I have endeavoured to ſet down the truth impartially, I hope they will not be ſo great or many, as to exauctorate the reſt. I am not yet ignorant that the King, whoſe Hiſtory I write, is ſubject to more obloquies, then any ſince the worſt Roman Emperours times. But I ſhall little care for cenſure, as long as the teſtimonies I uſe doe aſſure and warrant me: ſince I intend not to deſcribe him otherwiſe, either good or bad, but as He really was. Onely where he holds any doubtfull part, I conceive it will be but juſt to give a favourable conſtruction. For if even private men will expect the like in their owne caſe, it will be much more due to Princes: both as a reverence belongs to their perſons, and that they above all others muſt be thought to endeavour the common good, who will ſuffer more then any elſe in a generall calamity. How farre yet I make uſe hereof to aſſert this King, my free Pen doth every where

where declare; Since *I* give not this interpretation, where arguments to the contrary convince me. Nevertheleſſe, as many things will be required to an intire narration of publique actions, in difficult times; I cannot affirme them, beyond thoſe memorials which have beene delivered to poſterity. And if thus they may be obſcure, ſo againe where they ſufficiently appeare in their cauſes, their nature yet is often found ſo perplext and intricate, as it will not be eaſie for after times to define their qualities; Few of this ſort being ſo ſincere, as to imploy no inconvenience, while the advantage of many is ſeldome obtained without the detriment of ſome. Neither ought this to ſeeme ſtrange, if in the preſent conſtitution of the affairs no better expedient could be offered; Reaſon of State pretending no farther, then to procure the greater good. So that if ſome mixture of ill be diſcovered therein, it might yet conduce to the generall, by the ſame reaſon that certaine noctious ingredients, being put into Antidotes, make their operation more Powerfull. Which yet my reader I hope will not ſo underſtand, as if *I* thought any rude hand could temper them; Every ill being not proper for this compoſition in this kind, but that onely which is oppoſite to the maladie: nor every one a fit

Patient,

Patient, but thoſe only who are of infirme, and crazie conſtitutions. So that it will be needfull that a carefull and able perſon both diſpence and exhibite it. *I* wiſh yet that good Princes may ſeldom uſe this maxime, it being (at beſt) but a dangerous ſuſpected wiſdome. Since State-government, where it is well adminiſtred, will rarely need ſuch helps, no otherwiſe than extreame and laſt remedies. Therefore in my opinion, recourſe ſhould not be had to them, but where other meanes faile; The practiſe of vertue and piety being alone a juſt exerciſe for a healthfull and well conſtituted Common-wealth. Neither will there be any danger this way of diſtraction; Thoſe cauſes which make men good, uniting them beſt. Onely *I* hold it requiſite, that a due diſpoſition and order be obſerved: no vertue being proper but in its place. Therefore though ſome one or other be ſtill ſo pertinent, as there is no occaſion totally to recede from them; yet experience teacheth, that neither fortitude hath been alwayes ſucceſſefull, nor temperance ſafe, nor juſtice it ſelfe opportune: the fury and inſolence of outragious people having in ſome inſurrections grown to that exceſſe, that it hath been more wiſdome to paſſe by a while, than to puniſh them. So that untill a due election and choice be had, even ver-

tue,

tue it ſelfe will be obnoxious. For which purpoſe therefore, each of them hath its ſtation or orbe aſſign'd. That ſo whilſt ſome deſcend, others ariſing in the Horizon of government, may maintaine a perpetuall viciſſitude and revolution. There being (I dare ſay) no reaſon for any to decline to ill acts or vices, if they comply with the right vertue; their harmonique ſyſteme being ſo admirably fram'd, that ſome one or other will eternally beare a concordant part. Of all which your Majeſty being ſo great a maſter and example, that you had rather merit than heare a due commendation: I ſhall only pray that the vertues which are eminent in your perſon, may be ſo viſible and exalted, in your happy and long government, that to all ages you may be renowned and glorious. Thus in all true devotion reſteth

Your Majeſties moſt faithfull
Subject and Servant.

ED. HERBERT.

An Analyticall Character or Diſſection of HENRY *the Eighth.*

This great King muſt be conſidered

1. In his Perſon and outward Proportion.

For the firſt: He was of a goodly Stature; of a Majeſtick awing Preſence; of a cleer ſanguine Complexion, which made him apt to give and take tentations of that *Sex* which was too hard for the *Firſt*, the *Strongeſt*, and the *Wiſeſt* Man: He had a competency of ſpirit to *man* that large bulk throughout; for he was vigorous and robuſt, witneſs his orethrowing Sir *William Kingſton* horſe and Man in preſence of three Queens, his dexterity at Tilt, the Barriers, and all other heroick Exerciſes at his Interviews with the French King and Emperours: for when he appeared in any Action, he out-luſtred all others.

2. In his Properties and outward Diſpoſition.

Touching the Second; It ſubdivides it ſelf into his *Vertues* and *Vices*: For his *Vertues*, by advantage of Education (being deſigned for the Church) He was well vers'd in the Arts, a good Divine and Latiniſt: He had an harmonious Soul, for he was a good Muſician, having among other things, compoſed two Anthems, which were uſually ſung in his Chappels. For his *Vices*, being of a replete ſanguine bulk, he had more matter for the heat of concupiſcence to work upon: Nor were his two contemporaries, *Charls* and *Francis* leſſe peccant in this kinde; for they had their *Amourettes*, their *Indebita vaſa*, and divers natural children. Having parted with his firſt Queen, and the Cardinal, his *ſanguine* humour came to be ſomewhat *ſanguinary* and inclining to cruel: yet he had the Church, the Parliament and Judges for what he did: He was too conſtant to himſelf, when any thing entred into his head, which the world term'd Wilfulneſs: He was more prodigall in ſpending, then covetous in getting money, by making himſelf an Actor in ſome things, which had been more for his advantage, had he been onely a Spectator.

3. In his Politicall capacity, and his Actions Civil or Martial.

Touching the Third: He was very knowing in the Art of Governing, and cut out as it were for a *King*; for he kept all in an exact obedience: and had his *Paſſions* been as ſubject to him as were his *People*, he had been the abſoluteſt of Kings: He alſo may be rank'd among the beſt *Law-makers*: He got divers glorious Titles which his Progenitors never had; He was the firſt ſtiled *Defender of the Faith*, (and promiſed to be *Chriſtianiſſimus*:) He was the firſt Engliſh King of *Ireland*: He was the firſt *Uniter* of the ancient Britains and Engliſh: He was ſtiled by the Conſiſtory and People of Rome *Liberator Urbis*, when the Pope was freed: *Francis* the Firſt acknowledged him under God to be the *chiefeſt Deliverer* of him and his children from Spain: He was call'd *Protector* of the famous *Clementine* League, and offered to be Patron of the *Lutherans*: Nor did he know what 'twas to be beaten all his life: He had an Emperor to ſerve him; and he was counted the common *Umpire* of Chriſtendom. In fine, *England* may be ſaid to have had little Commerce abroad in point of matters of State till the reigne of this KING.

J. H.

UPON

The LIFE and REIGN

OF

King *HENRY* the Eighth,

According to the opinion of the
Noble AUTHOUR.

Vices in Kings are like thoſe Spots the *Moon*
Bears in her body, which ſo plain appear
To all the World: ſo *Vertues* ſhine more clear
In *Them*, and radiat like the *Sun* at Noon:
This King had both; yet counterbalance all,
You'l find th' out-poiſing grain in *Vertue's* ſcale.

He was more *King* then *Man*, his Gallantries
Surpaſs'd his Frailties: Had his *Paſſions* bent
To *Him*, as *France* did, and his *Parliament*,
Or had his *Set* been equall to his *Riſe*,
Of all thoſe glorious Kings wore *England's* Crown,
He had march'd with the formoſt in Renown.

This learned Lord, this *Lord* of *Wit* and *Art*,
This *Metaphyſick* Lord holds forth a Glaſſe,
Through which we may behold in every part
This boiſtrous Prince: He cuts Him out in Braſſe,

In everlaſting Braſs; ſo that I may avow,
Old Harry never had a *Monument* till now.

JAM. HOWELL.

THE LIFE AND RAIGN OF King Henry the eighth.

Together with which is briefly repreſented A generall Hiſtory of the Times.

IT is not eaſie to write that Princes Hiſtory, of whom no one thing may conſtantly be affirmed. Changing of Manners & Condition alters the coherence of parts, which ſhould give an uniforme deſcription. Nor is it probable that contradictories ſhould agree to the ſame Perſon: ſo that nothing can ſhake the credit of a Narration more, then if it grow unlike it ſelfe; when yet it may be not the Author, but the Argument cauſed the variation. It is unpoſſible to draw his Picture well who hath ſeverall countenances.

I ſhall labour with this difficulty in King *Henry* the eighth; Not yet ſo much for the generall obſervation (among Politiques) that the Government of Prinees rarely grows milder towards their latter end; but that this King in particular, (being, about his declining age, ſo diverſe in many of his deſires, as he knew not well how either to command or obey them) interverted all, falling at laſt into ſuch violent courſes, as in common opinion derogated not a little from thoſe vertues which at firſt made him one of the moſt renowned Princes of Chriſtendom.

Concil. Trid. l. 1.

His education was accurate, being deſtined (as a credible Author affirmes) to the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, during the life of his elder brother Prince *Arthur*; that prudent King his father chooſing this as the moſt cheap and glorious way for beſtowing of a younger ſon. For as he at once disburdned his Revenues, and the publike from the change incident to ſo great a perſon, ſo he left a paſſage open to ambition; eſpecially ever ſince *Eugenius* 4. had declared the place of a Cardinall above all other in the Church. Beſides, he conſidered it would be no little ſecurity to his poſterity, that this Dignity was conferred on one who had intereſt in the conſervation of the Crown. By theſe meanes not onely the more neceſſary parts of Learning were infus'd into him, but even thoſe of ornament; ſo that, beſides his being an able Latiniſt, Philoſopher and Divine, he was (which one might wonder at in a King) a curious Muſitian; as two intire Maſſes compos'd by him, and often ſung in his Chappell, did abundantly witneſſe. Theſe were qualities which invested in excellent and well form'd Perſonage, made him every way recommendable. To which againe, a great courage and active ſpirit being added, he ſeem'd to hold that ſtrong temper of Authority, which made him eſteem'd and redoubted both at home and abroad. Had his age anſwered his youth, or expectation, none of his predeceſſours could have exceeded him. but as his exqueſite endowments of nature engaged him often to become a prey of theſe allurements and temptations, which are ordinarily incident unto them; ſo his courage was obſerved by little and little to receive into it ſome mixture of ſelf-will and cruelty.

Vid. Conſti. *An°.* 1440.

I am the more particular in his deſcription, that Princes actions are not alwaies drawn from reaſon of State, but ſometimes even from inclination and humour. They have many waies to be wiſe, and ſeldome erre while they keepe their eſtate and reputation. Nothing is ſo eaſie as to raigne, if the body of Government be well framed. Let the counterpoiſes of reward and puniſhment go aright, the Wheeles of this great clock ſeldome faile. This King uſed both well as long as his means and complection ſuffer'd him; though at laſt, paſſing theſe bounds on either ſide, he cannot be denied to have fallen into divers irregularities.

June 28. 1491.

The time of his birth was *June* 28. 1491. and of his comming to the Crown *April* 22. 1509. when though he might be thought apter for delights then buſineſſe; yet, as he followed the advice of able Counſellors, fewer errours were committed then when all things were ſwayed by his owne arbitrement; for as they were ſelected (out of thoſe his Father moſt truſted) by the Dutcheſſe of *Richmond* his Grandmother, (noted to be a vertuous and prudent Lady) ſo he took their impreſſions eaſily, both out of a diffidence of his own ſtrength in the mannaging of the weighty affaires of his Kingdome, and a deſire he had to be free to thoſe exerciſes

1509. April 22.

which

which most sorted with his youth and disposition. And certainly it was a happy conjuncture for him, since, if the first part of wisdome consist in an ability to give good counsell, the next is to take it; the condition betwixt both being ever most obnoxious to danger. But that their names may be known to posterity, I shall mention them as they are upon Record. 1509.

William Warham Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*.
Richard Fox, Bishop of *Winchester*, Secretary, and Lord Privy Seale.
Thomas Howard, Earle of *Surrey*, Lord Treasurer of *England*.
George Talbot, Earle of *Shrewsbury*, Lord Steward of the Kings Houshold.
Sir *Charles Somerset* Lord *Herbert* of *Gower*, *Chepstow*, and *Rayland*, Lord Chamberlaine.
Sir *Thomas Lovell*, Master of the Wards, and Constable of the Tower.
Sir *Henry Wyat*.
Thomas Ruthall, Doctor of Law.
Sir *Edward Poynings*, Knight of the Garter, Controller.
Sir *Henry* Marney*, afterwards Lord *Marney*. *April 9. 1523
Sir *Thomas Darcy*,* afterwards Lord *Darcy*. * 1511.

The frame of this Counsell was of Schollers chiefly, and Souldiers. Among the former sort I finde the Archbishop *Warham* much celebrated by the learned *Erasmus*; and of the latter kind, there will be divers mentioned with honour, in the History following. So that their choice proceeded rather from their sufficiency in the businesse they were to discharge, and care of that authority they must support, then from any private affection. Insomuch that notwithstanding the high reverence they bore to their Princes person, they were observed so to love the prosperity of his affaires, as they would not onely impartially advise, but often modestly contest with him in any thing for his good. Besides, among them (though not many) there were divers able to execute and perform as well as counsell. So that, without divulging any secret, or descending from the dignity of their place to require advice from their inferiours, they moved in their own Orbe. This held up the Majesty of the Counsell. Onely I finde it strange, that among all these there was not so much as one that I may call stiled from the Common Law; which though I cannot commend, (wisdome evermore beginning at home) yet I doubt not was so tempered, as, when any difficulty in this kinde did arise, the Counsell learned in the Law was sent for. However, it seems that King kept them at a distance towards the beginning of his Raigne, though towards the middle and latter end I finde some were (through their great abilities) received into the body of his Councell; yet so, as the

1509. King was noted not to admit reaſon of law everywhere, for reaſon of State. Therefore he uſed to take their advice obliquely, and no otherwiſe then to diſcover how ſafe his own deſignes were, and ſo with leſſe danger to vary from them. Which deviations yet he would ſo regulate, as his actions at home had ſtill, if not their ground, yet at leaſt their pretext from the Common-law. Neither was it hard, the practice thereof having been ſo long intercepted in the Civill warres of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke*, as there were not a few Overtures for the Regall authority, both in his fathers time and his to appeare in, and enter.

The firſt Office performed by theſe Councellors was mixt betwixt piety to their deceaſed Prince, and duty to their new; it being the beſt continuance of that Regall authority which ſhould never die, to revive the memory thereof in that way onely which is permitted, being Pompe and Ceremony. This appeared not
May 9. onely in a great Funerall, but by that magnificent Structure in *Weſtminſter*, where the Chappell having been finiſhed by *Henry* the ſeventh himſelfe, had the Tombe afterwards added and perfected by his Executors 1519. Concerning which, though it be reported that the Chappell coſt onely 100000 li. (or, as others ſay, 14000 li.) and the Tombe 1000 li. yet as moneies did runne then, it might be thought a ſumptuous Monument.

April 23. *Hall.* While the Obſequies and Rites were preparing (the particulars whereof *Hall* after his manner relates) King *Henry* retired himſelfe from *Richmond* (where his father died) privately to the Tower of *London*, both that he might with more leaſure adviſe with his Councell concerning the preſent affaires of his Kingdome, as alſo the better to avoyd thoſe ſalutes and acclamations of the people, which could not but be unſeaſonable, untill the lamentations and ſolemnity of his fathers funerall were paſt. He thought not fit to mingle the Noyſes. Here then it was in the firſt place reſolved to make good his Authority, as having more undoubted right to the Crown by the union of the White-Roſe and the Red in his perſon, then any King ever delivered unto us by warrantable Hiſtory. For this end he found or took occaſions. In one kinde *Henry Stafford*, brother to the Duke of *Buckingham* ſerved for example, who (upon I know not what ſuſpition) was apprehended preſently, and committed to the Tower, which yet ſeem'd afterwards ſo frivolous, as, to repaire this diſgrace, he was the ſame yeere made Earle of *Wiltſhire*. In the other kinde, Doctor *Ruthall* became the object, being (together with one of his Councell) made the ſame day Biſhop of *Dureſme*. Thus, though it ſeems he haſted to take upon him the reall marks of Soveraignty, yet he ſo temper'd them, as to leave his ſubjects in hope of an even hand. Beſides that he might ſhew himſelfe gracious to his ſubjects, he not onely confirmed the pardon his father gave a little before his death for all offences, ſave Murder, Felony, and Treaſon, (to which generall abolitions doe not

not properly reach) but for further performance of his Fathers laſt will cauſed a Proclamation to be made; that if any man could prove himſelfe to be then wrongfully deprived of his goods by occaſion of a certain Commiſſion for Forfeitures; He ſhould have (upon due complaint) condigne ſatisfaction; whereupon ſo many Petitions were preſently exhibited againſt Sir *Richard Empſon* and *Edmund Dudly* Eſquires (employed lately for taking the benefit of Penall Statutes) that it was thought fit to call them before the Councell, where *Empſon* ſpake to this effect. 1509 April 25.

Right Honorable and others here preſent:

I Have remarked two cauſes in generall, that move Attention. One is the greatneſſe, the other is the ſtrangeneſſe and novelty of Argument. Both theſe concurre ſo manifeſtly in the affaires now queſtioned, that I will not much implore your patience. Though on the other ſide, conſidering my violent perſecution, I cannot but thinke it a favour, that I may ſpeak for my ſelfe; but (alas) to whom? That King my Maſter, whom I ſhould appeale too, as my ſupreme Judge and Protector, abandons me to my enemies, without other cauſe yet, then that I obey'd his Fathers commands, and upheld the regall authority. That people, on whoſe equall tryall I ſhould put my life, ſeek my deſtruction, onely becauſe I endevoured to execute thoſe Lawes whereof themſelves were Authors: what would have happened to me, if I had diſobeyed my King, or broak my Countreys Lawes? Surely, if I have any wayes tranſgreſſed, it is in procuring that theſe Penall Statutes might be obſerved, which your ſelves in open Parliament decreed, and to which you then ſubmitted, both your Perſons, Eſtates, and Poſterity; and if this be a crime, why doe you not firſt repeale your proper Acts? Or if (which is truth) they ſtand ſtill in full force and vertue, why doe you not vindicate from all imputation both your ſelves and me? For who ſaw ever yet any man condemn'd for doing Juſtice? Eſpecially when by the chiefe diſpencer thereof (which is the King) the whole frame of the proceeding hath been confirm'd and warranted? Nay, whoever ſaw man on theſe termes not rewarded? And muſt that which is the life and ſtrength of all other actions, be the ſubverſion and overthrow of mine? Have you read or heard in any well govern'd Countrey, that the infractors of Lawes made by Publique Vote, and conſent eſcaped without puniſhment, and they only puniſh'd who labourd to ſuſtain them? or when you had not read or heard any ſuch thing, could you imagine a more certain ſigne of ruine in that common-weale? And will you alone hope to decline this heavy judgement? when contrary to all equity and example, you not onely make preſidents for injuſtice and impunity, but together with defaming would inflict a cruell death on thoſe who would maintaine them; as if this might be a fit guerdon for thoſe who (I muſt tell you) everywhere elſe would have been thought the beſt Patriots; what can we expect then,

1509. then, but a fatall Period to us all? But let God turn this away, though I be the ſacrifice. Onely, if I muſt dye, let me deſire that my enditement may be entred on no Record, nor divulged to forrain Nations, leſt if they heare, in my condemnation, all that may argue a finall diſſolution in Government, they invade and overcome you.

Whereunto was anſwered briefely. That he receiv'd a great deale of liberty to ſpeak ill, as well as to doe: That hee ſhould find at laſt, he was puniſh'd for paſſing the bounds of his Commiſſion from the late King, and in a Law ſevere enough to the Common and poorer ſort of people, to have yet exacted on them unjuſtly. The chiefe parts of his accuſation (that I can find) were,

Holinſh. 1. That he had committed divers perſons to priſon without ſuffering them to anſwer till they had compounded for their fines.

2. For ſearching unduly mens eſtates, and bringing them wrongfully to hold under that Tenure they call in Capite; without that the parties could be permitted to a Traverſe, till they had payed great Fines and Ranſomes.

3. That Wards, being come to full yeares, were not allowed to ſue out their Livery, till they had paid an exceſſive Compoſition.

4. That Outlaw'd perſons could not be allow'd to ſue out their Charter of Pardon, till they had paid half the profit of their lands for two yeare, upon pretence that it was according to Law.

5. That he uſurped upon the juriſdiction of other Courts, in hearing and determining divers matters properly belonging to them.

6. Laſtly, that whereas a priſoner being indicted for theft, in the City of *Coventry*, to the value of one pound, was by the Jury acquitted, the ſaid *Empſon* conceiving the evidence to be ſufficient, committed the Jury to priſon, till they entred into Bond to appear before the King's Councell; where the matter being againe conſidered, it was ordered they ſhould pay eight pounds for a Fine (which was thought ſo heynous, as, at a Seſſions being held afterwards at *Coventry*, a particular indictment was fram'd againſt him, and he found guilty.) How many of theſe Allegations were verified, or how far they might be warranted by the laſt King's Commiſſion, appeares not to me. Howſoever, for the preſent, they

* April 23. were * Committed to the Tower.

This *Empſon*, reported to be a Sive-maker's ſonne in *Torceſter*, from this meane beginning, by his wit and induſtry, came to be of Councell to King *Henry* VII, and Maſter or Surveyor of his forfeits in divers kinds; in which place he ſerved as an inſtrument, for raiſing great ſums to the King. *Dudley* (a Gentleman of Birth, and

* 1503. ſuch parts as he was choſen Speaker of the Parliament Houſe * 19 *Henry* VII,) aſſiſting him. Theſe men (call'd by *Polydore Virgil Iudices Fiſcales*) having, it ſeemes, exceeded their bounds, were deteſted of all, but eſpecially the poorer ſort, who found it eaſier to hate,

hate, then to pay. To ſatisfie their complaints therefore, it was thought fit to permit them to the ordinary wayes of Juſtice: the Promoters they uſed being ſo ſeverely puniſh'd in the mean time, betwixt the Pillory and ſhame, that they dyed all (a few dayes after) in priſon, ſave one *Giovanni Baptiſta Grimaldi*, who, foreſeeing the ſtorme, took Sanctuary in *Weſtminſter*. 1509.

All clamors being thus filenc'd, the next care was, that the Crown might be put on the Kings head, with that ſolemnity, which in former times was uſed. This was not yet ſo ſpeeded, but that the King's Counſell thought fit firſt to adviſe with him concerning Marriage. About which many Propoſitions being made, the graver ſort told him, that the ſame reaſons which made his wiſe Father chuſe to match with *Spaine*, (firſt by marrying his eldeſt ſon *Arthur* to *Katharine* daughter of *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, and, after *Arthur's* death, by treating a match between the ſaid Lady and Him) were in force ſtill. That his pretences being on *France*, no Alliance could be uſefull on that part. Beſides, that betwixt great Eſtates adjacent to one another, ſuch jealouſies uſe to riſe, that they may make Peace ſometimes, but never friendſhip. That leagues and confederations have in them the nature of harmonicall accords which jar in the ſecond, but agree in the third intervall. Therefore, that he ſhould match with *Spain*, or at leaſt with ſome Prince, that might joyn with him, when there ſhould be queſtion of oppoſing *France*, which, ſince the late * union of the Dukedome of *Brittaine*, he was to conſider as a potent and dangerous neighbour. As for the houſe of *Burgundy*, and *Low-Countryes* (which was come to the hands of *Maximilian* the Emperor, by his match with *Mary* daughter and heire to the laſt Duke called *Carolus Audax*) hee needed not feare any thing, unleſſe he would willfully provoke them; the cauſes of love on that part ſeeming to be perpetuall; as being founded upon the mutuall neceſſity of thoſe Ports and Havens, which, upon all foule weather the Shipping muſt reſort to, on either ſide; and, lately again confirm'd by a new contract of *Charles* Grandchild and heire of *Maximilian*, with *Mary* the King's Siſter [which yet held not,] it was then conſidered, whether hee might not immediately take the ſaid Lady *Katharine*; and the rather, that the Treaty had not onely been diſpenſed within the time of *Henry* the ſeventh, his Father; but ſome offence lately taken by *Ferdinand*, becauſe it was deferr'd ſo long; (for perfecting whereof therefore hee had ſent ample Commiſſion to his Ambaſſador here (as I find by our Records, about this time;) And to conduce hereunto, was alleaged (as *Polydore* hath it) the Law, *Deuter.* 25. of marrying the Brothers wife; and, to helpe this againe, the Princeſſe *Katharine* proteſted her ſelfe to be a Virgin, offering to be tried by Matrones. It was added alſo, that the Lady was preſent, and that ſaved time and charges; beſides, ſhe had given ſo much proofe of vertue and ſweetneſſe of condition, as they knew not where

* 1499.

1508. Decemb. 16.

1503.

Polyd. Virg. Hiſtor. Angl.

1509. where to paralell her. Againe, when ſhe were to depart the Kingdome, a great Dower muſt follow her, which ſhould be tranſported yearely out of the Kingdom. All which motives were corroborated by the above-mentioned diſpenſation, obtained divers yeares before from *Julius* 2. who, as he was a ſtirring and warlike Prelate, and had his ends upon King *Henry* the ſeventh, in the wars then begun in *Italy*, made no great difficulty to grant it; and the rather, that he could not bee ignorant, that all the children which ſhould be gotten betwixt them, would be firme to the Papacy; ſince, if ever they renounced the Pope's Authority, they ſhould diſclaim the power by which themſelvs were made legitimate. A Meſſenger therefore having been ſent to *Rome*, *Anno* 1503. (*Ferdinando's* power and mediation concurring) obtained a Licenſe from the Pope, many of the Cardinalls, in vaine, oppoſing it; whereof more amply, when we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeake of the Divorce.

1503.

June. 3. Thus, upon the third of *June*, being about ſix weekes after his Fathers death, he eſpouſed the Lady *Katharine*. Their Coronation

June. 24. yet was differr'd till the 24. of the ſame moneth. The magnificences thereof, being by *Hall*, *Hollinſhed*, and others ſet downe, are

June. 29 by me purpoſely omitted. Not long after the King, who had left off Mourning, was forced to take it again, for his Grand-mother, the Lady *Margaret* Counteſſe of *Richmond* and *Derby*, a vertuous Lady, and a great benefactor to both our Univerſities, by whoſe adviſe (as is ſaid) cheifely the King's Counſellors were choſen: whom ſhe ſo diſpoſed, as they might deliberate well among themſelves alwayes, before they gave their adviſe to this young King, as not thinking fit (at that age) he ſhould be diſtracted by difference of opinions. Neither did they vary much, during her life; though, afterward, ſome ſmothered jealouſies brake out into open faction. Inſomuch that *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, and *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, out of a competition for being moſt eminent in the King's favour, became at laſt not ſufficiently united between Polydor. themſelves. But, as it is a rare felicity in Princes to make election of able Councellors, ſo it is no leſſe to order them aright. For, as ſecret combination for their own ends uſually brings them too cloſe to one another, ſo ambitious oppoſition keepes them too far off, the true diſtance being that only, which a juſt emulation to do their Maſter ſervice gives.

In which poſture yet unleſſe they be ſtudiouſly kept, without being ſuffered to decline to either extream, many inconveniences muſt follow in the adminiſtration of publique affaires.

Now though theſe two (as *Polydore* relates) had brought all buſineſſes within their verge, (*William Compton* chiefe Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and who was next in favour to them, being more attentive to his profit, then publique affaires:) I doubt not yet, but their fellow Councellors were admitted oft; though, for not being acquainted, perchance with all the premiſes, they were hardly

hardly able to ground a ſolid adviſe. The Biſhop was an old and confident Councellor to King *Henry* the ſeventh, and knew all the myſteries of State. The Earl of *Surrey* was (indeed) later in credit, yet a brave and underſtanding Nobleman, though (as *Polydore* obſerves) his Eſtate was much waſted by the Civill wars (his Father *John*, who was made Duke of *Norfolk* by *Richard* the third, having been killed in *Boſworth*-field on his ſide, and the Earl himſelf kept priſoner in the beginning of *Henry* the ſevenths Raign.) Howſoever; his very place of Lord Treaſurer, (which he held ever ſince the 16. of *Henry* the ſeventh) made him much in requeſt; as one who both kept and diſpenſed that Maſſe of wealth, left by *Henry* the ſeventh; which (if we may beleeve Authors) was 1800000 pound ſterling. Agreater ſum (doubtleſſe) then any King of this Realme before had in his Coffers. And ſuch as might be thought effectively quadruple to ſo much in this Age. It ſeemes yet, ſo great a part of it was by the Kings order, diſtributed to divers of the Court-Gallants, that the Biſhop, who was Lord Privy Seale, and did remember how hardly it was gotten, repined thereat, and thereupon did ill offices to the Earle, as if (ſaith *Polydore*) he parted with it too eaſily, or, perchance, made advantage to himſelf thereby. But that we may leave theſe things to the credit of *Polydore* (in whom I have obſerved not a little malignity,) I find it reſolved between them, that, in imitation of his Father (who inſtituted firſt a Band of 50. Archers to wait on him) ſome Horſe-Guards ſhould be likewiſe ready alwayes, to attend his Perſon. The number propoſed was but 50. But, as every one had an Archer, a Demilance, and a Cuſtrell (as our Hiſtory calls it, but being truly Couſtillier) or a kind of Ambactus, or Servant belonging to him, beſides three great Horſes for his own uſe, ſo it grew to a conſiderable number: Of theſe *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Eſſex* was Captain, and Sir *Iohn Peachie* Lieutenant. But whether this might raiſe ſome jealouſie among the people (which yet my Authors mention not) or that their expence were greater than that it could continue after the rate it began, (both they and all their Horſes being trapped in Cloth of Gold, Silver, or Goldſmiths worke) I find it diſſolv'd at laſt, and came to nothing.

1509.

1485.

1500.

1485.

This yeare a great Plague begun at *Calais*: which though it conſum'd many Perſons, was not thought ſufficient yet to keep off an enemy. So that Sir *Iohn Peachy*, with 300. men, was ſent thither, to defend the place; by whoſe good order the Town was ſecured.

Empſon and *Dudly* being (as is aboveſaid) Committed to the Tower; New and ſtrange crimes were found and objected againſt them, as appears in their indictments upon Record, wherein, they are accus'd of conſpiracy againſt the King and State; and, firſt, that during the ſickneſſe of the late King, in *March* laſt, they ſummon'd certaine of their friends to be in Armes at an houres warning; and, upon the death of the ſaid King, to haſte up to *London*. Out of

1509. which & other circumſtances, it was collected by the Jury, that their intent was to ſeiz on the perſon of the new King, and ſo to aſſume the ſole government; or when they could not attain this, to deſtroy him.

Of which crimes, how improbable ſoever, *Dudley* in his Tryall at Guild-hall in *London*, July 16. 1509, and *Empſon* at *Northampton*, Octob. 1. were found guilty by their Juries, and both condemn'd of Treaſon, and ſo remanded to the Tower.

July. 16. October. 1.

Our King being thus ſetled in his Throne, took ſeverall proſpects upon all his Neighbouring Princes.

In *Scotland* (then) Raign'd *Iames* the fourth, being of a middle age; who was his Confederate by Treaty, and Brother in Law by the Match of *Margaret* (whom *Henry* the ſeventh gave him *Anno* 1502.) Howbeit, as he held a ſtricter Cotreſpondence with *France*, then ſtood with the Intereſt of our Kingdome; ſome Jealouſies of State aroſe, be wixt *Henry* the ſeventh and him, which yet were paſt over a little before our King's coming to the Crown, and the former Treaty Confirm'd.

1503.

In *France Loüis* the twelfth, an old and warlike Prince Raigned; who ſtudiouſly yet conſerv'd the Peace made betwixt *Henry* the ſeventh and himſelfe 1498, both that he might the better incorporate and ſettle in the *French* Crown the Dukedome of *Brittaine* claimed by him in *Anne* his wifes right, (being not only a large addition to his Dominions, but of great neerneſſe and conſequence to this Iſland) and that he might be freer to attend his deſignes in *Italy* (whereof in its due place.) For which reaſons alſo he had concluded (by the meanes of *James* the fourth) a League with *Iohn* King of *Denmarke*, and *Sweden* then powerfull by Sea by which, that King was bound to aſſiſt him, in caſe of Invaſion.

1498.

1499. Apr. 30. du *Tillet*.

In *Arragon Ferdinand* an Antient and Politique Prince rul'd in his own Right, and in *Caſtilla* by the right of *Iſabell* his wife, Inheritrix thereof, who dyed 1504. By this Lady he had one ſonne who deceaſed 1497, and 4 daughters. *Iſabell* the eldeſt being married to * *Alphonſo* Prince of *Portugal*, and afterwards to *Manuell* King thereof, * dyed without Iſſue, whereby *Ione* the ſecond daughter became Heire of *Caſtilla* in the Right of her Mother; and had by her huſband *Philip* (ſon to *Maximilian* the Emperor) *Charles* and *Ferdinand* (Emperors ſucceſſively) and 4 daughters, *Leoneta*, *Katharine*, *Mary*, and *Iſabel*. This *Philip* ſhortly after his * coming to the Kingdome of *Caſtilla* in the right of *Ione* his wife * dying, and ſhe through ſome Indiſpoſition of mind or body proving unapt for Government, *Ferdinand* reaſſum'd his power in regard of the Minority of his Grand-Child *Charles*. *Mary* 3d daughters to *Ferdinand* was wife to the foreſaid *Manuel* King of *Portugall*, in place of her deceaſed ſiſter. And for the Match of *Katharine* with *England*, the following Hiſtory will ſufficiently ſpeak it.

* 1490.
* 1498.
* 1504.
* 1506.

In the Empire *Maximilian* (though choſen only King of the Romans) appear'd potent; both by the Authority deriv'd thence, and by

by the match he had made with *Mary* daughter and Heire of *Carolus Audax* laſt Duke of *Burgundy*; by which not only his eſtate there, but all the Low-Countries deſcended to him. Nevertheleſſe, as he conſidered of what importance it was for his deſign's to make a firme alliance with *England*, He firſt offered a League 1503. to *Henry* the ſeventh and (for conſolidation thereof) his daughter *Margaret, Dowager* of *Savoy*; and, when that faild, did procure a kind of Contract *Decemb.* 16. 1508. betwixt *Charles* (afterwards Emperor and not above eight yeares old) his Grand-child, and *Mary* (afterwards Queene of *France*) younger daughter to *Henry* VII. Neither of which marriages yet taking effect, the reſultance was only a peace and friendſhip, eſtabliſh'd upon the firſt propoſition of alliance betwixt them; of which alſo *Maximilian* was no leſſe glad (as having ſecured the Low-Countries thereby) then *Loüis* XII was for *Brittaigne.* And they had reaſon; the adding of the one to *France*, and the other to the houſe of *Auſtria* being not only the greateſt ſtrengthning our moſt ſuſpected neighbours ever had, but a weakning of us, while we loſt two of our beſt and uſefulleſt confederats; ſo that, the permitting thereof ſo eaſily, may be thought a greater indulgence than could ſtand with reaſon of State, had not a conſumption, and wearineſſe, through our long civill and inteſtine diſſentions at home occaſion'd it. For the inhabitants of both Countries wanted not pretext to diſpute the right of their Princes: In *Portugall* Reigned *Manuel* of whoſe matches having formerly ſpoken, I ſhall adde little more, than that he had already made divers diſcoveries towards the *Eaſt Indies.*

1509.

1503.

Dec. 16. 1508.

1501.

In the Low-Countries, *Margaret Dutcheſſe* of *Savoy*, being by her Father *Maximilian* appointed Regent thereof, and having alſo the charge of her Nephew *Charles* his Education (who was borne at *Gaunt* 1500) recommended to her, ſhe many wayes approv'd herſelf a diſcreet Lady; as appears, not only by the bringing up of her Nephew; (to whom in that part of learning call'd *humaniores Literæ*, ſhe gave *Adrian* of *Utrecht* (afterwards Pope) for Tutor; and for State-buſineſſe *Anthoine de Croy, Seigneur de Chieures*, an able Perſon, who inſtructed him therein as ſoone as poſſible he was capable of it;) but alſo by the many good offices ſhe did afterwards to our King, and all other Chriſtian Princes.

1508.

1500.

In the Papall See *Julius* the ſecond, a warlike Prelate, preſided; who having far more and other deſigns than ſtood with the dignity and function of an Eccleſiaſticall Perſon, adventured to trouble all things. As ſuppoſing himſelfe not onely priviledged, by his Place, from all attempts of Forraine Princes; but that the power of Peace and War did ſo immediately depend on him, as he ſhould, at leaſt, not want occaſion, to exerciſe his charge of Arbiter of their differences. Towards which alſo, becauſe he knew how much our King could contribute, he paſſionately deſir'd a ſtrict League with him, which likewiſe was embrac'd, as will appear hereafter.

1509. As for the Great Turke *Bajazet* the ſecond, though now grown a formidable Enemy to Chriſtendome, our King look'd on him at a diſtance, and no otherwiſe then as he ſtood in Relation to his confederates.

Having thus ſurvay'd the preſent Monarchs in particular, he forgat not, to take into his ſpeciall conſideration the State of *Venice*, which about this time did much inlarge it's Territories, ſo that, notwithſtanding the oppoſition not only of the chiefe Chriſtian Potentates, but even of the Turks themſelves, they extended their Dominions every way: Inſomuch, that the Pope, *Maximilian*, *Ferdinand* and *Loüis* the twelfth had, the laſt yeare, being 1508, enterd, at *Cambray*, into a League againſt them, the conditions whereof were; That they ſhould not deſiſt untill they had recovered all thoſe places which the *Venetians* had taken from them; upon confidence yet, that the firſt Conqueror ſhould reſtore to any of the confederates that which belong'd to him. And that *Loüis* the twelfth ſhould be Generall of the Armyes; and Perſonally preſent in the Expedition. To which alſo he was the more diſpos'd, that the Venetians had gotten from him ſundry places belonging to the Dutchy of *Milan*. Howbeit as theſe affaires did not directly concerne our King, ſo he tooke the more leaſure to attend the event, and to prevaile himſelfe thereof.

1508. Dec. 9.

By this time it was thought fit, for many reaſons, but eſpecially for contenting the Commonalty, which ſeemed to be wholly alter'd by the rigorous proceedings of *Henry* the ſeventh, to call a Parliament, which began in *January* following. Here then *Empſon* and *Dudly*, formerly not only expoſed to the revenge of all men, but publiquely condemned (as is above related) were attainted of High Treaſon. And here, I ſhall, in ſequence of ſome before me, touch a little upon the Lawes enacted the firſt yeare of this King, as far as they may concerne the more Hiſtoricall and Politicall parts. I find, therefore, divers of theſe Statutes, by which King *Henry* the ſeventh took advantage of the People, Repealed, explained, or limited. Among which the Benefit of Forfeitures for Penall Lawes was reduced to the Terme of three yeares next preceding. Inſomuch that the principall ſcope of this Parliament ſeemed to have reference to *Empſon* and *Dudly's* buſineſſe, which was ſo repreſented, (by the Lower-Houſe of Parliament chiefely) that the King was willing to reſtraine his owne Authority in ſome ſort, that he might enlarge the Peoples confidence and affection towards him. Laſtly in this kind, ſome untrue Inquiſitions found by *Empſon* and *Dudley*, as alſo ſome aſſurances of Lands paſt to them were annihilated and made voyd. Beſides which, I find little materiall, ſave only that a Sumptuary Law againſt exceſſe of Apparell was repealed, and a new one, a little more decent ſubrogated.

$15\frac{10}{09}$ Regni. 1. Jan. 21.

As now then our King was in high eſteeme with his people for Juſtice, ſo was he no leſſe redoubted abroad, for the hopes hee gave,

gave, of being an Active and Couragious Prince. All which was the more regarded, that his Treaſure was ſo great, as he might be thought able, ſuddenly, and without the delays uſuall in raiſing of moneys, to execute his Deſignes. 15$\frac{10}{09}$.

Therefore divers Ambaſſadours repaired to him from *France*, *Denmarke*, *Scotland*, and other places, who were magnificently entertained.

The buſineſſe of the French King (*Loüis* the twelfth) was chiefly to keepe good correſpondence between the two Countries, while himſelfe went on with his wars in *Italy*. In ſequence hereof alſo *Tillet* ſaith there was a peace made between *England* and *France* this yeere *March* 23. And, whereas at the Treaty of Peace in *July* 1498. *Lo is* the twelfth had given caution unto *Henry* the ſeventh to pay that which remained of 745000 Crownes, due according to a Treaty made between *Charles* the eighth, and the ſaid *Henry*, 13 *Novemb.* 1492. Now the ſaid *Lo is* the twelfth did ſtipulate to pay the remainder of the ſaid ſum. March 23. 1510. 1498. *Tillet.* 1492. March 23.

That of *Scotland* was Congratulation in King *James* the fourth his Brother in Law and ſiſters name, with confirmation of the late treaty of Peace; Containing alſo ſome propoſitions tending to the penetrating of our Kings preſent deſignes, that they might frame their Counſels accordingly, which was with ſome relation to *France*.

That for *Denmarke* was chiefly to eſtabliſh a better courſe for trade; for which purpoſe a * Statute was repealed at this Parliament, which did inhibite our men other Traffique towards *Denmarke* and *Iſeland*, then to a place called *Northbarne*. *8 *Henry* the ſixth. 1429.

The King finding now all things ſafe both abroad and at home, took thoſe liberties which became his youth; yet were not his exerciſes ſportfull aloe, but had in them a mixture of Letters and Armes. Therefore though ſome relate that he uſed ſinging, dancing, playing on the Recorder, Flute and Virginals, making Verſes, and the like: yet his more ſerious entertainments were ſtudy of Hiſtory and Schoole-Divinity, (in which he eſpecially delighted,) Juſts, Turneys, Barriers, and that not in an ordinary manner, but with the Two-handed-Sword, and Battle-axe. Theſe, againe, were ſet forth with coſtly Pageants and Deviſes; and thoſe ſo frequently, that it tooke up not onely much time, but conſumed a great part of the Treaſure. Of which who deſires to ſee more may peruſe *Hall* and *Hollinſhed*, who have many particularities worth the looking on, for him that hath ſo much leaſure. Together with theſe yet he uſed ſometimes Tennis and Dice; at which certaine Strangers uſed to play with him; till, finding their cheatings, at length he chaſed them away.

Empſon and *Dudley* lying now in priſon, condemned and attainted by Parliament, the importunate clamours of the People prevailing with the King in this yeeres Progreſſe, he not onely reſtored divers Mulcts, but for further ſatisfaction to the Commonalty

(by

1510. (by a ſpeciall Writ) commanded to have their heads ſtrucke off,
Aug. 18. *Auguſt* 18. doing therein (as thought by many) more like a good King, then a good Maſter.

Julius the ſecond having recovered what he deſired in *Italy*, by his wars the laſt yeere, was contented now to accept the ſubmiſſion of the Venetians, with whom (his Confederates being not privy
Feb. 24. thereunto) he made peace *Feb.* 24. 1510. being jealous of the greatneſſe of the French in *Italy*, (with whom he had alſo this quarrell that they defended *Alfonſo d' Eſte* Duke of *Ferrara* againſt him) he endeavoured all he could to oppoſe them; And to thi purpoſe
Speed. he inclined *Ferdinand* by giving him the Inveſtiture of *Naples*, King *Henry* the eighth he ſollicited by calling to his minde the glory of his Anceſtors, &c. and offering him the honour to be *Caput fœderis Italici*, Our King upon this ſends *Chriſtopher Bambridge* Archbiſhop of *Yorke* to reſide at *Rome*, and treat of theſe matters. In the meane while the Pope and the Venetians proceed, and attempt *Ferarra*, *Genoüa*, and other places. But, as they proſpered not, he layes hold on his ſpirituall Sword, and excommunicates *Eſte*, with
Sept. all his Adherents. *Loüis* the twelfth on the other ſide cals a Synod
Dupleix. of the French Church at *Tours* in *France*; where certain Queſtions touching the Popes late actions and his Authority were propoſed, and reſolved againſt him, and his Excommunication pronounced voyd. It was alſo decreed, that an Admonition ſhould be ſent to him, to imbrace Peace, and Moderation; which if he refuſed, he ſhould be ſummoned to call a Free and Generall Councell (according to the Decree of the Councell of *Baſile.*) *Loüis* having proceeded thus farre, communicated the matter to *Maximilian* (whom as yet the Pope had not wonne from him) and joyning alſo with themſelves the Cardinals *Bernardine*, *Briſonet*, and others, they ſummoned a Councell to be had 1 *Sept.* 1511. at *Piſa*, commanding the Pope to appeare there. While theſe things were doing, the French under *Chaumont*, came before *Bononia*, where the Pope now lay ſick, and beſieged it, forcing him to ſuch hard conditions, as upon the comming of reliefe he would not ſtand to. Howſoever, this beſieging of the Pope being given out, ſounded ſo ill, that our King preſently made a League with *Ferdinand* for his defence; which was an engagement for greater Actions hereafter, as we ſhall ſee in its place.

$15\frac{10}{11}$ The firſt day of this yeere, being 1511, the Queen was brought
Jan. 1. to bed of a ſonne, which therefore in the name of a New-yeeres-gift was by her preſented to the King. But as the Childe lived not fully to the latter end of the next moneth, ſo the greatneſſe of Joy did more then expire in the ſhortneſſe. Notwithſtanding which, it is ſaid the youthfull Parents were ſoon comforted, reputing with themſelves, that in Children (as in Silver veſſels) little is uſually loſt, but the faſhion. But it fell not out ſo well, for it pleaſed God, that no Heires Males ſhould remaine betwixt them

two.

two. In the mean time *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon* being not ignorant in what estate his daughter was, sent Ambassadors to performe his due Complements on that occasion, and withall to sollicite the King for Assistance against the Moores in *Africke*. He had already conquered those in the Province and City of *Granada*; through the streets whereof as he rode triumphantly 1492, assured news of those great Riches, discovered in the Indies by *Columbus*, was brought him. Which I therefore remember, because (to use the Spanish phrase) I thinke it the greatest *Coyuntura* that ever happened; he having at the same time reduced his dominions in *Spaine* to an intirenesse, and received news of that immense Treasure in another World. His demand was presently granted by our King, and the Lord *Thomas Darcy* sent with 1500 Archers (the Souldiers then in request) to *Ferdinand*, with whose helpe he intended to revenge the losse received the * last yeere at *Gelves* in *Barbary*. Howbeit, as *Iulius* the second being much pressed by the French (whose affaires prospered in *Italy*) required the help of *Ferdinand* gainst them; He desisted from his enterprise, and resolved to succour the Pope; whereupon also our men, richly rewarded, did returne home.

1510 / 11 Feb. 1492. June 1. Aug. 30. 1510.

In like manner *Margaret* Regent of the *Low-countries* obtained of the King 1500 Archers to assist her against the Duke of *Gueldres*, though Confederate of *Lewis* the twelfth, and *James* the fourth. These therefore under the command of Sir *Edward Poynings* Knight of the Garter, lately * made Warden of the Cinque-ports, presently after their landing were met by the said Lady Regent, and thereupon united, and recommended with much favour and particularity to the rest of her Army. The Exploits done by this brave Cavaliere, and our English, I have not expressly set downe, both for that the Lady Regent joyn'd not any considerable forces with them, for the exployting great Actions; and that themselves were not free to attempt any thing by themselves. Howsoever, I finde they were licensed to return, (not without great testimonies of their worth) and that, upon review of the Troups, Sir *Edward Poynings* found that not fully a hundred of his men were wanting.

May. June 9. 1509.

The Kings Authority over the Narrow-Seas (studiously conserved ever by his Ancestors) was about this time somewhat lessened by the Piracies of *Andrew Breton* (whom our Chronicles call *Barton*) a Scottish man. This *Breton*, in revenge of his Fathers death, as also other Injuries, having in vaine sought redresse in Flanders for a Ship taken from his said father by some Portugals, obtained Letters of Merke from *James* the fourth, upon condition yet, he should not exercise Piracy. Notwithstanding which, he seized on divers of our lesser Barques (upon pretence of carrying Portugals goods) and pillaged them. For remedy of which inconvenience, the two sonnes of *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey* (Lord Treasurer

1511. rer, and Earle Marſhall of *England*) were imploy[illegible] The younger called *Edward*, being Lord Admirall, commanding in one Ship; and *Thomas* the elder brother, in another. Thereupon (in ſeverall places, though at one time) they inveſted *Bretons* two
Buch. Ships; which, though the Scottiſh Writers make to be farre leſſe then ours, maintained a cruell fight: the obſtinate Pirate (though ſo grievouſly hurt that he died on the place) encouraging his men with his whiſtle, even to his laſt breath. But our Engliſh purſued their point ſo, that at laſt they forced theſe Ships, and brought
Aug:2. them (together with the men that remained) away, and preſented them to the King; who, upon their ſubmiſſion, graciouſly pardoned them; ſo that they would depart out of his Kingdome within 20 daies. *James* the fourth hearing of this, ſent to require ſatisfaction, as being againſt the Treaty betwixt them. But it was anſwered, That it did not become a King to impute breach of Treaty to his Confederates and Allies, onely for doing Juſtice on a Pirate. The Meſſenger, rather ſilenced with this anſwer, then ſatisfied, returnes to his King; who, when occaſion was offered, failed not to ſhew how ill he took the death of *Breton*.

The Pope being freed from ſiege at *Bononia*, proceeds in his wars againſt the French; goes in Perſon againſt *Mirandola*, and by
Jan.2. compoſition takes it; but, not long after looſes *Bononia* to the
I. de Serr. French, led by *Gaſton de Foix*, his whole Army being routed. Yet
May. was not this a greater affront to him, then the Councell to be held at *Piſa*, a City now in the hands of the Florentines, whom therefore *Julius* preſently interdicts, and ſhortly after expelling *Soderinus* (Governour thereof by meanes of *Charles* the eighth of *France*) reſtores the family of the *Medices*, who were formerly expulſed. The Princes alſo and the Cardinals who ſummoned this Councell being Excommunicate, &c. notwithſtanding which they proceed. But being ſleighted by the Citizens of *Piſa*, they tranſlate the Councell to *Milan*; but finding no better reſpect there, they remove it to *Lyons* in *France*; where they ſummoned *Julius* to appeare, and anſwer, and finally ſuſpended his Authority. Upon this, the Pope thunders againſt *France*, expoſing it, (together with *Navarre*, whoſe King favoured *Lewes*) to the Conquerour; and, to abbrogate the Councell of *Lyons*, he ſummoned another to be held at the Lateran in *Rome*, *April* 19. 1512. Unto this Councell our King ſent his Commiſſioners, being *Sylveſter* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *John* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Thomas Dowra* Lord Prior of Saint
Feb. 4. *Johns*, and *Richard* Abbot of *Winchelcombe*, *Febr.* 4. 1512, as appears
1512. by our Records. In this Councell the ſentence of Excommunication was confirmed againſt the Authors of the other Councell, and the Acts of it reverſed. Not content herewith, he ſent alſo to *Ferdinand*, and to King *Henry* the eighth (who had already privately mediated a League with him) to take open Armes, and fall upon *France*. Not neglecting together to uſe all meanes for withdrawing

drawing *Maximilian* from the French party. For though he had joyn'd with *Lewes* to call the Councell at *Pisa*, (first rough-hew'd at * *Tours*) and did still adhere to him: yet, as the Pope and *Ferdinand*, whom he would not disoblige, offer'd him more advantagious conditions, he was gain'd at last to the contrary party, and *Lewes* exposed to the danger. The principall Agent which the Pope used to our King was *Christopher Bambridge*, who had resided a while at *Rome*; and for this service was thought to deserve the Cardinals Hat, which also he obtained in *March* 1511. In the mean while, the businesse being brought to our Councell Table, some spake in this manner. 1511. 1510. Sept. Hist. Pont. Ciaconii &c.

That a fairer opportunity was never offered, whether he desired to maintaine the Authority of the Pope, or to recover his owne Right in *France*. That either of these were just considerations, but both together not to be pretermitted. To further these designes, he should not onely have the Assistance and Blessing of his Holinesse, but of his Father in law. Besides which, it was possible *Maximilian* the Emperour might joyn herein; however he and *Lewes* the 12th, had of late concurred in their designes. That it was probable, his subjects in *France* retained still a due memory not onely of their Allegiance, but of the benefit received from the Crown of *England*. Besides, that in *France* their never wanted discontented Persons, who would joyn with his Forces. And for his Coffers, they were not so full in any Kings time; to which againe he could not doubt but a large supply would be given by Parliament, which never fail'd in contribution when there was no question of warre with that Countrey. As for the Difficulties he should finde in the Enterprise, they were not considerable. *Loüis* the twelfth being not onely deeply engaged in a warre in *Italy*, but having lost his best men there; so that before he could give order for his affaires at home, he might be oppressed; or, when he would leave his pretences on *Italy*, to look to his own Countrey, that would yet free the Pope from the danger he was in, and consequenly give his Majesty the Honour of performing his intentions.

Some yet, that did more seriously weigh the businesse, opined thus; That the Kings Title indeed in *France*, especially to the hereditary Provinces, was undoubted; the occasion faire; and many circumstances besides conducing to this great businesse: yet that all these were not sufficient for the making of a war against so potent a neighbour; unlesse there were more then possibility of effecting our purposes. This they might consider by comparing these times with the former. And if, when all *Guyenne*, *Anjou*, *Tourane*, and for a long while *Normandy* was ours; And when, besides this, the Duke of *Bretagne* was our friend, and the house of *Burgundy* an assured Ally and Confederate to this Kingdom, we yet could not advance our designes in that Countrey, what hope is there now to

1511. attaine them? Are we ſtronger now then at that time? or can we promiſe our ſelves better ſucceſſe? Let it be granted, that as many Battels as we have fought againſt the French, have been almoſt ſo many Victories; what was this Kingdome the better for them? Who can ſay he made a Fortune thereby? Had we ever a more glorious time then that of *Edward* the third; and was yet the Countrey ever more poore or weary of the wars. If you will not believe our Hiſtories, looke even on our Records, and you will finde not onely how the Treaſure of our Kingdome was much exhauſted, but even the people themſelves glutted with their proſperity. And ſhall we truſt now to better daies? what though with our 12000. or 15000 we have oft defeated their Armies of 50000. or 60000? ſtands it with reaſon of Warre to expect the like ſucceſſe ſtill? eſpecially, ſince the uſe of Armes is changed, and for the Bow (proper for men of our ſtrength) the Caleever begins to be generally received. Which, beſides that it is a more coſtly Weapon, requireth a long practiſe, and may be mannag'd by the weaker ſort. Let us therefore (in Gods Name) leave off our attempts againſt the *Terra firma*. The naturall ſcituation of Iſlands ſeemes not to ſort with Conqueſts in that kind. *England* alone is a juſt Empire. Or, when we would inlarge our ſelves, let it be that way we can, and to which it ſeems the Eternall Providence hath deſtin'd us; which is, by Sea. The *Indies* are diſcovered, and vaſt Treaſure brought from thence every day. Let us therefore bend our endeavours thitherwards; and, if the Spaniard or Portugals ſuffer us not to joyn with them, there will be yet Region enough for all to enjoy. Neither will a Piety, equall to that of ſuccouring *Julius* the ſecond, be wanting; Since, by converting thoſe Infidels to the Chriſtian Religion, there will be a larger field opened for doing of good, then by eſtabliſhing a doubtfull and controverted head of the Church: the Councell of *Piſa* having determined both to depoſe him, and ſubſtitute another.

But our young King, with whom zeale to doe the Pope ſervice, and Ambition to recover that Patrimony whereof our King *Henry* the ſixth was in poſſeſſion, and which our Civill-warres onely loſt, declin'd this ſober advice, and adheared to the former. And that, eſpecially, for two reaſons, urged by way of ſupplement; whereof, the one was, that there was new hope *Maximilian* the Emperor would be wonne to his ſide. The other was, that he underſtood from *Rome*, the Pope had an intention to take away the Stile of *CHRISTIANISSIMUS* from the *French*, (which their Hiſtorians confeſſe) and tranſferre it on him; which he thought would be a perpetuall glory to the Nation.

Hereupon it was reſolved, together with calling a Parliament, to ſend (by *John Young* Doctor of Law, and Maſter of the Roules) unto

unto *Loüis* the twelfth a Monitory Ambaſſage, requiring him to deſiſt from war againſt the Pope. But *Loüis*, whether out of his own courage, or that he thought the Emperour aſſured to him, or that (indeed) there was no hope of a peace, (he having been privately advertiſed that our King reſolved war) regarded not at his advice; Our King therefore, that he might have more then one Title to invade *France*, ſent to require his Patrimoniall Inheritance of *Anjou*, *Guyenne*, *&c.* and, in caſe of refuſall, to denounce warre. This then being proclaimed, Leavies were commanded, and moneys granted by Parliament (which began *Febr.* 4.) were raiſed. While theſe things were doing, I ſhall obſerve my former method, and by the way touch on the Laws then enacted, which may belong to Hiſtory. 1511.

That becauſe Money, Plate, and Jewels being Tranſported out of the Kingdome, had impoveriſhed it, a double value ſhould be payd by the offenders. 1511. Feb. 4. *An. regni* 3. Parl. 1 H.8.

There was alſo confirmed an Order formerly taken, concerning Eſcheators, Commiſſioners, and finding and turning of Offices; which it ſeems had relation to *Empſon* and *Dudleys* proceedings. Becauſe alſo unlawfull Games kept men from ſhooting in the Long-Bow, they were put down, and Archery commanded. For the better underſtanding of which Act, another paſt, whereby the Croſſe-Bow alſo was forbidden.

There were likewiſe certaine great Priviledges granted to men that went beyond Sea with the King. As alſo Penalties ordain'd for Captaines that abridged the number of their Souldiers, or detain'd their wages; as alſo for Souldiers departing without Licenſe.

At this Parliament alſo the King was pleaſed to reſtore *John Dudley* ſonne and heire of *Edmund Dudley* lately attainted. On whom, towards the end of his Raigne, he conferred the place of Lord Admirall of *England*, as ſhall appeare in this Hiſtory.

About this time there was one *Hieronymo Buonviſo* a Luccheſſe, who, being a Bankrupt Merchant, through his friends in *Italy*, obtained ſo much favour from the Pope, as to be made a kinde of Agent here. This man being acquainted withall the Popes buſineſſe, and upon his Letters of Credence, receiving likewiſe the Kings and Councels anſwers to his Negotiations, became ſo expert in all thoſe affaires, that being corrupted by the French, (who gave him a Penſion, as I finde in our Records) he diſcover'd many things that much concerned either ſide. And from hence it aroſe chiefly, that *Loüis* the twelfth was ſo particularly informed of our deſignes, that he uſed many preventions, as may be obſerved in the following Hiſtory.

The War with *France* being thus determined, it was conſulted in what part we ſhould begin. And though that of *Callais* ſeemed the moſt ready way, yet, becauſe *Ferdinand* promiſed to joyn with

$15\frac{12}{11}$ the King in this war, (which was call'd *Holy*) it was by his consent resolved to land somewhere in the Spanish Dominions; and that from thence both their Armies (being united) should joyntly invade *Guyenne*. For better understanding of which project, I must observe, that both the Kings (besides that of vindicating of *Julius* the second) had their severall designes, as will appeare afterwards. The Generall named by the King was *Thomas Grey* Marquesse of *Dorset*, with whom went besides his three Brothers, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, sonne and heire to the Earle of *Surrey*, the Lord *Brooke*, Lord *Willoughby*, and Lord *Ferrars*, and divers Knights and Squires, all of them brave Persons, and about 10000 Souldiers; among whom I finde in the Spanish History, there were about 5000 Archers, who besides their Bowes and Arrowes, carried Halberts, which they pitched on the ground till their Arrows were shot, and then took up againe to doe execution on the Enemy. An excellent part of Military Discipline, and yet not remarkable by our English Chroniclers. These men about the third, or as the Spaniards have it, the eighth of *June*, (being shipt in Spanish Vessels) arrived at *Passage*, a Port in *Guipuscoa*, where one *Faderique* Bishop of *Siguenca*, (an able person) attended them. This Bishop after he had assured them of their welcome, and that the Duke *d' Alva*, Generall of the Spanish forces, with 1000 barded Horse, 1500 Gennets or Light-horse, and 6000 Foot would shortly joyn with them, did much cheere our men after their long Sea-voyage. In the mean while *John d' Albret* (King of *Navarre* in the right of his wife *Catharine de Foix*) having the Spanish Army in *Arragon* on the one side, and the English on the other of his Kingdom, thought himselfe in some straits. And the rather, that the Pope having lately excommunicated him, for assisting the French, and by a Bull dated *March* 1. 1512, exposed his Kingdome in prey to the Conqueror; He suspected *Ferdinand* had some designe upon him. Neither was he deceived; For, that he might be drawn away from *Loüis*, or at least that a quarrell might be pickt against him, *Ferdinand* sends to require that he would declare himselfe; pretending some jealousie of his proceedings ever since *Loüis* the twelfth (who was advertised of this Holy League, as it was termed) had required his helpe, or when he would refuse, threatned him with taking *Bearne* away, as being a Feud held of *France*. To comply with *Ferdinand* also, the English Generall sent to him, not onely to remember the ancient League and friendship betwixt the two Nations, when the English were in possession of *Guyenne*; but, thereupon (as well as in the name of the Church) to require his helpe in this Holy warre. The King of *Navarre* in this perplexity (for he was urged no lesse to the contrary by the French) protested that it concerned him to be Neutrall, he being as much in danger of loosing *Bearne* on the French, as *Navarre* on the Spanish side. Yet, whether to gaine time, or indeed really to shew his forwardnesse,

Curita.

June 8.

neſſe in this Church affaire, he offred (upon ſecurity given that neither *Ferdinand* nor the Engliſh ſhould moleſt him) that for four moneths ſpace, the States of *Navarre* ſhould (by their Oathes) ſolemnely aſſure him of all amiable uſage in that Country; and before that time he doubted not, but *Bayone* (which was the key to *Guyenne*) would be taken by *Ferdinand* and the Engliſh. But this was not thought ſufficient; therefore it was demanded that the King of *Navarre* would depoſitate ſome Townes as cautionary on that behalfe. But as he ſtill excuſed himſelfe, the Engliſh and Spaniſh (who had ſeparatly treated before) thought now joyntly to ſend their Agents to the King of *Navarre*, ſo that *Antonio de Acuna* Biſhop of *Camora*, and Sir *John Stile* (reſident Ambaſſadour for our King in *Spaine*) were preſently diſpatch'd to him. Being admitted to audience, their demand was, to have the Fortreſſes of *Eſtella*, *Maya*, and *San Juan*, conſigned for their ſecurity in the enterpriſe of *Guyenne*. But the King of *Navarre* proteſting ſtill that it concern'd him to hold Neutrallity, was at laſt preſſed to make a finall anſwer. Here then hee agreed that *Viana*, and ſome other places of leſſe ſtrength than thoſe demanded, ſhould remaine as pledges of his fidelity: Yet, before this could be ſetled, the French were come to the Confines of both Jurisdictions: where the Engliſh, being deſirous to give ſome proof of their valour, without any order from their Generall, paſſed over the River of *Vidaſſona*, which divides *Guipuſcoa* from *Guyenne*, to skirmiſh with the French. This grew at laſt ſo hot, that the Marqueſſe was conſtrain'd to paſſe over the reſt of his Army to disingage them, which being done, he retir'd againe to his Campe neere *Fuentarabia*, in good order. Hereupon the Marqueſſe of *Dorſet* began to complaine, that the delay of *Ferdinand* had given the *French* time to raiſe theſe Forces to oppoſe them; and together demanded briefly his cleere reſolution, what he meant to doe in the point of invading *Guyenne*: But he was anſwered, that, ſince the King of *Navarre* would not admit a way through his Dominions, he muſt be forc'd; neither did hee thinke that *John* would take it ill to ſuffer a little violence, when it were for nothing elſe, but to ſhew the *French*, that he did not voluntarily conſent thereunto. The Marqueſſe replyed, that, this being no part of his Commiſſion, hee muſt firſt acquaint the King his Maſter with it. But *Ferdinand* finding that both the *French* Army increaſed, and that the ſuffering them to come nearer might fruſtrate his deſignes in *Navarre*, commanded the Duke of *Alba*, without more delay, to inveſt *Pamplona* the chiefe Towne of *Navarre*, entertaining in the meane while *John's* Ambaſſadours with hope of an Accommodation, who ſeemed alſo to beleeve it, untill they heard of the Seige. The induſtrious *Ferdinand* that he might draw alſo the Marqueſſe *Dorſet* to aſſiſt him, uſed theſe reaſons, That the paſſage to *Bayone* by the way of *Fuentarabia* was narrow having the Sea on one ſide, and on the other ſide the huge Mountaines of

1512.

Navarre

1512. *Navarre* and *Bearne*; ſo that, if they ſhould undertake the Seige at *Bayone* without aſſuring themſelves of the Countries behind them, they might be ſhut up on every ſide, whenſoever *John* ſhould declare himſelfe for the *French* party. Therefore that he ſhould proceed according to military rules, and prevent this inconvenience by ſeizing firſt on all the Avenues. The Marqueſſe of *Dorſet* hereupon calling a Counſell of warre, returned this anſwer; That hee deſired to looſe no time, and therefore thought it the beſt courſe for both to divide the Armies: And that *Ferdinand* ſhould enter *Guyenne* by *Navarre*, while he tooke the way of *Bayone*. Yet the King who ſtill purſued his Deſigne, ſeeming not ſatisfied herewith, deſired rather that both the Armies might paſſe joyntly through *Navarre*. The Spaniſh marching ſtill firſt, and making way for the Engliſh to follow. But the Marqueſſe of *Dorſet* anſwer'd againe, he might not tranſgreſſe his Commiſſion, which permitted him not hoſtilely to enter into *Navarre* upon any termes. Inſomuch that now almoſt ſix weekes were ſpent in thoſe Treaties.

Ferdinand finding no more to be expected from the Engliſh, reſolves alone to invade *Navarre*, promiſing the Marqueſſe yet from thence to fall on *Guyenne*; not doubting (on this aſſurance) but the Marqueſſe would ſtay, and at leaſt ſerve as a Countenance to his enterpriſe. Hereupon the Duke of *Alva* being Commanded to
* July. 22. * proceed, (without hurting any yet but thoſe who reſiſted) ſoon
*. July. 25. after * took *Pamplona*, which when our Marqueſſe heard, he teſtified much diſcontentment, both as he found *Ferdinand* kept not his promiſe, and as his victuals were much ſhortned on this occaſion, he having been abundantly ſupplyed before from *Navarre*.

In the meane while *Ferdinand*, to prevent that ill Intelligence, which the Marqueſſe might give, ſends to *England* a Meſſenger on purpoſe, with account of his Actions, and to deſire a more ample Order to the Marqueſſe to aſſiſt him; not neglecting, the while, any occaſion either for reducing the beſt part of *Navarre* to obedience,
July. 31. or * entitling himſelfe to the Right thereof, as our Records tell us: Which in all particulars of this affaire, do much confirme the Spaniſh Hiſtory.

Being thus advanced, He thought fit againe to ſollicite *John*
Auguſt. King of *Navarre* (now retired towards *Bearne*) that he would joyn in this Holy-warre. And that he might doe ſo the better, He temper'd Threats and promiſes in a more effectuall manner: The Biſhop of *Camora* and Sir *John Stile* hereupon were diſpatch'd again, requiring his finall Anſwer. But the Duke of *Longueville*, being come with puiſſant forces neere to thoſe parts, they made bold to detaine the Biſhop, not without terrifying him, with worſe uſage; giving leave yet to Sir *John Stile* to returne. Things being brought to theſe extremities, *John* King of *Navarre* thought fit to go to the French Court, to excuſe himſelfe for ſuffering the Spaniſh to become ſo ſoon Maſters of *Navarre*. Neither had he, it ſeemes, any way

way to make this ſo credible, as by permitting the French with the ſame facility to ſeaze on *Bearne*. Thus was this King, in ſhort time, diſpoſſeſſed of all his Eſtate, only for not knowing how to behave himſelfe, either like a friend or enemy. 1512.

Now *Loüis* the twelfth, though not ſo much as hoping that the Engliſh and Spaniſh ſhould ſtand thus devided, yet as he deſir'd rather a Warre in that Country, than his owne, ſo he prepared as if he were at once to ſuſtain both their Forces; commanding the Duke *de Longueville*, to proceed warily. But the difficulty was not great. For though *Salvatierra*, was kept by *John*, as long as hee Treated with *Ferdinand*; yet now he abandoned it to the French, and retir'd himſelfe to *Paris*. Betwixt this Town and *Bayone* then the French enquartered their Army, though for having 5000 in that City (daily reinforced by new Levies) it ſeem'd not to ſtand in ſo much need of defence. This while the Duke *de Alva* requires an Oath of obedience from thoſe of *Pamplona*, and in generall from the reſt of the chiefe Inhabitants of *Navarre*. They again offer it, upon the termes agreed on, which was for foure monethes, and till they had given proof of their Neutrallity in the buſineſſe of *Guyenne*. But the Duke replyed, that King *John* being fled away to the French, and therein having declar'd himſelfe an enemy both to him and this Holy-warre, He would now accept no Oath, but that of a ſimple Obedience to his King and Maſter: Upon this enſued diſputes and diverſities of Opinions; All which yet were moderated by the Spaniſh Army, which did not much inſiſt upon reaſon having power in their hands.

Navarre being thus in a manner reduced, *Ferdinand* ſends the *Mareſchall Aquilera* to the Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, proteſting that his Army ſhould paſſe the Mountaines at Saint *Juan de Pie del Puerto*; And this he did to try whether it would move him yet to joyne Forces. But the Marqueſſe, who was informed that the place did lead to *Bearne* (which remain'd only for an intire Conqueſt of the Dominions of *John*) as well as to *Bayone*, thought fit to attend more certainty, concerning the way of the Spaniſh Army. *Ferdinand* on the other ſide, taking this as a delay, would not omit the proſecuting of his intentions, laying (in the meane while) all the fault on the Marqueſſe ſlackneſſe. But no man ought to blame any Generall in this kind, unleſſe he knew his Inſtructions. *Ferdinand* therefore was too forward herein. But the Duke *de Alva* who conſidered of what moment diligence is in great Affaires, ſends ſome away preſently to ſeize on Saint *Juan de Pie del Puerto*; which accordingly was performed; though the French were now entring that Country. To make this good alſo, the Duke himſelfe (by the King his Maſter's Commandment) followes with the Body of his Army. And now *Ferdinand* again ſends to invite the Marqueſſe. But as the Engliſh could not paſſe thither, but by a place call'd *Maya* (a rough and almoſt untrodden paſſage) or another way farre about (for either

1512. ther of which, they wanted Horſe to draw their Ordnance) ſo was there a new difficulty interpos'd, for joyning the Armyes. Howſoever, it concern'd *Ferdinand* (after many delayes) to acquit himſelf ſo farre, as to ſeeme at leaſt roundly to goe on in the invading of *Guyenne*. And his Maſter-peice was, together with performing his own intentions, now to have brought his offer to our King, within the compaſſe of probability. He conſidered alſo, that, alone, he was to weake for the French Forces, ſo that he had more then one reaſon to ſollicite the Engliſh Army.

Being in this Poſture, he begins to thinke what remain'd to be done: On the one ſide, he had the honour of diverting the French from their great deſignes in *Italy*, (for *Loüis* began now to attend his home Affaires) and therein to have freed the Pope. On the other ſide, having reduc'd all *Navarre*, (only *Eſtella* excepted which he took afterwards) and paſſed the Mountaines, He ſeemed ingaged to ſecure his Conqueſts. Therefore he thought on nothing now but going on; truſting, for the reſt, to the Negotiation of Curita. *Martin de Ampios* whom he had ſent to our King. And this Man (if we may beleeve the Spaniſh Hiſtory) obtained that the Marqueſſe *Dorſet* ſhould doe whatſoever he was adviſed by *Ferdinand* for the Holy-Cauſe. But, before this Inſtruction could come, the Marqueſſe, who ſaw winter now approaching, and very neer 3000 of his Men ſicke or dead of diſorder, and drinking thoſe hot Wines, and for the reſt ſuffering much for ſcarcity of victualls, and laſtly being advertiſed that the French had fortified *Bayone*, and planted a great Army before it, thought it too late to begin any great Enterprize. Therefore hee ſent the Treaſurer of his Army, and Sir *Iohn Stile* to *Ferdinand*, to repreſent thoſe difficulties, and to acquaint him with his determination to be gone. At laſt, though with much adoe, *Ferdinand* (according to an Article of the Agreement) provided ſome Ships for the Engliſh; But before they could depart, the Marqueſſe, betweene diſcontent and ill diet ſo diſtempered himſelf, that he fell ſick, the Lord *Howard* being ſubſtituted, in the meane while, for Command of the Army. Sept. While yet they made ready for their Journey, Letters came from our King by *Windſore* the Herald, commanding the Army to ſtay; promiſing withall to ſend a New ſupply under the Lord *Herbert* his Chamberlaine. But the Souldiers ſo mutined, that at laſt the Generalls were conſtrain'd to embarque themſelves and come Novemb. home (about the end of *November*) to *England*. Whereupon, *Ferdinand* (who deſired now only to maintaine what he had gotten) turnes himſelf to other Arts, labouring (by *Maximilians* mediation) to withdraw the French from aſſiſting *Iohn*. The conditions being that *Charles* Prince of *Caſtile* their Grand-Child ſhould match with *Reynera*, or *Reynee*, ſecond daughter to *Loüis* the twelfth (which yet was but colourable as appeares in their Hiſtories) and, that the French ſhould condeſcend hereunto, it was no little motive, that they

they had acquired ſo much in *Bearne*; ſo that keeping their poſ ſeſſions on either part, much Treaty paſs'd, without any other ef fect, than that *Iohn* on both ſides was outed: Though, for oſten- tation, *Richard de la Pole* (calling himſelfe Duke of *Suffolke*) as I find by our Records, was appointed by *Loüis* to attempt the recovery of *Pamplona* though in vaine. And thus ended this voyage, to the grief of our King, who ſeemed ſo much offended with the ill ſucceſſe, that hee purpoſed once to puniſh the principall Au- thors of it. But his Generall excus'd himſelfe by the nar- rowneſſe of his Inſtruction, and partly layd the fault on *Fer- dinand*, who being bound by promiſe to furniſh the Army with ma- ny neceſſaries, yet failed. Laſtly they made it appear that *Ferdinand* never intended any thing but the Conqueſt of *Navarre*, (which therefore his ſucceſſors hold to this day.) ¶ Though this voyage were improſperous, yet I find by *Polydore*, that Sir *Edward Howard*, who Conducted the Marqueſſe to *Spaine*, having with the Fleet firſt Cleared the Seas from Enemies, Landed at a little Bay in *Brittaine*, and Marched ſeven Miles into the Country, whence (after burning ſome Townes) hee brought away rich ſpoyles. Not Contented herewith yet, he put his Men on ſhore at *Conquet*, and divers other places; where the *French* ſtill re- ceiving the worſe, they at laſt deſired a Parley. The ſub- ſtance whereof was, That the Engliſh would leave off this kind of deſultory, and Cruell Warre, which tended onely to the burning of Villages, and ranſacking the poore. But hee replied, Hee was not to take his directions from them. Be- ſides, that it was the part of brave Gentlemen to defend their Country, and not ſhamefully to ſue for Mercy. After which, and a banquet in his Ship, they were diſmiſſed, and our Ad- mirall return'd home. ¶ The *French*, in the meane while, making great preparatives by Sea, Our King thought fit to re inforce his Fleet, adding to Twenty Ships under the Com- mand of his Admirall, Five and Twenty more under the com- mand of the choyceſt of thoſe Gallants that attended him; placing in the chiefe Ships call'd the *Regent*, Sir *Thomas Knevet*, Maſter of his Horſe, and Sir *Iohn Carew* in the *Soveraigne*; Sir *Charles Brandon*, and Sir *Henry Guilford* went with ſixty of the talleſt Yeomen of his Guard. This brave Fleet, chancing to meet thirty nine Saile coming out of *Breſt* in *Brittaine*, aſſaulted them; where two of the greateſt Ships on both ſides being grappled, fell on fire by ſome accident, or as the *French* will have it, by the deſperate Courage of *Primauguet* (barbarouſly, as I con- ceive it ſtyl'd by our Chronicles Sir *Piers Morgan*) and ſo were conſumed. The Captaine of the Engliſh Ship (being the *Regent*) and of the *French* (called the *Cordeliere*) together with the Souldiers in them, periſhed all, ſave only a few *French* who ſaved themſelves with Swimming. Howſoever,

1512.

October.

May.

May 23. *Hall.*

June. 1.

Aug. 10. Bellay.

1512. the reſt of the *French* were ſo terrified herewith, that they made away preſently, ſome to *Breſt*, and ſome to the Iſles adjoyning, To repaire this loſſe, our King builta Ship, the greateſt ever knowne before, though *Buchanan* and *Leſle* ſay, that *James* the fourth, King
1506. of *Scotland* made one; whom the Engliſh and *French* King deſiring afterwards to imitate, failed ſo much, that they were not able to make it ſteer.

The King finding now that buſineſſes were growne to ſome extremity, betwixt the two Nations, diſcloſes his deſigne of going in Perſon into *France*, as chooſing rather to make warre in his enemies Country, then to attend it at home. This alſo that he might the better performe, He is adviſed to diſcover what correſpondence he might expect from his Neighbours and Confederates. Therefore he had ſent a good while ſince Sir *Robert Wingfield* to Negotiate with *Maximilian*, and draw him to his party, neither found hee much difficulty therein: The Emperour being glad that the warlike diſpoſition of our King turn'd it ſelfe againſt *France*: So that, with aſſurance of his affection, he incourag'd our King to goe on. For *Maximilian* was now falne off from the *French*, both that the Pope ſtrongly procur'd it, and that he thought it beſt to adhere rather to *Ferdinand* and his Grand-Child's intereſts: For pretext whereof yet alleadging only ſome breach of Article of the Treaty of *Cambray* on *Loüis* his part. The *French*, on the other ſide, joyning with the Duke of *Ferrara*, prepared to defend themſelves; raiſing for this purpoſe a puiſſant Army, under the command of *Gaſton de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, Governour of *Milan*,
April. 11. who (in the name of the *Piſan* Councell) fought the Battaile of *Ravenna*, which being wonne for his King, he loſt for himſelfe, as dying (almoſt wilfully) againſt a little Body of the Enemies, when the victory, for the reſt, was gotten. Howbeit, the *French*, under *Monſieur de la Paliſſe* proceeding took *Ravenna*, and divers other places, which they delivered to a Cardinall *Legate* in the name of the *Piſan* Councel, ſo that they were now (together with this City) Maſters of *Milan*, *Genoüa*, *Bononia*, and *Florence*. Nevertheleſſe, as the Contrary part, led by *Raymond de Cardona*,
Sandov. Vida del Carl.v. (Vice-roy of *Naples* under *Ferdinand*) had in the name of the Holy-League, brought huge Forces into thoſe parts, the *French* were forc'd to quit all thoſe places, within the ſpace of two Moneths: (as *Sandoval* hath it,) *Maximilian Sforza* (ſonne to *Lodovico*) whom the *French* had diveſted, being reinplac'd in *Milan*, to hold it in the name, or at leaſt under the protection of the *Suiſſe*, whereupon alſo the Duke of *Ferrara* (unable any longer to ſubſiſt) humbled himſelfe to the Pope, and was pardoned. *Maximilian* yet, not content with theſe victories, would have added to them *Vicenza* detain'd by the *Venetians*. But they refuſing, the Pope, whether deſirous to conſerve *Maximilian's* friendſhip at what price ſoever, (ſince he had now diſavowed the *Piſan* Councell) or that perchance hee thought

thought not himſelfe ſufficiently reveng'd on the *Venetians*, joynes in the Enterpriſe. 1512.

Ferdinand in the meane while, (according to his wonted manner) makes a double treaty. On the one ſide therefore, he not only joyned offices with our King to *Maximilian* for this purpoſe, but incourag'd him to repaire the imputation of ſlacknes laid on the Engliſh in their voyage to *Spaine*, deſiring yet that if he ſent any Army againe into thoſe parts, it might be under the Command of his Generall. While, on the other ſide, he ſecretly Treated with *Loüis* the twelfth, for the Match above mentioned; promiſing alſo to aſſiſt him in his affaires in *Italy*. That Politique King's intention being, by one meanes or other, to divert the French from aiding King *John* to recover *Navarre*: (who yet I find * dyed of griefe not long after.) Laſtly our King remembring how the Scots have uſually holpen the French, and being inform'd, beſides, that *James* the fourth did reſent ſtill the death of *Breton*, and ſome other Affronts, he ſends *Nicholas Weſt* Deane of *Windſor* and Doctor of Law, to know how he ſtood affected: and the rather, that he was informed King *James* had an Army on Foot. To which he anſwered. That he loved and eſteemed alike, both *Henry* the eighth, and *Loüis* the twelfth; and therefore that he thought it his beſt, to be Neutrall in any difference betwixt them. *Weſt* replied, that he might do well to ſignifie thus much by Letters. But King *James* ſaid, that the ſending any Declaration of Neutrallity under his Hand might argue he inclin'd a little to the Engliſh ſide, and conſequently might breed a ſuſpition; eſpecially when *Loüis* the twelfth could not bee Ignorant of the favourable audience given him, and there withall diſmiſt him. Upon whoſe return; our King taking this Cautelous anſwer into mature conſideration, found it aroſe from a private League betwixt *Loüis* and *James* (which our Records furniſh us) to this effect. 1516.

Becauſe the King of *England's* Predeceſſors have often ſought to endammage both Princes and Realms, therefore they Combine to reſiſt the ſame; and one to aide the other perpetually againſt the ſaid King. May. 22. I.

If the King of *England* ſhall at any time wage warre againſt the King of Scots, the King of *France* and his ſucceſſors ſhall wage war withall their power againſt the King of *England*, and the Scottiſh King promiſeth the like. II.

Neither King ſhall ſuffer his Subjects to ſerve or aide the King of *England* againſt the other. III.

Neither of the two may take Truce with the King of *England* without the other give his conſent, or be comprehended therein if he pleaſe. IIII.

If the ſaid *Loüis* deceaſe without Children, and there be ſtrife about the ſucceſſion, the King of Scots ſhall not intermeddle, but V.

1512. accept him who ſhall be made King, for his friend, and defend him againſt his adverſaries, if the King of *England* aſſiſt them. And the ſame *Loüis* promiſes to doe, if the Scottiſh King deceaſe without Iſſue.

This Convention ſhall be confirmed by the Pope, and neither of the Contrahents ſhall procure nor accept any abſolution from the Oath.

Our King underſtanding this, Reſolv'd to ſend his Treaſurer *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey* into *Yorkſhire*, and the Northerne parts, to have an Army in readineſſe, in Caſe the Scots ſhould ſtirre in his abſence. Together with all this proviſion, He thought fit to call a Parliament, where, beſides enacting divers good Lawes (whereof I ſhall hereafter mention ſome) He obtained two fifteenes and foure demies. He had alſo a kind of Subſidy, called Head or Poll-money, That is, of every Duke ten Markes; an Earl five pounds, a Lord foure pounds, a Knight foure Markes, every Man valued at eight hundred pound in Goods, foure Marks: and ſo after that rate till him who had forty ſhillings in wages, who paid twelve pence, after which every one who was above fifteen years of age, paid foure pence. Order was alſo given that Bulwarkes, Brayes, and Walls, ſhould be rais'd in his Caſtles and ſtrong-holds on the Sea ſide, whereſoever it was needfull,

Regni 4. Novemb. 4.

1513. Feb. 21. *Julius* the ſecond, expecting now the ſucceſſe of that warre hee had kindled againſt the French, * dyes; In whoſe place was choſen Cardinall *Giovanni de Medici*, by the name of *Leo* the tenth. This Pope, purſuing his Predeceſſors deſignes, incourageth our King to warre againſt *France*. But He having now accompliſh'd the Age of twenty one years, needed little invitation: and the rather that he was aſſured by his Ambaſſadours, Sir *Edward Poynings*, Sir *Thomas Bolen*, and *John Young*, that *Maximilian* would really performe his Treaty with him; Only he ſuſpected *Ferdinand*. Therefore (I find by our Records) he ſent into *Spaine William Knight* Doctor of Law; commanding him, together with Sir *John Stile*, to uſe all Arguments to perſwade *Ferdinand*, that the returne of the Engliſh Army was contrary both to his will and command; Offering further, that if he might have aſſiſtance againſt *France* for the conqueſt of *Guyenne*, that 100000 Crownes ſhould be given in hand to *Ferdinand*, and as much more, when it was gotten. For this purpoſe alſo promiſing pay for 6000 Men at ſix pence *per diem* for ſix moneths. But *Ferdinand* now, to whom nothing was dearer, than the Conſervation of his Conqueſt in *Navarre*, cunningly declyn'd this propoſition; as hoping, by a Treaty with *France*, to effect his purpoſes; howbeit he adviſed our King to ſend his Standard Royall with ſome Forces to *Guyenne*; and to try whether the People would follow it; ſince, he ſaid, they were very affectionate unto him. But our King gathering hence, as well as by ſome private Advertiſements, that *Ferdinand* Treated ſecretly with *France*, reſolv'd to preſſe him to declare

Jan.

declare himſelfe, and therefore by Letters, *June* 17. he requires *Ferdinand* to ſeale a Treaty againſt *France*, to which his Ambaſſadours here had conſented. But *Ferdinand* diſavowing his Ambaſſadours proceeding, ſince the Holy League (as he ſaid) became voyd, upon the return of the Kings Army, diſcovers withall that he had made a Truce with *France* for one whole yeere, which he adviſed our King alſo to accept. The Treaty to which *Ferdinands* Ambaſſadours entered at this time, was the Treaty here ſet down, which I finde among our Records, and have mentioned, as being full of deſigne, how ever eluded. 1513. June. 17.

The firſt Article of the Confederation made between the Pope, Emperour, Kings of *England* and *Arragon*, againſt *Loüis* the twelfth, was, to be Friends of the Friends, and Enemies of the Enemies, &c. to give mutuall ayd, at the Charges of the Demandant. I.

To denounce Warre within 30 daies after the date hereof, and within two moneths to invade him. *viz.* II.

The Pope in *Provence* or *Dauphin.*

The Emperour in ſome other fit place.

The King of *England* in *Aquitayne* (or *Guyenne*) *Picardy* or *Normandy.*

The King of *Arragon* in *Bearne*, *Lanquedoc*, and *Aquitane.* Not to deſiſt from Hoſtility, or make any Truce without common conſent.

That the Subjects of the Confederates, ſerve not the Enemy under pain of looſing life and goods. III.

That the Emperour (if he have not yet done it) ſhall recall the Authority by him given to the Schiſmaticall Cardinals, and their Conventicle, and within a moneth after the date of this, ſignifying his pleaſure to them, ſhall Voyd and Nullifie all their proceedings and Acts in the ſame. IV.

The Pope ſhall (at the requeſt of the Confederates) fulminate his Eccleſiaſticall Cenſures againſt all that oppoſe this League. V.

The King of *England* ſhall give the Emperor (towards the great charges he ſhall be at) 100000 Crowns. VI.

Yet the Emerour by this Treaty will not engage his Grandchild *Charles* (now under his tuition) into this war with *Loüis*. VII.

But this Treaty being refuſed by *Ferdinand*, our King proceeds by the helpe of his other Confederates, to the war with *France*; the Pope, for the more declaring himſelfe, both confirming an Excommunication granted by *Julius* the ſecond againſt *James* King of Scots in caſe he ſhould break the Peace and Treaty with the King of *England*, and * granting an Indulgence to all that ſhould aſſiſt King *Henry* and the other Confederates, againſt *Loüis* and the Schiſmatiques of the Councell of *Piſa*. * March.

All things here being thus diſpoſd for a war, *Maximilian* with ſome patience attends the comming of our Engliſh Army; as being confident, however the buſineſſe ſucceeded between the two Nations

1513. tions, he could make his advantage thereof. That he might doe this the better, he thought it not amiſſe to enterpoſe ſome difficulties. Neither could he be wholy wonne, till he had obtained of *Henry* 120000 Duckats towards his charge in bringing 3000 Horſe and 8000 Foot which ſhould enter *Burgogne*, as ſoon as the King attempted *Picardy*.

While theſe preparations were in hand, our King, to take off *James*, ſends Doctor *Weſt* againe into *Scotland*, where in ſtead of all other Offices, that King exhorted ours to a peace with *France*, promiſing on thoſe termes his friendſhip. But our King being reſolved to proceed, thought fit in the firſt place to cleare the Sea from the French Navy. And therefore ſends his Fleet, being compos'd of forty two Say'e, beſides leſſer Barques, againſt them. The French being informed hereof long before, had gotten one *Pregent*, a Knight of *Rodes*, (called by our Hiſtorians Prior *John*) with foure Gallies to paſſe the *Straits*, and come to *Britany*, where many good Ships were appointed to joyn with them. And till they came, it was thought better to keepe within the Haven of *Breſt*, then to encounter our Navy lying at Anchor in ſight of them. Our men therefore reſolve to attempt them in the middle of their Defences; while they intend this, one of our Ships (under the command of *Arthur Plantaginet*) was caſt away on a blinde Rock. This ſtaid our men a while; at laſt they purſue their deſigne, and enter the Haven, where the French Fleet lay under the covert of many Platforms that were raiſed on the Land. Beſides, they had joyned twenty four Hulkes together, with purpoſe to ſet them on fire, and let them go adrift with the Tide, when our Engliſh ſhould approach them; or (as our Records have it) to keepe the fire from theirs.

April 17. Laſtly, they mored their ſhips as neer the Caſtle as they could, and ſo attended *Pregents* comming. Being prepared thus, the Lord Admirall Sir *Edward Howard* conſidering the order in which the French lay, thought fit to advertiſe his King and Maſter thereof, adviſing him withall to come in Perſon, and have the glory of this Action. But our Kings Councell taking this meſſage into conſideration, and conceiving that it was not altogether fear (as was thought) but ſtratagem and cunning, that made the French thus attend their advantage, thought the King was not ſo much invited to the Honour, as danger of this Action, and therefore rejected the overture. Thereupon they write ſharply to him againe (as our Hiſtorians ſay, though our Records mention not this particular) commanding him to doe his duty. Whereof that brave Cavalier was ſo ſenſible, as it cauſed him to hazzard his perſon afterwards ſo raſhly, that it occaſioned his death; the manner whereof was thus, as it is drawn out of our Records: where, by a Letter dated

April 17. from him, *April* 17, it appeares, That, after he had come before *Breſt* with his Navy, he ſent out his Boats, to make a ſhew of landing; whereupon the French flocking to the ſhore, to the number of

of above 10000 (the Engliſh in all the Boats being not above 1500) he thought fit to land over againſt *Breſt*, where he burnt the Countrey in the ſight of the Caſtle; the French ſhips (the while) lying beneath it, being defended with their Hulks: And that he thought not fit to do any more, till Victuals came, whereof he ſtood then in need, though he ſaid he had them at a great advantage, their Galleys being not yet come. Together with which diſpatch unto the King, he ſent Mr. *Arthur Plantagenet*, much diſcouraged as he ſaid by the caſting away of his Ship; and diſabled to ſerve in any other kind, becauſe his ſouldiers that remained were beſtowed elſewhere. After which I finde by another * Letter of Sir *Edward Echingham* (who was preſent in the Expedition) that, *April* 22. ſix Galleys of the Enemies, (being two more then were expected) and foure Foyſts under *Pregent*, put into *Blanc-ſablon-bay* neere *Conquett*, a little below *Breſt*; which being notified to our Admirall, he himſelfe, being attended with foure choice Captaines, reſolv'd to board them *April* 25. Whereupon entring himſelfe into one of the two Galleys (which onely the Engliſh had at that time) and committing the other to *Walter Devereux* Lord *Ferrers*, he advances with two Row-barges and two Crayers; in the one of which was Sir *Thomas Cheny* and Sir *John Wallop*, in the other Sir *Henry Sherborne* and Sir *William Sidney*; *Pregent* (this while) lying betwixt two Rocks, that had Bulwarks on them, full of Ordnance. All which yet could not deterre our Lord Admirall, who therefore about foure in the afternoon (the ſame day) boarded the Galley in which *Pregent* was, and enterd it with his Sword and Target, one *Carroz* a Spaniſh Cavalier and ſeventeen Engliſh more attending him, commanding together his Galley to be faſtned or grapled to his Enemies; but whether the French hewed aſunder the Cable, or our Marriners let it ſlip for feare of the Ordnance, the Engliſh Galley fell off, and this Noble perſon was left in the hands of his enemies; Of whom therefore our men could give no other account, but that when he was paſt all hope of recovering his Galleys, he took his Whiſtle from his neck, and flung it into the Sea. The Lord *Ferrers* in the mean time (who was in the other Galley) fayld not to do his part, untill having ſpent all his ſhot, and ſeen the Admirals Galley fall off, he retired; which the Row-Barges alſo did, as not knowing but the Admirall was ſafe. The ſad newes of whoſe loſſe yet being at length made known, it was thought fit to ſend to the French Admirall, to know what was become of him. Whereupon Sir *Thomas Cheyny*, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, and Sir *John Wallop* came to know what priſoners were taken; to whom *Pregent* (or Prior *John*) anſwered, None, but a Marriner, who told him, that a certaine perſon they bore overbord with their Pikes was their Admirall. Laſtly, he added (in the Letter) that the French in *Bourdeaulx* had made ſix new Galleys, which were ſhortly expected at *Breſt*, and that our Galleys,

1513.

May 6.

April 22.

April 25.

1513. May 4. Gallies, as he ſaid, could doe the French-men moſt diſpleaſure.

Upon newes of our Admirals death, his place was * preſently beſtowed on his brother the Lord *Thomas Howard*; who, wiſely conſidering the advantage of the French Gallies in a Calme, and number of their ſhips, and the danger of the Winds for us, if they blew South-weſt, deſired of the King ſo many Souldiers as might both man the Ships, and make good the Landing. But before he came our Fleet (it ſeems wanting one to command it) was return'd, and *Pregent* (upon notice thereof) encourag'd to land in *Suſſex*, from whence yet he was quickly repuls'd, without doing more that yeere. And now the Lord Admirall having equipped the Navy Royall, ſcoured the Seas, and ſecur'd our Kings intended paſſage. The particularities I ſhall omit, untill (in imitation of *Polydore*) I have ſet down the deſcription of *Thomas Woolſey* (afterwards Cardinall) a man at this time beginning to be in ſpeciall favour with the King, the originall whereof I muſt deduce from his chiefe raiſer and founder, *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

This Biſhop, being made principall Secretary and Privy Seale, became not onely an able but potent Miniſter of State; having yet difference with the Lord Treaſurer *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey*, a Noble-man of great courage and experience in Affaires, he ſtood not ſecure. They had often been reconciled by the King; who not onely beſt knew, but often ſuffered moſt for their oppoſition. Yet as the wiping out of blots ſometimes makes them greater, ſo ſatisfactions for injuries ſeldome expiate them ſo totally, but that ſome impreſſion remaines. Therefore they ſtood ſtill at a diſtance, in which condition yet they wanted not their advantages on either ſide. The Biſhop had abundant matter to ſuggeſt; the huge Treaſure, which *Henry* the ſeventh left being ſo exhauſted, that it was now almoſt conſumed; while the Lord Treaſurer in the diſpoſing of this young Kings bounty, ſo ordered buſineſſes, as in facilitating diſpatches, he got him many Friends and Followers. The Lord Treaſurer, on the other ſide, ſayd, that nothing being done without the Kings ſpeciall order, it was through envy onely the Biſhop thus oppoſd him. In theſe termes then they ſtood ſtill, without almoſt concurring in any thing, but in excluding all others from gaining on the Kings diſpoſition; which yet they did not ſo much by mutuall conſent, as by diminiſhing in their turns, every body elſe, that was extraordinarily in his good opinion. At laſt the Biſhop thinking how to better his party, brought in this *Thomas Woolſey*, to which purpoſe alſo Sir *Thomas Lovell* Knight, and Maſter of the Wards, aſſiſted him. This man, though of mean birth, being obſerved by them to be of a quick and ſtirring wit, and particularly famous for a Diſpatch in *Henry* the ſeventh his time, wherein he uſed extraordinary diligence, was thought a fit Inſtrument for their purpoſes. He was already a Chaplaine in Houſhold, and the Almoner, and from thence raiſed to the place of

of a Councellor. Being in this neerneſſe he knew as well how to diſcourſe with the King in matter of learning, (the King being much addicted to the reading of *Thomas Aquinas*) as to comply with him in his delights; inſomuch, as (ſaith *Polydore*) he would ſing, dance, laugh, jeſt, and play with thoſe youths in whoſe attendance and company the King much delighted. Briefly, (to uſe *Polydores* words) he made his private houſe *Voluptatum omnium Sacrarium, quo Regem frequenter ducebat*; He omitted not yet in the midſt of all theſe jollities, to ſpeak ſeriouſly, repreſenting ſo all buſineſſes to the King, as he got much credit with him. And this, again, was confirm'd by thoſe Gallants, who contributed no little thereunto. Whereupon he began to tell the King, that he ſhould ſometimes follow his ſtudies in Schoole-Divinity, and ſometimes take his pleaſure, and leave the care of publique affaires to him: promiſing that what was amiſſe in his kingdome ſhould be rectified. Likewiſe, he omitted not to infuſe feares and jealouſies of all thoſe whom he conceived the King might affect. Whereby he became ſo perfect a Courtier, that he had ſoon attained the heighth of favour. For as Princes have Arts to govern Kingdomes, Courtiers have thoſe by which they govern their Princes, when through any indiſpoſition they grow unapt for affaires. Theſe Arts being hopes and feares, which as doores and paſſages to the heart, are ſo guarded by their vigilancy, that they can both let themſelves in, and keepe all others out: and therefore may be termed not onely the two ends of that Thred upon which Government depends, but through their dexterious handling, may be tyed upon what knot they will. Particularly, he deſired to reduce all buſineſſes to himſelfe; for which end he ſpake in this manner: 1513.

Sir, Your Highneſſe hath now ſufficient experience of ſtrange effects which contradictions in Councels bring forth: It is unſafe to believe ſingly either of thoſe on whoſe advice your Highneſſe moſt relyes, and impoſſible to believe both. May your Highneſſe therefore chooſe ſome one, who, being diſ-intereſſed, may have no paſſion or thought but to ſerve your Highneſſe. All thoſe ſtrong reaſons of State which conclude Monarchy the beſt forme of Government, make for a Favourite in the next place. Inſomuch, that of ſupreame Authority, as of thoſe Pyramidall heights on which the Statues of Princes were anciently placed, I dare ſay, there can be none well raiſed, that from the loweſt foundation is not ſharpned by degrees unto its poynt. But, leſt this ſhould be thought looking upwards onely, be pleaſed a while to looke down, and conſider things the other way, and the Proſpective will hold its proportion. For how, *Sir*, ſhould a King conſerve his Power, if he divide and let it fall at once on divers inferiour perſons? Believe me, *Sir*, to diffuſe it overſuddenly, is to take away not onely from the Dignity, but even intireneſſe of it: it being with Authority, as with a Spring or

1513. Fountaine, which, that it may keepe his Courſe and Name, muſt be cheriſh'd and entertain'd, till it grow great, by the Contributions and Concurrences of thoſe leſſer Heads that runne into it. Kings muſt never deſcend but by ſteps. The more orders are under them, the higher ſtill they ſtand. Neither will your other Councellors thinke themſelves much leſſned this way; for when they may uſe the ordinary power and ſway allow'd them over their inferiours, they will not thinke themſelves much concern'd for the reſt. Beſides, your People will be glad of it, as knowing which way to addreſſe their ſuits. To leave them more at large, were to expoſe them to thoſe delayes and uncertainties they would never patiently endure. Againe, it would be unpoſſible any other way to keepe ſecrecy in buſineſſe, (which yet is the life of Counſell) or almoſt to finde out who is the divulger. Moreover, when your Highneſſe, in ſome great and perplex'd affaires, hath occaſion to acquaint your Councellors onely with ſome part of your meaning, what inſtrument can be ſo apt as a Favorite? While, if things ſucceed ill, or otherwiſe that your Highneſſe would not ſeem to have the advice proceed from you, how eaſily may your Highneſſe diſavow all, and lay the fault on him? Thus may your Highneſſe finde the many uſes you may make of your Favorite. Yet, *Sir*, let me ſay, I ſhould never adviſe your Highneſſe to ſee by his Eyes, or heare by his Eares onely. This were to keepe you in too much darkneſſe and ſubjection. To prevent this therefore, be pleaſd to appoint able Perſons, and ſuch as may not know of each other, by whom your Highneſſe may be inform'd, not onely what is done, but even ſaid vulgarly. Thus ſhall your Highneſſe take order not to be deceiv'd. As for the more doubtfull and intricate parts of buſineſſe, which require particular ſcrutiny and examination; your Highneſſe, in my opinion, may doe well to have three or foure confident Perſons, not yet of the Body of your Councell, with whom ſeparately your Highneſſe may adviſe, before thoſe difficulties be brought unto them. This will enable your Highneſſe to ſpeake thereof when you transferre it to the Body of your Councell, and make you diſcern their opinions. Onely, if any thing be determined, let your Favorite ſtill be the chiefe Actor in the execution. Hereof then your Highneſſe may pleaſe to adviſe. Neither will I preſume to nominate my ſelfe otherwiſe: Onely I will crave leave to ſay thus much, that, when your Highneſſe would, out of your own election, think fit to uſe my beſt ſervice herein, I ſhould not doubt but ſo to eſtabliſh and conſerve your Highneſſe Authority, as to make you the greateſt and happieſt Prince living. Neyther ſhould I feare to fall when any benefit might grow to your Majeſty thereby. The young King being perſwaded thus, without other advice or conſideration adopted *Woolſey*, and thereupon orders him to diſpatch his chiefeſt affairs. This got him not onely eſtimation and addreſſes, but Preſents

1513.

ſents and rich Gifts from the greateſt Perſons. They again brought him to that inſolency, that he ſeemed not onely to forget his birth (being a Butchers ſonne) but all his former friends; inſomuch as no man (ſaith *Polydore*) durſt remember him of an ancient acquaintance. A Badge or Livery whereof (he ſaith) appeared in his outward garment, he being the firſt (ſaith the ſame *Polydore*) among all Prieſts, Biſhops, and Cardinals, that ever wore Silke for his uppermoſt Veſtment. Yet was it not alone; for as divers other Prieſts imitated him, ſome envy was raiſed on the whole Clergy. But this was when Silke was either more rare, or more eſteemed: it being in this age ſo common, that it is become the wearing of every meane perſon. The Gallants of the Court finding now the Kings favour manifeſtly ſhining on *Woolſey*, applyed themſelve much to him. And eſpecially *Charles Brandon*, who, for his goodly perſon, courage, and conformity of diſpoſition, was noted to be moſt acceptable to the King in all his exerciſes and paſtimes. Notwithſtanding all which (ſaith *Polydore*) the King ſadly examined buſineſſes himſelfe; and, howſoever the chiefe truſt was committed to *Woolſey*, did not omit yet (as far as his youth would ſuffer him) to uſe his own judgement in his weightieſt affaires.

All preparations for the expedition to *France* being now haſtened, amongſt which that of victualing the Army was (not without a Sarcaſme to his birth) recommended to *Woolſey*, it was yet controverted whether the King ſhould goe in Perſon. They who oppoſ'd it, urged, firſt their due affection to, and tenderneſſe over him; ſaying further, that, if the King ſhould die without iſſue, (however the ſucceſſion were undoubted in his ſiſter *Margaret*) yet that the people were ſo affected to the houſe of *Yorke*, as they might take *Edmund de la Pole* out of the Tower, and ſet him up. That the warre in *France* was not of that conſequence (eſpecially ſince, with the death of *Julius* the ſecond, it ſeemed the chiefe cauſes of diſſention ceaſed) that the King ſhould goe in Perſon, and diſſert his owne Kingdome. On the other ſide it was al eaged, that to commit an Army, wherein the flower of his Nobility and Kingdome was, to any one Subject, was not onely unſafe, but to the prejudice of many worthy Competitors for that honour. That it was no new thing (whether they regarded the ancient Kings of *England*, or the moderne Emperor, and two French Kings ſucceſſively) to goe in Perſon, with a Royall Army. That the ſame providence ruled every where. But it was replied, that, till the King had more Iſſue (and that Maſculine) it was againſt all reaſon of State to hazzard the Kindome to thoſe tumults which might follow; to which opinion, as the beſt, it is likely the King would have condeſcended, had not freſh Letters arrived from *Maximilian*, in the Popes name exhorting him, ſpeedily to come; and promiſing that he would not onely give him meeting, but take pay under him. In the meane while it was

1513. thought fit that *Edmund de la Pole* (ſonne of *John de la Pole*, Duke of *Suffolke*, by *Elizabeth* ſiſter to *Edward* the fourth, who had been made priſoner by *Henry* the ſeventh, and ſo continued many yeeres) ſhould have his Head * ſtruck off; Our King therein but executing what his Father *Henry* at his departure out of the World commanded, (as *Bellay* hath it.) And true it is that he was of a turbulent and audacious ſpirit: but whether any late matter was alleag'd againſt him, doth not ſufficiently appeare to me, by any Record. Though ſome correſpondence with his younger brother *Richard de la Pole* (who I finde by the French Writers commanded 6000 French at the ſiege of *Theroüene*) might perchance accelerate his end.

April 30.

Hall. The King reſolv'd now to goe in Perſon, thought fit yet to ſend his Vanguard before. This was commanded by *George Talbot* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, High Steward of the Kings Houſhold, who was accompanied with *Thomas Stanley* Earle of *Derby*, *Thomas Docwra* Lord Prior of the Order of St *Johns*, Sir *Robert Ratcliffe*, Lord *Fitz-water*, the Lord *Haſtings*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas* Captaine of the Light horſe, and many other brave Knights and Eſquires, and the number of above eight thouſand, who came to *Calais* in Mid *May*. Theſe being followed again with the Middleward of about ſix thouſand more, commanded by the Lord *Herbert*, Lord Chamberlaine to the King (whom alſo the Earles of *Northumberland*, *Kent*, and *Wiltſhire*, the Lords *Audley* and *De-la-ware*, the Barons *Carow* and *Curſon*, and divers other worthy Knights and Eſquires, accompanied) arrived at *Calais* fifteene daies after. Theſe two Lords attending the Kings further directions,

May.

June 17. ſtayd there till *June* 17. when they both in good order of Battell marched towards *Theroüene*, before which Town they arrived upon the two and twentieth following, pitching their Tents about a

June 22. mile off. This Town was fenced with a large Ditch, ſtrong Bulwarkes, and quantity of great Ordnance, which ſhot freſhly, inſomuch that the Baron of *Carow* Maſter of the Ordnance was the

Hall. firſt night killed by a Bullet in the Lord *Herberts* Tent, which came

I. de Serr. ſo neere him, that the French (though erroneouſly) write he was ſlaine there.

The Earle of *Shrewsbury* planted himſelfe on the North-weſt, and the Lord *Herbert* on the Eaſt ſide of the Town, whence they made their approaches. In the Towne was a Garriſon of about two thouſand Foot, and two hundred and fifty Lances, commanded by *Monſieur Francois de Teligny*, and *Anthoine de Crequy Sr de Pondormy:* To relieve them againe, the French raiſed a puiſſant Army, to which ten thouſand men under the Duke of *Gueldres*, and ſix thouſand more under *Richard de la Pole*, brother to *Edmund* lately beheaded, were added.

Hall. In the meane while our King, having conſtituted Queene *Katharine*, Regent, paſſeth the Sea to *Calais* upon the laſt of *June*;

June 30.

bringing

bringing with him the reſt of his Army, which was tranſported with about 400 Saile : With him came alſo the *Almoner*, and new Favorite, *Thomas Woolſey*, who, for having lived long in that Town under the Treaſurer thereof, was perfectly acquainted with the addreſſes of it. The King being viſited by the Ambaſſadors of the Emperor, the Regent of *Flanders*, and Duke of *Brunſwic*, ſtayed here till the 21 of *July*, when, hearing, that the *French* meant to releive *Theroüene*, under the Command of *Loüis Duc de Longueville*, and Marqueſſe *de Rotelin*, whom *le Seigneur de la Paliſſe*, as alſo the famous *Bayard*, *la Fayette*, *Clermont d' Anjou*; and *Buiſſe d' Amboiſe* accompanied, he haſtned his departure. His Army conſiſted of about 9000 good fighting Men, beſides thoſe who belong'd to the carriages, which were ſome 2000 or 3000 more. Sir *Charles Brandon* (a little before * Created Viſcount *Liſle*) had the Vantguard, whom the Earle of *Eſſex* (Lieutenant Generall of the Spears) accompanied. In the Battaile the King came, having the Duke of *Buckingham* on the one Hand with 600 choſen men, and Sir *Edward Poynings* on the other with as many more; Sir *Henry Guilford* carrying the Standard Royall. The Rereguard being compoſed in great part of the retinew of *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Woolſey* to the number of 800 men was led by Sir *William Compton*. In the ſpaces betwixt, the great Ordinance (among which *Hall* mentions thoſe call'd the 12 Apoſtles) was drawne, and part of the Carriages diſpos'd. After all theſe yet came Sir *Anthony Oughtred* and *John Neville* with 400 Spears. This little but flouriſhing Army was ſcarce entred the *French* Confines neere *Ardres*, when news was brought that the enemy appear'd. Hereupon Sir *Rice ap Thomas* (who came from *Theroüene* with 500 Light Horſe to meet the King) joyning with the Earl of *Eſſex* and Sir *Thomas Guilford*, who commanded 200 Archers on Horſe-backe, drew towards the French, but they preſently diſappeared. As they Marched yet, two Peices of Ordnance miſcarried, the one whereof was * loſt, the other ° recovered in deſpite of the French. Upon the fourth of *Auguſt* the King came to *Theroüene*, before which he cauſed a ſumptuous *Pavilion* to be pitched. Sir *Alexander Baynam* Captaine of the Pioners, ſhortly after cauſed a Mine to be made under the Walls; but the French Countermining, it was well diſputed, and divers kill'd on both parts. *Maximilian* being * now come to *Ayre*, it was thought fit an Interview ſhould be made. But the day being very foule, the Ceremony was ſhort.

About two dayes after, *Lyon* King of Armes in *Scotland*, in his Heraulds Coate, comes to the Campe, and deſires leave to deliver a Letter * to the King. *Gartier* brings him in. The King having perus'd the Contents (which were, Expoſtulation for ſome pretended Injuries, and thereupon denunciation of Warre unleſſe he returned) makes a ſharp Anſwer by word of mouth, among other things telling him, that he had left an Earle behind him in the North,

1513.

July. 21.

May. 15.

Hall.

* July. 28.
° July. 29.
Aug. 4.

Aug. 9.

Aug. 11.

* Dat. Jul. 9.

1513. North, who could very well defend his Kingdome againſt the attempts of his Maſter. But *Lyon* refus'd to carry any verball Meſſage.

Aug. 12. Whereupon our King thought fit by Letter again to anſwer to this purpoſe, That he underſtood this expoſtulation to be nothing but the picking of a Quarrell to aſſiſt the French, and invade him, in his abſence. That hee wiſhed him to call to mind how *John* King of *Navarre*, for ayding the French in the ſame manner, loſt his Kingdome; and adviſed him to take that for a warning. Laſtly, he bid him be aſſured, that what he did to him or his Realm now he was abſent, ſhould be remembred, and requited againe in like meaſure. Before yet theſe Letters could be delivered by *Lyon*, his King and Maſter *James* the fourth was kill'd, as ſhall be afterwards related.

Aug. 12. Upon the twelfth of *Auguſt Maximilian* the Emperor came to the King, in the quality of his Souldier, and therefore not onely wore the Croſſe of Saint *George*, but receiv'd his pay duly, which I find, by ſome, to have been a hundred Crownes *per diem*. Notwithſtanding which, that all due reſpect might be rendered to his Perſon, the King gave order to lodge him according to his dignity, in a Tent of Cloth of Gold, for the reſt moſt ſumptuouſly entertaining him the ſpace of two dayes that he ſtayed in the Campe. *Theroüene* was not yet ſo ſtreightly beſeiged, but that on the one ſide which was toward the River *Lys*, there was a way open, on which part the French intended to releive it. The King therefore commanded five Bridges to be inſtantly made over the ſaid River, by which himſelfe with *Maximilian* (who was now * return'd again) and a great part of his Army paſſed*. This was ſcarce done, when our Light-horſe brought word, that the French were in ſight. Our King thereupon marched towards them. The French at firſt came, as if they meant to fight; but, after a ſlight skirmiſh fled away in much diſorder, which ſeemed the ſtranger, that the fight was between the Horſemen only, and many of the braveſt of their Nation were among them; Our Men purſued, and tooke *Loüis Duc de Longueville*, Marqueſſe *de Rotelin*, *Bayard*, *Fayette*, *Clermont*, and *Buiſſe d' Ambois*, and brought them away, together with nine Cornets. The *Seigneur de la Paliſſe*, and *Monſieur d' Imbrecourt* were alſo taken, but agreeing for their ranſome upon the place were preſently let free, or, as others ſay, eſcaped. This Battaile,

Aug. 16. hapning the 16. of *Auguſt*, was call'd by the French, *la Journee des Eſperons*, becauſe they made little uſe of any thing but their Spurs, for the good ſucceſſe whereof therefore both the King, and *Maximilian* the Emperor (wearing ſtill his Badge of the Red-Croſſe) did upon the place congratulate with each other, and afterwards aſſiſted at a ſolemne *Te Deum* for this eaſie Victory. Neither had the French better fortune, in ſetting upon a Convoy going with Proviſions for our Army betwixt *Guiſnes* and *Theroüene*, they being repuls'd (as *Bellay* hath it) and *Monſieur*

* Aug. 15.
* Aug. 16. *Hall.*

de

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de Plessis slaine. While the French held Battaile with our King, as is aforesaid, part of their Cavaliery which had devided it selfe that it might the better bring in Provision, fell on the quarter of the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, and Sir *Rice ap Thomas* on the other side of the water; but they were also soone repuls'd, though the Garrison, and Townes-men taking this occasion, sallied forth upon the Trenches of the Lord *Herbert* to make a diversion; For that Lord being prepar'd to receives them, they were quickly beaten in again Few dayes after the *Seigneure de Pontdoring* despairing to keep the place long * yeelded both it, and the Ordnance to the King, upon Condition they might depart with their Armes, Bagge and Baggage, and Drums beating in Military Order. Which being done, our King and the Emperor (who as I find it confirm'd in Ancient Manuscripts Diary extant in our Records, still gave our King the precedence) entred the Towne, *August* 24.

Aug. 22.

Aug 23. *Diary M.S.*

Aug. 24.

This City being gotten, it was now disputed whether our King should hold it; A question which could not but seeme strange as well to the Authors of the Councell as Complices in the hazard, especially since it cost so much, as *Guicciardine* doubts not to call it *Spesa intollerabile et infinita*; Howbeit it was at last resolv'd that because it so confin'd on *Maximilians* Territories, and that the Garrison infested his subjects by frequent incursions, that at *Maximilians* intreaty, the Town should be razed, save only the Church and Religious houses; so much did our King deferre to the Emperour *Maximilian* for being his Soul'dier and taking pay under him. Besides, our King considered that to leave any Troops behind would disable his further designes, for which motives therefore he gave the Towne to *Maximilian*, who levell'd it, which yet I find was not so done, but that the French did shortly after repaire and put it into defence. From hence then the King (being perswaded to it by *Maximilian*) resolves to beseige *Tourney*; But, by the way, being diverted by the Princesse *Margarites* perswasions (who desired much to see him at *Lile*) he passed three dayes in her Company, and the many faire Ladies that attended her; when remembring himselfe, that it was time to visit his Army (which lay at some distance from him strongly encamped) he takes leave of the Ladies. Being now out of the Gates a mile or two, some such mist hapned both to him and all his Traine, that they had lost themselves; neither could they resolve which way to turne, untill a Victualler coming by chance from his Army, both inform'd him where it lay, and conducted him thither, to the great rejoycing of them all. The 15. of *Septemb.* the Army (which *Maximilian* had now left, upon pretence of I know not what unsatisfaction which yet was shortly repaired,) set downe before *Tourney*, which thereupon was summoned to yeeld; but the greater part refusing, the King encamping on the North, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* on the South, and the Lord *Herbert* on the West of the Towne began their Batteries.

Aug 27. *D. ar. I. I.*

Bellay. Sept. 12. *Diary* of *Io Taylor. M. S. Hall.* Sept. 14.

Sept. 15.

1513. Batteries. When upon the 21. a Meſſenger from the Earl of *Surrey*
Sept. 21. brought the Gantlet, or, as *others ſay, the Coat-Armour of *Iames*
* *I.T.Diar.* the fourth, as a Token of the Victory obtained at *Flodden*. This, as
it rejoyced the King, ſo it put him in mind of the viciſſitude of all
wordly things. Therefore he temper'd his mirth with a ſerious con-
ſideration of the events to which Wars are ſubject. Howſoever, he
Hall. cauſed *Te Deum* to be ſung publiquely the day following, and a
Sept. 22. Sermon to be preached by the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, who laid all the
fault on that King's breach of word. Which day alſo thoſe of
Tournay capitulated and yeelded to our King, by the name of *Roy*
Tres-Chreſtien (as I find in the Originall * contract) upon condition
* Dat. Sept. 23. of fidelity, and preſent payment of fifty thouſand Crownes *de*
Soleil, and a yearly Penſion of foure thouſand pound *Tournois* for
Diar. *Io.* *Taylor.* the ſpace of ten yeares. Whereupon the King, as *John Taylor* Do-
M. S. Latin. ctor of Law, preſent at the Seige ſaith in his Manuſcript Latin Dia-
ry, gave them leave to enjoy their Ancient Cuſtomes and Liber-
ties; upon condition yet they ſhould admit a Garriſon. Neither as
it ſeems could they do otherwiſe; the French being ſo much diſ-
Septemb. 24 couraged by their late misfortune, that they did not attempt the
leiving of it. Thus, on the 24 of *September*, our King entred the
Town triumphantly. And here, upon conſultation what was next
to be done, it was reſolved to ſurceaſe the Warre for this yeare,
Winter now beginning to enter. It was thought fit alſo, to leave
Sir *Edward Poynings* with a ſtrong Garriſon to keep it. Which can-
not but ſeeme ſtrange, to thoſe who conſider that *Theroüene* was
razed; ſince *Theroüene* was nearer the Engliſh pale, and might bee
better defended, and would, beſides, have kept the paſſage open
to this. But falſe Counſells are like falſe Gemmes; which how
countefeit ſoever, have (when they are well ſet) one good light to
be ſeene by. Therefore *Woolſey*, (who was ſo much Author of
this Counſell as he got the Biſhoprick of the place thereby) could
gloſe his adviſe; with telling the King, he might now have confi-
dence in *Maximilian*, as having ſerv'd under him. Beſides, that
the razing of *Theroüene* at his requeſt, would put a perpetuall obli-
gation on him. But as for *Tournay*, that it was fit it ſhould be kept,
as a trophee of his Victories; and the rather, that *Cæſar* (in his Com-
mentaries) confeſſeth here, more then in any place elſe, to have
found a valourous reſiſtance. But how well the Arguments were
grounded, the ſequele will ſhew. The firſt uſe our King made of
this Town, was, to repay the courteſies received of the Princeſſe
Marguarite. Hereupon ſhe, being invited, came thither, as alſo
Septemb. 25. her Nephew *Charles* Prince of *Caſtile*; (afterwards Emperour,) be-
I.T.Diar. tween whom and his Siſter *Mary* there had interceded a kind of
contract, (as is before related) ever ſince the time of their Father
Henry the ſeventh; which likewiſe for the preſent ſeemed to be
confirmed betwixt them, inſomuch that they came to divers par-
ticularities; Among which one was, that the King ſhould bring
her

her with him the next Spring. I find alſo ſome overture of a match between *Charles Brandon*, now Lord *Liſle*, and the ſaid Princeſſe *Marguerite*; which, though it tooke no effect, was not yet without much demonſtration of outward Grace and favour on her part. In the meane while, that the Ladies and the Emperour who came with them, might be receiv'd according to their quality and worth, the King, taking the ſaid Lord for his aſſociate, did * hold a ſolemne Juſts there, againſt all commers; which he bravely performed. And now having feaſted the Ladies Royally for divers dayes, hee * departed from *Tourney*, to *Liſle*, whither he was invited by the Lady *Margaret*; who cauſed there a Jouſts to be held in an extraordinary manner; the place being a large Roome, rayſed high from the ground, by many ſteps, and paved with black Square Stones like Marble; while the Horſes to prevent ſliding and noyſe, were ſhod with felt or flocks, (the Latin words are *feltro ſive Tomento.*) After which, the Lords and Ladies danced all night.

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Diar. I.T.

Octob. 11.

Octob. 13.
Octob. 16.
In.T. Diary.

Yet, as I find by forrain Authors, theſe Jollities were not the only cauſe of his ſtay. For *Ferdinand* (the firſt mover of theſe troubles) hearing that the War againſt *France* was likely to ceaſe for this yeare, ſends *Pedro de Orrea*, and *Juan de la Nuea*, and *Gabriel de Orti* to *Henry* the eighth, with Commiſſion to Treat for a League, by which both Kings, with the Emperor, ſhould ſeverally enter *France* the next Spring: And that, for this purpoſe, each of them ſhould, from their Frontieres, begin the War. That *Ferdinand* therefore from *Navarre* ſhould invade *Guyenne*, with fifteen thouſand five hundred foot, and one thouſand five hundred Horſe of his own ſubjects, and to be paid by him; and ſix thouſand Germans, to bee paid at the rate of twenty thouſand Crownes the moneth, by the King of *England*. In conſideration whereof, the war was to be made in the ſaid King of *Englands* name, and for the recovery of his Patrimony in *Guyenne*. On the other ſide, that the King of *England* aſſiſted by *Maximilian*, ſhould, with ſixteen thouſand foot, and foure thouſand Horſe, from his Territories, invade *Normandy*, or *Picardy*; and that they ſhould not relinquiſh this War without mutuall conſent. Laſtly, there was place left for the Pope, the Prince, Arch-Duke, the Duke of *Milan*, the Suiſſe, and the Florentines, to enter into this League; which was ſigned at *Liſle* on the 17. of *October* by *Richard* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the Marqueſſe *Dorſet* on our Kings part; The *Seigneur de Berghes* chief *Camartro* of the Emperor, and *Gerard de Pleine* Preſident of his Counſell; and *Pedro de Orrea*, *Don Luis Carroz*, and *Iuan de la Nuca Ambaſſadors* of *Ferdinand*. This being done, and the King, for the reſt teſtifying much ſatisfaction, departed thence, and two dayes after, in good order of Battaile, came to *Calais*, having in this voyage beſtowed honour upon divers perſons of worth. Sir *Thomas Cornwal*, Baron of *Burford*, Sir *Thomas Leigton*, Sir *Tho. Blount*, Sir *Henry Sacheverell*, *&c.* being made Knights Bannerets;

Surita.

Octob. 17.

Octob. 17.

Diar. *M. S.*

1513 Bannerets; and Sir *John Meyrwaring*, Sir *John South*, Sir *John Digby*, &c. created Knights. And here the King gave order for securing *Tourney*, as well as the reſt of his Poſſeſſions in thoſe parts, which being done, and the wind proving faire, hee

Octob. 24. ſhortly came to his Queen at *Richmont*, who had long expected Him.

Having now related the King's expedition (which I was unwilling to interrupt by any intervening occaſion) I muſt return to the Narration of that Battaile, which was fought betwixt *Iames* the fourth, and *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey*, commonly call'd *Flodden*-field. This King, retaining in his Mind ſome rancour for divers Cauſes formerly related, thought he could not any time more ſeaſonably revenge himſelfe, or for the reſt give a more acceptable teſtimony of his love to *Loüis* the twelfth, then now in the Kings abſence, by invading his Realme. Therefore, having firſt denounced war by his Herauld, he ſent *Alexander* Lord *Humes*, his Chamberlaine,

Aug. to forrage the Borders; which Sir *William Bulmer* hearing, uſed that diligence, that he overtooke, and fought with him in his Retrait, ſo that he recovered a rich Booty. The King hereupon in Perſon, with an Army of ſixty thouſand (ſome write

Aug. 22. *Hall.* a hundred thouſand) Men, enters the Country, and, after a

Aug. 27. few dayes Seige, takes *Norham*-Caſtle. *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey* hereupon haſtens his Army, which conſiſted of twenty ſix thouſand, appointing his Sonne the Lord Admirall to come by Sea, and meet him at or neere *Alnewick*, in *Northumberland*. This brave Lord

Sept. 4. failed not his * time, bringing with him alſo about one thouſand Men; of whom when the Earl had taken view, and given order in what place every one ſhould fight, he marches towards the King; who had removed his Army to an Hill called *Flodden* (or *Fluidon*) on the edge of the mountain *Cheviot*; where he ſtrongly entrench'd

Buch. himſelf. The Scottiſh writers here relate, that many of their country-men (for want of Victualls) ſecretly fled home, leaving the Kings Troops but thin. Our writers, on the other ſide, make the Scottiſh-men much ſuperior in number. Howſoever, the Earle of *Surrey* deſired nothing more then to fight, as finding the whole Country thereabouts ſo forraged and ſpoiled that he could not

Sept. 4. long ſubſiſt. Therefore on *Sunday*, *Sept.* 4. he thought fit to ſend *Rouge-Croix* Herauld, with a Trumpet, and Inſtructions to *James* the fourth, to tell him, that, in regard he had violated his faith and League, and hoſtilly entred the Engliſh ground, that on *Friday* next hee would bid him Battaile, if the ſaid King would ſtay ſo long in *England*, and accept it. The Lord *Thomas* his Son, alſo requir'd *Rouge-Croix* particularly to certifie the King of his Journey by Sea; and that, becauſe hee could meet no Scottiſh Ships there, hee thought fit to Land, that hee might juſtifie *Andrew Breton's* death; And added further, as hee looked for no mercy from his Enemies, ſo he

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he would ſpare none, but the King only, if he came in his hands. And to make all this good, that he would be in the Vantguard of the Battaile. Laſtly *Rouge Croix* was charged, if any were remanded, he ſhould (for preventing eſpiall) bring him no nearer then two miles unto the Campe. *Iames* the fourth * received this Meſſage gladly, and as he was a Prince of Great Courage, by his own Herauld aſſures the Earl, that he did ſo much deſire to encounter him, that, when he had been at *Edenburgh*, he would have left all buſineſſe for that purpoſe: and therefore wiſhed him to reſt aſſured, he would not faile to abide Battaile the day named, which was *Friday*. This being done, the Herauld delivers a proteſtation from his King and Maſter, in theſe very words, being in anſwer to the former expoſtulation of the Earles. Sept. 6.

As to the cauſes alledged of our coming into *England*, againſt our Bond and promiſe (as is alleadged,) thereto we Anſwer; Our Brother was bound as farre to us, as wee to him; and when we ſware laſt, before his Ambaſſadour in preſence of our Councell, we expreſſed eſpecially in our Oath, that we would keep to our Brother, if our Brother kept to us, and not elſe. We ſweare our Brother brake firſt unto us. And ſince his Breach wee have required divers times him to amend. And lately we warned our Brother, as he did not us, ore he brake. And this we take for our Quarrell, and with Gods Grace ſhall defend the ſame, at your affixed time, which with Gods grace we ſhall abide. Hereupon the Earle, advancing, came within three miles of *Floddon*; but, perceiving that the King ſtill kept upon the Hill, which was unapproachable, He ſent *Rouge Croix* againe, with a Letter ſubſcrib'd by himſelfe, his ſonne the Lord Admirall, and divers other principall Noblemen and Knights, where, in reſpectfull termes, they provoked him to deſcend from his fortifications, and fight, in a large Plaine call'd *Milfeild* (which lay between them) upon *Friday* following; alleadging, for this purpoſe, the promiſe they received from his Grace heretofore. But no ſatisfactory Anſwer being given to this, and the Heralds being returned on either ſide, the Earle removes with his Army to ſuch a place, that, if the Scottiſh-men would not leave the advantage of their Site, he might cut of their Victualls, and conſequently draw them down. *Iames* the fourth hereupon, firing his Hutts, diſlodges covertly, by the benefit of the ſmoake, and keeping ſtill on the higher ground, at laſt he commands a ſtay. Preſently after, the Earl alſo, traverſing ſome Boggs, and Mariſhes till he arrived to the bottome of this Bancke, found the aſcent not very ſteepe, and thereupon incourageth his men to fight. This done, he marcheth up; The Vantguard was led by his two ſonnes, the Lord *Thomas* and Sir *Edmund*; the Battaile by himſelfe, and the Rere by Sir *Edward Stanley*. The Lord *Dacres*, with his Horſe, being appointed as a Reſerve on all occaſions. The King obſerving this well, and judging that it was not without much diſadvantage that the Eng- Hall. Sept. 7.

1513. liſh came to fight, exhorts his men to behave themſelves like brave Souldiers, and thereupon joynes Battaile. Sir *Edmund Howard* at firſt was in ſome diſtreſſe, by the ſingular valour of the Earles of *Lenox* and *Arguile*, but the Lord *Dacres* coming to his ſuccour, as alſo one *Heron*, the fight was Renewed; The Lord *Thomas Howard* purſued his point better; yet ſo, as he found a brave oppoſition from the Earles of *Cratford* and *Mountroſſe*. The Kings Battaile and the Earles likewiſe maintained together a long and ſharp fight. This while Sir *Edward Stanley*, by force of Archers, conſtrained the Scottiſh to deſcend the Hill, inſomuch that, for avoiding his ſtorme of Arrows, they opened their Ranckes, and therein ſeemed to give one of the firſt overtures for Victory. The King perceiving the diſorder, redoubled his courage, inſomuch that our writers confeſſe he had almoſt overthrowne the Earles Standards. But the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and Sir *Edward Stanley*, who had diſcomfited their oppoſites, coming to ſuccors, and the Lord *Dacres* alſo flying in with his Horſe, the Scottiſh were ſo hardly put to it, that, for their laſt defence they caſt themſelves into a Ring; in that order of fight doing all that valiant Men poſſibly could, to defend themſelves. No man yet did in his Perſon more then the King; Inſomuch, that preſſing on ſtill, he was at laſt kill'd on the place, as our writers have it. The Scottiſh writers yet ſay it was one *Elphinſtone*, who wearing the ſame Armes the King did, was taken for
Buck. him, affirming further that the King fled over the River *Tweed*, and was there (I know not how) ſlaughtered. The fight, continuing three houres, made the event doubtfull, and the execution great. In concluſion, moſt of the nobler ſort, one Arch-Biſhop, and two Biſhops, beſides four Abbots on the Scottiſh ſide were ſlaine there, and about ten Thouſand others. On our ſide (ſayes *Polydore*) there died about five Thouſand, others ſay fewer; ſo that, as it was a Bloody Victory, it might be thought ſomewhat uncertaine, till the next morning, when the Body, ſuppoſed for the King's, and ſo acknowledged by divers of both Nations (as our Hiſtorians ſay) was found among the dead Carkaſſes, having Receiv'd (as our writers have it) a mortall wound with an Arrow, and another with a Bill.
Hall. The Scottiſh lay the occaſion of their overthrow chiefely on ſome of their Troopes, that look'd on, and never ſo much as gave ſtroak. But that we may leave theſe things to their Relations, I find after this Battaile the Scottiſh that remain'd, returned home much grie-
Sept. 9. ved for the unfortunate ſucceſſe of that day, being *Sept.* 9. The Earle tooke all the Ordnance, and particularly ſeven extraordinary faire Culverins, call'd the ſeven ſiſters. And ſo after giving God thankes, diſmiſt the greateſt part of his Army, and retir'd himſelfe home, untill newes of the King's coming to *Richmont* brought him thither, taking order in the meane time, that the dead Body, being embalmed, ſhould be carryed firſt to *New-Caſtle*, and after to *Shene* in *Surrey*; though, as that King was Excommunicate, it

may

may be doubted, whether it were buried in any Conſecrate place; ſince I finde by *Breve* dated *November* 29. 1513, and extant in our Records, that our King obtained a Breve from the Pope, for transferring the body to Saint *Pauls* in *London*. Upon condition yet, that the Biſhop of *London* ſhould firſt abſolve the ſaid *James*, and our King *Nomine ipſius aliquam convenientem poenitentiam adimpleret.* 1513. Novem. 29. Records.

Our King now (the Parliament ſtill ſitting) eſtabliſhed an Order, how the Subjects he had in his new Acquiſitions in *France* might recover their debts from thoſe in *England*, as well as the Engliſh from them. Moreover it was enacted, that every Perſon that would ſue for the Kings Pardon, upon certaine Articles, ſhould have it. Jan. 3. $15\frac{14}{13}$ Regni 5.

In this Parliament alſo *Margaret*, daughter of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, late wife of Sir *Richard de la Pole* Knight, petitioned, That there, by Act of Parliament, 19 *Henrici 7. Edward* Earle of *Warwicke* was declared Traytor, and ſo his Lands forfeited; it would pleaſe the King that ſhe might inherit (as being Siſter and next of Bloud) his State and Dignity, and ſo be ſtiled Counteſſe of *Sarum*; which was granted. M. S.

I finde little elſe memorable this yeere among our Hiſtorians, ſave onely a Commotion in *London*; which hapned on this manner. The Villages of *Iſlington*, *Hockſton*, and *Shoreditch* having ſo incloſd their grounds, that they debarr'd the Citizens from their accuſtomed freedome and exerciſes; the Apprentices of *London* threw down the Hedges and Ditches, after this manner. A Turner running in a Fooles-coat through the Streets, and crying Shovels and Spades, was preſently followed in ſuch numbers, as all their incloſures were quickly level'd. For which therefore the Lord Major was well check'd, and command given him to prevent further miſchiefe.

The French King, now finding two principall frontier Townes taken, the flowre of his Chivalry made priſoners, while the reſt ran away, his beſt Confederate *James* the fourth kil'd, and the chiefe adminiſtration of Scottiſh Affaires devolved to the hands of *Margaret* Siſter to King *Henry* the eighth, (at leaſt untill ſhe married againe,) A League, in oppoſition to him, ſworn by three the moſt puiſſant Princes of Chriſtendome; The Pope animating all this againſt him, under the odious name of a Schiſmaticke; and laſtly, himſelfe farre ſtrucken in yeeres, begins to thinke how beſt he might come off. And, to this, he had but a Winters ſpace; for the warre was to begin the next Spring. He negotiates therefore with the Pope firſt. To this end he offers ſatisfaction for his obſtinacy; Next, he ſtipulates to give way to the accompliſhing the Popes deſignes in *Bononia*, and elſewhere; to renounce the Councell of *Piſa*, and accept that of *Lateran*, promiſing withall to remand the Cardinall *Bernardino*, (whom as the Pope deſired to have,

1514. have, ſo he graciouſly pardoned.) Laſtly, whereas great inconveniences might follow, not onely to his Holineſſe, but all Chriſtendome, if, by theſe inteſtine warres a paſſage were made open for *Selyme* the Turke to invade it, (who had lately taken eighteene ſtrong places neere *Presburg* in *Hungary*,) He promiſeth his aſſiſtance againſt them. All which being taken by the Pope into ſerious conſideration, makes him Relent; and, in ſequence thereof, not onely recommends Peace and Unity to all Chriſtian Princes, and particularly to our King, but, ſhortly after enters into a League Decemb. againſt the Turke; for this purpoſe uſing thoſe potent Miniſters of his the Church-men, who were in favour with their ſeverall Princes. *Loüis* the twelfth alſo drawes *Maximilian* off, partly by repreſenting the danger above-mentioned in *Hungary*, which (next *Ladiſlaus*) moſt concern'd him; and partly by according the demands he made about divers pretences in *Burgogne*; and laſtly urges ſome diſcontents remaining in *Maximilians* mind, ever ſince *Henry* the eighth and himſelf met laſt, (though in effect they were little more then *Puntiglios*, ordinarily hapning on the Enterview of great Princes.) And for *Ferdinand* he was eaſily taken off, ſo that he might enjoy *Navarre*, and for the reſt keep his Authority in *Italy*. To which therefore *Loüis* the twelfth condeſcended, proroguing the * laſt yeeres Truce with him for twelve Moneths longer. Laſtly, becauſe *Henry* the eighth was (without all theſe) able alone to finde him worke, he offers his Friendſhip, and Alliance in matching with his Siſter the Princeſſe *Mary*, thought then one of the faireſt Ladies of her time. To ſtrengthen this propoſition alſo, he advertiſes our King, that *Charles* Prince of *Caſtile* (afterwards *Charles* the fifth) was treating of a marriage with *Anne* daughter of *Ladiſlaus* King of *Hungary*; And when it were in earneſt, that he intended to match with his Siſter the Princeſſe *Mary*, that yet (being but fourteen yeeres old in *February* next) he was not ripe enough for her; (concealing in the meane time that himſelfe was as much too old.) He privately alſo acquainted the King how *Ferdinand* did but deceive him; as one, that would at all times be drawn to his Party, when he might enjoy *Navarre*. Together with which, it is probable he did reveale the aforeſaid ſecret Truce made by the Spaniſh Secretary *Quintana* betwixt himſelfe and *Ferdinand* for one yeere more. An Article whereof was, that, during the ſaid Truce, *Loüis* the twelfth ſhould not moleſt *Milan*. He told him, beſides that *Maximilians* deſignes were on the Venetians, and not on *France*. And that the Levyes in *Flanders* for the warres propoſed againſt *France* the next yeere, were and ſhould be retarded by the Princeſſe *Marguerite*, purpoſely, becauſe her Father had other deſignes. All which was repreſented to the King by private and confident Meſſengers, who under colour of treating for the delivery of *Loüis Duc de Longueville*, and the reſt who were Priſoners of warre, negotiated this great Affaire. Our King

* April. 1513.

here

1514

hereupon diſdaining to be twice deceived by his Father in law *Ferdinand*, and deteſting withall the ingratitude and levity of *Maximilian*, agreed a league with *Loüis* the twelfth upon the ſeventh of *Auguſt* 1514. for the term of their joynt lives and one yeere after. The effect was, That all former offences ſhould be remitted and aboliſhed, Traffique reſtored, and all Impoſitions on ſtrangers ſince fifty two yeeres laſt paſt, extinguiſhed. That no Letters of Merque ſhould be granted, but againſt the principall Delinquents, and that onely in caſe Juſtice were denied. That no Robbers by Land, or Pirates by Sea ſhould be maintained on either ſide. That Rebels and Fugitives ſhould not be entertain'd, but rendered (within twenty daies after Requiſition) to their Soveraignes. That they ſhould be Friends to the Friends, and Enemies to the Enemies of each other. That (for mutuall defence of their preſent Eſtates) *Loüis* the twelfth ſhould furniſh at the requiſition of *Henry* the eighth, one thouſand two hundred Lances by Land, and five thouſand men at Sea, with convenient ſhipping. And *Henry* the eighth ten thouſand Archers by Land, and five thouſand men at Sea, with ſhipping, at the requiſition of *Loüis* the twelfth. But if either of the two Kings ſhall require ayd of the other for the recovery of his Pretenſions; then *Loüis* ſhall lend King *Henry* ſix hundred Lances onely, and King *Henry* him but five thouſand Archers for Land ſervice; the Sea forces retaining the numbers above mentioned. All this to be at the coſt of the Demandant. Yet, if either of the ſaid Princes ſhall be invaded, onely for the cauſe of this Confederacy, then the other ſhall ayd him at his own charge. If warre be made by common conſent, neither Prince may make peace ſeverally. That the Engliſh Merchants ſhould have their ancient Priviledges at *Bourdeaux* reſtored. That this Treaty ſhould be publiſhed and ratified by the Pope, (by whom it was chiefly procur'd) with a Clauſe of Excommunication on the Infractors. Among the Allies of each Prince, the Scots alſo were comprehended herein, upon condition, that after *Septemb.* 15. they ſhould make no incurſion on the Engliſh by publique Authority; and if any were otherwiſe made, that ſatisfaction ſhould be ſpeedily given. Beſides this, the French Writers confeſſe there was a Treaty apart, by which *Loüis* promiſed to pay *Henry* the eighth a Million of Crowns, the ſaid *Henry* rendring him an Obligation, by which *Charles* Duke of *Orleans* father of the ſaid *Loüis*, and other Princes of *France* were bound to pay the ſaid ſumme. For, whereas *Charles* the eighth, Predeceſſour to *Loüis* the twelfth, by a Treaty at *Eſtaples* 1492, bound himſelfe and his Heires to pay King *Henry* the ſeventh and his Heires the ſumme of 745000 Crownes; and, after the death of the ſaid *Charles*, *Loüis* the twelfth bound himſelfe and his Heires to pay ſo much as remain'd thereof, and this Bond was twice made by the ſaid *Loüis* the twelfth, firſt to *Henry* the ſeventh 1498, and after to *Henry* the

Aug. 7. *Du Tillet.*

Tillet.

Orig. Rec. Novem. 3. 1492.

July 14. 1498.

1513. July 22. 1510. March 7. 1444. the eighth, 1510. And whereas (beſides this Bond) the aforeſaid *Charles* had bound himſelfe to the Lady *Margarite* Dutcheſſe of *Sommerſet Anno* 1444, to pay her a certaine ſumme of money, which was not yet diſcharged. Therefore, as alſo for confirming the amity betwixt *Loüis* and *Henry*, the ſaid *Loüis* did now bind himſelfe and Heirs in a Bond of a Million of Crowns to be payd to King *Henry* the eighth, in his Town of *Calais*, at ſeverall times, (*viz.*) *November* 1. next following fifty thouſand Francs; and *May* 1. next; ſo much more, and ſo till the whole were paid. (Which Obligation I finde in an Originall thereof, dated *Septemb.* 14. 1514.) Sept. 14. All which minuted by *Loüis de Longueville* (called by ſome *Loüis d' Orleans Duc de Longueville*) during his reſtraint, was at laſt thus fully concluded. The Princeſſe *Mary* alſo was to be conſigned to him, *Polyd. Virg.* with convenient ſpeed; Notwithſtanding (ſaith *Polydore*) the King had ſecretly deſtin'd her once to another, who though he gave place, when it was ſo much for her dignity, yet married her not long after. The condition for the Marriage, bewixt the ſaid *Loüis* the twelfth, and *Mary* the Kings ſiſter, were theſe, as we finde them in our Records.

August. That, 1. within ten dayes following, Matrimony ſhall be contracted by both Perſons by Proxies *per verba de præſenti*. 2. After the Contract aboveſaid, within two moneths, the King of *England* ſhall ſend and convey her, with Jewels and Houſhold-ſtuffe fitting her Eſtate, to *Abbeville* in *France*; where, within foure daies following the ſaid *Loüis* the twelfth ſhall ſolemnly marry her. 3. King *Henry* ſhall give with the Princeſſe *Mary* foure hundred thouſand Crowns; of which ſumme (in regard of the traduction of the Lady, her Apparels, Jewels, &c.) *Loüis* will be content to accept the one halfe, *i.e.* two hundred thouſand Crowns, and to pay himſelfe the reſt out of the moneys which by the late Treaty he is obliged to pay King *Henry*. 4. *Loüis* ſhall aſſigne to the Princeſſe *Mary* a Joynture as great as any Queen of *France* (and namely as Queen *Anne* the laſt Queen) hath had. And this during her life ſhe ſhall enjoy, whereſoever ſhe reſide. 5. If *Loüis* die firſt, then, the Princeſſe *Mary* during her life, ſhall enjoy her Dowry and Joynture, and all Jewels which the Queenes of *France* have uſed to enjoy after the death of their Huſbands. 6. If *Loüis* ſurvive the ſaid Princeſſe, then he ſhall have and enjoy her Portion, Joynture, Jewels, and Goods, according to the Cuſtome of *France*.

While theſe things were in agitation, the King (who called to minde many that had ſerved him with much Fidelity, Courage, and ſucceſſe in his late occaſions and enterprizes) thought he could not doe any thing more juſtly and prudently, then to beſtow ſome condigne Recompence upon them; It being ſuch a Myſtery of State as not onely gives the greateſt luſtre of Regall Authority, but of that conſequence, as being uſed well, there will be

be little need of puniſhment. The reward to theſe brave Cavaliers he had ſelected out for this purpoſe, the King thought good to inveſt in honour chiefly. Therefore upon the ſecond of *February*, *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey* was by him created Duke of *Norfolke*; (a Title* before conferr'd on *John* his Father by *Richard* the third, and then againe extinguiſhed.) His eldeſt ſonne, the Lord *Thomas Howard* alſo being ſubſtituted Earle of *Surrey*. Together with which he had an augmentation of Armes for his Atchievement in *Flodden*-field. Sir *Charles Somerſet* alſo, being in *Elizabeth* his wives right, (who was daughter and Heire to *William Herbert*, Earle of *Huntington*) Lord *Herbert* of *Chepſtow*, *Gower*, and *Ragland*, was created Earle of *Worceſter*. Sir *Charles Brandon*, Viſcount *Liſle* was now alſo created Duke of *Suffolke*; And Sir *Edward Stanley*, not long after made Lord *Mounteagle*. Laſtly, *Thomas Woolſey* Biſhop of *Tournay*, was conſtituted Biſhop of *Lincolne*. 1514.

Feb. 2. * 1483.

The King, being at ſome reſt now from tranſmarine Affaires, begins to look towards *Scotland*; upon which he had many advantages. For as the two Princes, left by King *James*, were very young; his ſiſter Queene *Margaret* (their mother) in Eſtate of adminiſtring all the Affaires there; the chiefe and moſt active part of their Nobility kil'd; there wanted not many occaſions to prevaile himſelfe of; whereupon alſo, either by gentle meanes or otherwiſe by force, he reſolv'd to procure an intereſt in the Government of that Kingdome. To this it conduced not a little, that thoſe Nobles which remained, betwixt Envy and Ambition, were diſtracted among themſelves. The Queene foreſeeing well, that, in this ill condition of Affaires, many inconveniences might follow, in a Countrey, whereof (by ſpeciall Clauſe of a Teſtament made by the King before the laſt expedition,) ſhee was declared Regent, as long as ſhee continued unmarried, ſends to the King her Brother, to crave his advice and aſſiſtance; beſeeching him withall, that he would deſiſt from Hoſtility. The King moſt generouſly anſwered, that, if the Scots would have peace, he would keepe peace; if they would have warre, hee would likewiſe have war. Thus were all things compoſed for the preſent, and *James* the fifth (being not two yeeres old) in Parliament declared King, in *February* 15$\frac{13}{14}$. Yet as, not long* after, ſhe tooke to Huſband *Archibald Dowglaſſe* Earle of *Anguis* (one both for birth and other perfections the eminenteſt ſhe could chooſe in that Countrey) ſome Innovations and troubles enſued. For while *Dowglaſſe* laboured by his private Power to ſupply that Authority, which by marrying him, ſhe ſeemed to have loſt; the Kingdome was broken into factions. The favourers of *Dowglaſſe* alleadged, there was no other way to keepe peace, but by ſubmit-

* Aug. 6. Feb.

1514. ting all to Queen *Margaret*; for, ſince the King of *England* did therefore onely deſiſt from purſuing his Victory, becauſe the adminiſtration of Affaires was in his Siſters hands; it were beſt to leave them there; to erect any other forme of Government, were to draw the Engliſh in againe; And when all their forces united were not able to reſiſt him abſent, what might they attend from him preſent? Eſpecially, when not onely their chiefe ſtrength was left in the late Battaile, but *Henry* ſhould finde a party with his Siſter, (both in her owne name, and in the King her Sonnes) would make for him. The other faction (whereof *Alexander Humes* was chiefe) urged the Ancient Cuſtome of *Scotland*, which in theſe caſes, he ſayd, did alwaies chooſe ſome Protector or Vice-Roy. Neither did it hinder, that they had hitherto deferr'd ſo much to the Vertues of the Queen, that, as long as poſſibly there was pretext for it, by the Kings Teſtament, they had admitted her for Regent: for now, ſince by marriage of *Dowglaſſe*; ſhe had voluntarily relinquiſhed that Power; that the Countrey therefore ſhould reſume their wonted Right and Priviledges. For, if in the moſt quiet and ſerene times, women had beene excluded from Government, how much more now? Yet was not this the onely reaſon that moved *Humes*. For, while hee doubted leaſt the ancient followers of his Houſe ſhould by the Power of *Dowglaſſe* be now drawne from him, he left nothing unattempted that might diminiſh and weaken either him or the Queenes Authority. Therefore he recommended every where *John Stewart* Duke of *Albany*, Couſin-German by the Father to *James* the fourth; who, though then in *France*, was yet of great eſteeme at home. This, againe, was ſeconded by the Arts of the French, who could by no meanes ſuffer the good Affection of that Nation to be divided, much leſſe drawn from them. Howbeit *Loüis* thought not fit openly to diſcover himſelfe, as fearing to offend our King, with whom he was now contracting a ſtrait League and Affinity. Therefore hee would not ſuffer the Duke to come into *Scotland*, though not long before * elected Governour; by the Queenes conſent as was pretended; which yet may be doubted; She proteſting * to our King, afterwards, it was extorted from her.) Howſoever, after the death of *Loüis* Hee was ſent over, (as ſhall be ſhew'd hereafter) well furniſhed both with Men and Money, to take Poſſeſſion of the chiefe Government of all things, during the minority of the Prince.

* March 13. *Leſle.*

March. 1516.

1515.

While buſineſſes were now in preparation for Peace and Allyance betwixt our King and *Loüis* the twelfth, it was thought fit, for diſcharge of the Kings engagement and honour, to ſend to *Flanders*,

Flandres, to diſcover how in thoſe parts their affection ſtood towards the match propoſed betwixt Prince *Charles* and the Princeſſe *Mary*; and withall to require men for the warre intended the next Spring. But, *Charles* having already broken two Articles of the ſaid Treaty of Mariage; one whereof was, that when he came to fourteen yeeres of age he ſhould ſend a Proxy into *England* to contract the Princeſſe *per verba de præſenti*; the other, that at a day appointed he ſhould come himſelfe to *Calais* to eſpouſe her; And our Ambaſſadours, finding for the reſt nothing but delay, and irreſolution; the King would no longer omit to give order that his Siſter ſhould neither be ſleighted, nor his Affairs otherwiſe ſuffer detriment. Therefore, after a ſhort proteſtation, whereby the fault was laid on them; (without yet, that any intention was diſcloſed for diſpoſing the Princeſſe *Mary* in any other place, or of making a League with *Loüis* the twelfth) the King proceeds more roundly in his buſineſſe. Before yet this could be effected, *Pregent* with his Gallies comming to *Suſſex*, by night, and landing there, after a ſhort ſtay was driven backe, and in the retreat, ſhot in the face with an Arrow. Sir *John Wallop* hereupon being ſent into *Normandy*, burnt divers ſhips, and one and twenty Villages, landing many times in deſpight of the French, which ſeemed the more ſtrange, that his Souldiers exceeded not eight hundred men. The French alſo appearing in ſome numbers neer the Engliſh Pale, Sir *Thomas Lovell* was ſent with certain Troops to *Calais*, for the better ſtrengthing of the place; and the rather that *Richard de la Pole* was now gathering forces for ſome great deſigne. But before hee could doe any thing, the Treaty and Peace was made; Among the Articles whereof, though the remanding of *Richard de la Pole* was propos'd, yet *Loüis* would never conſent to it, but ſending him out of *France* gave him an yeerely Penſion.

1514. 15 8.

May.

June.

Bell.

Loüis de Longueville having now power from his King to contract Marriage *par parole de preſent* with our Kings Siſter, She alſo ſent * her procuration to the ſame effect, the Ceremony whereof was ſolemnly held at the Celeſtins in *Paris*, *Septemb.* 14. News whereof was no ſooner brought, but our King, together with the Queen conducting her to the Sea-ſide bid her farewell, and recommended her to the Duke of *Norfolkes* care. Shortly after which, landing at *Boulogne*, and being met by ſome principall perſons deputed by the King, ſhe was attended on, and guided towards *Abbeville*; In the way to which, the old King on horſebacke met and ſaluted her, and afterwards retired himſelfe privately, while ſhee was received into *Abbeville* with much Pompe. Where, on Saint *Dennis* day, *October* 9. ſhee was in Perſon married to *Loüis* the twelfth; who, after beſtowing many Jewels on her, and rich Preſents to thoſe who came along,

Auguſt 22.
Sept. 14.

Octob. 3.

Octob. 9.

1514 disſmiſſed all, ſave a few Officers and Attendants, amongſt whom I finde Mris *Anne Bollen* daughter to Sir *Thomas Bollen*, as one. Howbeit, occaſion was given of bringing over ſome of our prime Nobility and Cavaliers to *Paris*, not long after.

May 18. 1514. *Francois de Valois*, Duke of *Angouleſme* and next Heire male to the Crown (having in *May* before married *Clonde* eldeſt daughter to *Loüis* the twelfth by *Anne* who was Inheritrix of *Bretagne*) deſired now, in the Kings declining age, to give ſome proofe of his valour. Therefore, before the Engliſh departed from *Abbeville*, he cauſed a Juſts to be proclaimed; which, for being ſo extraordinary (the perſons and manner conſidered) I thought worth the relating. The effect thereof was, that, in *November* enſuing, he, with nine Ayds, would anſwer all Comers, that were Gentlemen of Name and Armes, on Horſe-backe and on Foot. The *Hall.* Laws on Horſebacke were, that with ſharpe Speares they ſhould runne five courſes at Tilt, and five more at Randon, being well Armed and covered with pieces of Advantage for their beſt defence. After this to fight twelve ſtroakes with ſharpe Swords. This being done, he and his ayds offered to fight at Barriers with the ſame Perſons, with a Hand-ſpeare and Sword. The conditions were, that if any man were unhors'd, or fel'd fighting on foot, his Armour and Horſe ſhould be rendred to the Officer of Armes. That for this purpoſe an Arch Triumphant ſhould be ſet forth, at the *Tournelles*, neere *Rüe* Saint *Antoine* in *Paris*, on which foure Shields ſhould be placed. That he, who would touch any of them muſt firſt enter his name and Armes. That he, who touched the firſt, which was Silver, ſhould run at Tilt, according to the Articles. Who touched the Golden Shield, ſhould run at Randon, as above mentioned. He that touched the black Shield ſhould fight on foot with Hand-ſpeares and Swords for the one hand; ſix foynes with the Hand-Speare, and then eight ſtroaks to the moſt advantage (if the Speare ſo long held,) and after that twelve ſtroakes with the Sword. He that touched the Tawny Shield, ſhould caſt a Speare on Foot with a Target on his Arme, and after fight with a two-handed Sword. This Proclamation being made, the Duke of *Suffolke*, and Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, and his four Brethren, the Lord *Pinton*, Sir *Edw. Nevile*, Sir *Giles Capell*, *Thomas Chenye*, and others, obtained leave of the King to be at the Challenge; which they ſo haſtned, that before the end of *October* they came to S. *Denis*, where they found the Queen; the ſolemnities for her Coronation, as alſo for her reception at *Paris*, being not yet in readineſſe. *Francois de Valois*, knowing how good men at Armes the Duke of *Suffolk* & Marqueſſe *Dorſet* were, requeſted them to be two of his ayds, to which they aſſented. But while theſe things were in preparing, *Mary* the French Queen was upon the fift of *November* Novem. 5. Crowned in S. *Denis*, the Earle of *Worceſter* and Dr *Weſt* (who were appointed for this purpoſe by our King) attending her in the ſolemnity

lemnity thereof, & *Francois de Valois* (afterwards King) holding the Crowne (which was very waighty) over her Head. The day following ſhe entred *Paris* with great Pompe, and the morrow after, The Juſts began, of which the King and Queen were ſpectators; the King being yet ſo weake that hee lay on a Couch. Theſe Juſts continued three dayes, in which three hundred and five men at Armes were anſwered by the defendants; Among which ſome were ſo hurt, that they dyed not long after: At *Random* and *Tourney*, the Duke of *Suffolke* hurt a Gentleman very dangerouſly, and the Marqueſſe *Dorſet* did no leſſe to an other. Then the Duke overthrew a man both horſe and Armes, and ſo did the Marqueſſe. *Francis* at laſt being hurt, deſires the Duke and Marqueſſe to fight at *Barriers*; who therefore tooke the firſt place againſt all Commers. In the meane while, *Francis* intending an Affront (as was thought) to the Duke, cauſeth a German (the ſtrongeſt Perſon in all the Court) to be Arm'd ſecretly, and preſent himſelfe at *Barriers*; they both did well; yet the Duke at laſt with the butt-end of his ſpeare ſtruck the German till he ſtagger'd, and ſo the Raile was let fall. The Marquis *Dorſet* alſo foil'd another French-man. Then they took ſome breath and return'd to fight againe; when the Duke ſo pommell'd the German about the head, that bloud guſhed from his Noſe, which being done, the German was convayed away ſecretly. Divers other brave feats were done likewiſe, which the reader may find elſewhere. At laſt our Engliſh, with ſingular honour, returned to their King and Maſter, whom they found much comforted for the * birth of another Prince, though not living long after.

But the contentment of *Loüis* the twelfth was almoſt as ſhort; who being aged, and infirme, after ſome eighty dayes poſſeſſion, rather then enjoying of his Queene, dyed *Ianuary* 1. 1515. leaving behind him no iſſue male; though otherwiſe of that eſteeme among his ſubjects, for his care not to oppreſſe them with impoſitions longer then his neceſſities required, that he was call'd *Pere du Peuple*. After him ſucceeded *Francois de Valois*, above mentioned, a Prince of great hope. His age was twenty one or twenty two; wherein as well as in the moſt part of his manners, there was much conformity betwixt our King and him. Particularly, they might be thought two the goodlieſt Perſonages, not of their quality only, but of their time. This Prince was Sacred (to uſe the French terme) at *Reymes* 25. of *Ianuary*, 1515. taking on him, together with the name of King of *France*, that of Duke of *Milan*. To which he ſeemed to have a double Title, both as he was of the houſe of *Orleans*, to which the claime of the ſaid Duchy belong'd, as alſo being comprehended in the Inveſtiture made by the Emperour, according to the Treaty at *Cambray*. And becauſe he ſucceeded as well to the Right, as to the meanes of recovering the ſaid Duchy, he thought on nothing more then how to vindicate the glory his Predeceſſors had loſt in that attempt. His firſt care was how to aſſure himſelf of our King:

1514

November 6
November. 7

Hall.

Novemb.

$15\frac{13}{14}$

Jan. 1.

Jan. 25.

1508.

This

1515. This he procures, partly by addreſſing himſelfe to *Woolſey*, who then prevail'd moſt with the King and partly by giving great Conditions. And thus the * laſt Treaty of Peace with *Loüis* the twelfth, (being to endure but till the firſt of *January* * next,) was (as I find both by ours and the French Records) renewed in the ſame terms, the 5 of *April* following, and prorogued for terme of their joynt lives, and one yeare after. Only better order was given for depredations then before; It being agreed now, that no Merchant of either Nation ſhould depart out of their Ports, without giving Caution to their ſeverall Admiralls, that no wrong or moleſtation ſhould be done by Sea.

Aug. 7. 1514 * 1516.

April. 5.

May 8. *I. du Till.* Upon the 8. of *May*, the French King agreed alſo to pay at certaine dayes a Million of Crownes to our King; (for ſo the French have it,) which whether it were a new ſtipulation, or that formerly agreed on by *Loüis* the twelfth, appears not to me; and *Polydorey's* words are obſcure, which import only *pretium pro pace datum*. The

May. 15. 15. of *May* following, th. Scottiſh enter'd into this Treaty, (for they were comprehended under a condition of keeping the peace.)

Ja. 2. 15 16/15. *Tillet.* Neither did our King eaſily beleive that under hand they would have made any other. Notwithſtanding which, the French and they did, upon the ſecond of *January* following, privately enter into a League offenſive and defenſive againſt *England*.

Febru. 3. Together with the propoſing of this Treaty (in which the Duke of *Suffolke*, Sir *Richard Wingfeild* Deputy of *Calais*, and Doctor *Weſt*, were employ'd,) our King ſent a Letter to the Queen his Siſter; wherein he deſired to know, how ſhe ſtood affected to her returne to *England*; deſiring her withall not to Match without his Conſent. She, on the other ſide, who had privatly engaged her affection to *Charles* Duke of *Suffolke*, made no great difficulty to diſcover her ſelfe to both Kings; intreating *Francis* to mediate this Marriage, and our King to approve it. Unto the former *Francis* eaſily agreed, (though once intending to propoſe a match betwixt her and the Duke of *Savoye*;) but our King, for the Conſervation of his dignity, held a little off; However he had long ſince deſigned her to *Suffolke*. The Queene alſo, beleiving that this formality was the greateſt impediment, did not proceed without ſome ſcruple, though proteſting (as appeares by an Originall) that if the King would have her Married in any place, ſave where her Mind was, ſhe would ſhut her ſelfe up in ſome Religious-houſe. Thus, without any great Pompe, being ſecretly Married, the Queen writ

March. Letters of excuſe to the King her Brother, taking the fault (if any were) on her ſelfe; and together, for the more clearing the Duke of *Suffolke*, profeſſed that ſhe prefixed the ſpace of foure dayes to him, in which ſhe ſaid, unleſſe hee could obtaine her good-will, he ſhould be out of all hope of enjoying her. Whereby, as alſo through the good office of *Francis*, who (fearing leaſt our King by her meanes ſhould contract ſome greater Alliance) did further this marriage,

Marriage, our King did by degrees restore them to his favour; *Woolsey* also not a little contributing thereunto; while he told our King, how much better she was bestow'd on him, then on some Person of quality in *France.* 1515.

Thus having prepared all things for their departure, they tooke their leave of the French Court; the Queen carrying with her, of the Jewels, Plate, and Tapisseries of *Loüis* the twelfth, to the value of two hundred thousand Crownes, as the French have it. Among which a great Diamond call'd *Le Miroir de Naples* (as I finde by our Records) was one; though not without much reluctation of *Francis*, who would faine have redeem'd it at a great price. Order also was taken for the payment of her Joynture, being sixty thousand Crownes yearly. Whereupon the Queene and Duke with all her traine (save Mrs. *Anne Bolen*, who stayed in the French Court) * began their Journey; to the satisfaction of *Francis*, as hoping by their meanes to confirme his so much desired Peace, and Treaty with our King. Thus arriving at *Calais* 25. of *April*, and from thence coming to *Dover*, and after to *Greenwich*; they were publiquely married 13. of *May*. Thus our King's two Sisters, after their being joyn'd with great Princes, did not disdaine to accept inferiour Persons for their Husbands. April 19. April. 25. May. 13.

But that I may returne to my proposed Method in this History; I shall set downe the Lawes enacted in the Parliament (*sexto* of this King) beginning *February quinto*; where I finde one of their chiefe cares was, to put into better order the former Lawes concerning Apparell; which yet was not so well digested, but that the yeare following, even the Law it selfe Chang'd fashion. Howsoever, that of Archery, made before, was not only confirmed, but made perpetuall; so that, notwithstanding the use of Caleevers or Hand-guns (for Muskets were not yet known) it was thought fit to continue the Bow. Wherein I cannot but commend the constancy, if not wisdome of those times; it being certaine, that, when he that carries the Caleever goes unarm'd, the Arrow will have the same effect within its distance that the bullet, and can, againe, for one shot returne two. Besides, as they used their Halberts, with their Bow, they could fall to execution on the Enemy with great advantage. I cannot deny yet but against the Pike they were of lesse force, then the Caleevers. Therefore I beleeve the meaning of these times was, to command it as an exercise to the common people, and for the rest reserve it for those occasions, where they might be of use. Howsoever, Hand-guns and Crosse-bowes were forbidden under certain Penalties, to all Men that had lesse then five hundred Marks *per annum*. The wages for Artificers also was setled, and the price of Water-men. A Penalty also was impos'd on those who changed Tillage into Pasture. And very good order taken, concerning deceit in Cloth, as being the only cause they had not so good vent abroad. The Commission of Sewers extending Feb. 5. 15$\frac{15}{14}$ Reg. 6.

1515. tending to the making up of the Sea-walls, &c. in *England*, the Marches of *Calais*, *Guiſnes*, and *Hames*, (begun *ſexto Henrici ſexti*, and continued *quarto Henrici ſeptimi*, for twenty five years,) being now upon exſpiration, was continued alſo for ten yeares more. It was commanded alſo, that the River of *Canterbury* ſhould be deepned. It was provided alſo, that Wool ſhould not be carryed beyond Sea; which was to the benefit of Clothiers. No ſecond Letters Patents alſo might be taken, without mentioning the firſt. Which was very equall, both for the King and Subject. And becauſe divers now, being weary with ſitting ſo long in Parliament, did depart home without Licenſe, (they only remaining who factiouſly combined themſelves, with intention to gaine the Major part of voyces, in any thing they deſired to obtain) It was ordered they ſhould loſe their wages, if they went without the leave of the Speaker, and Common houſe, to be entred in the Booke of the Clerke of the Parliament.

During the ſtay of the French-Dowager and her Husband, a Treaty alſo paſt concerning the reſtitution of *Tournay*, upon a ſum of Money offer'd. Howbeit, as our King demanded in exchange thereof, the County of *Guiſnes*, *or Ardres*, *Francis*, who deſired not any enlarging of the Engliſh Pale, fell off, ſo that our King provided for defence. For which purpoſe, as well as diminiſhing his charge in keeping an exceſſive Garriſon, He rais'd a Cittadell there; without that *Francis* thought fit either to interrupt the deſigne, or otherwiſe to offend our King; as hoping, by the meanes of *Woolſey*, (to whom, together with the unuſefulneſſe of *Tournay*, the repreſented a Cardinall's Hatt) to obtaine his deſire. And it was the true bait to take him; hee being extreamly ambitious of that dignity; both as he thought it would ſecure his greatneſſe, and as it enabled him to ſerve his King and Maſter's turne. Therefore he had many wayes attempted it, and particularly by the intervention of Cardinall *Hadrian de Caſtello* an *Italian* (Biſhop of *Bath*, and the Pope's Collector in *England*) not omitting together to uſe the help of *Sylveſter* (Italian likewiſe) Biſhop of *Worceſter*; and the rather that they were both at *Rome*, where Cardinall *Bambridge* alſo on our Kings part reſided: But this Cardinall dying *July* 14. 1514.
March. 4. not without ſuſpition of Poyſon, our King having lately * given
1514. *Woolſey* the Biſhoprick of *Lincolne*, he ſurrendred it now, and * took
Nov. 6. the Arch-Biſhoprick of *Yorke*; and, not ſatisfied herewith, aſpir'd
1514. alſo to be ſucceſſor in the Cardinall-ſhip; wherein, becauſe it ſeems, he conceiv'd that *Adrian* Biſhop of *Bath* had not ſerved him faithfully, he oppos'd him in the Collectorſhip, and put *Polydore Virgil* (his Subcollecter) in the Tower (from whence he came not * ſuddainly, nor without the Pope's mediation) He uſed therefore, beſides his ordinary meanes and friends in *Rome*, the help of *Francis*; who, for the more obliging of him, ſent firſt Newes, that, in *Sept.*
1515. this yeare, his ſuite was granted, and the Title of *Sanctæ Ceciliæ*
Sept. 7.

trans

1515. November.

trans Tiberim * conferr'd on him; for the maintaining of the Charges whereof, he had at this time in Farme at very eaſie Rates the Biſhopricks of *Bath*, *Worceſter*, and *Hereford*, in regard the Biſhops of theſe places liv'd beyond Sea; he got alſo ſucceſſively the Biſhopricks of [a] *Bath*, [b] *Durham*, and [c] *Wincheſter*, which he ſo exchang'd, as hee held ever one of them with his Arch-Biſhoprick; he held alſo in *Commendum* the [d] Abbey of Saint *Albon's*, and many other Eccleſiaſticall preferments, and had the diſpoſing of moſt of the Benefices that fell voyd. Alſo, ſhortly after his being conſtituted Arch-Biſhop of *Yorke*, *William Warham* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, reſigning to the King voluntarily the place of Lord Chancellor, and retiring himſelfe from Court, by reaſon of his age, (or perchance ſome diſcontent) to a private life, that Place was conferred on him. Thus were dignities and wealth heaped ſo faſt on *Wooliey*, that, being in his nature inſolent, hee grew at length intolerable. Neither could thoſe excellent parts, wherewith he was endowed, exempt him; In ſo much, that not onely much Arrogance, but extreame Vanity was obſerved in him, whereas yet nothing commends Church-men ſo much as a pious Modeſty: All degrees of Perſons, but eſpecially theirs, being like Coines or Meddalls; to which, howſoever vertue give the ſtampe and impreſſion, Humility muſt give the weight. Yet this Cardinall, contrary to all example, is noted by *Polydore* to have uſed ſilke and Gold in his outward Veſtments and even ſaddles: He cauſed alſo the Cardinalls Hatt to be borne by ſome principall Perſon before him, on a great height, (*Loco cujuſdam Idoli ſacri,*) and, when he came to the King's Chappell, would admit no place to reſt it on, but the very Altar; He had beſides, his Sarjeant at Armes and Mace, and two Gentlemen carrying two Pillars of Silver, beſides his Croſſe-bearer; concerning which it is obſerved, that he did beare the Croſſe of *Yorke* ſomewhat to the prejudice of that of *Canterbury*, which perchance might be ſome cauſe of diſcontentment to the Arch-Biſhop *Warham*. In concluſion, all his Actions were ſuch as argued a haughtier ſpirit than could become in his Place (as *Polydore* will have it.)

[a] 1518.
[b] 1522.
[c] 1528.
[d] 1521.

Polyd.

The Pope, being intentive now to a Warre againſt the Turke, * requires ayde from the Engliſh Clergy, deſiring our King to give his aſſiſtance therein; which they yet (in their * Synod) deprecated, alleadging (by Letter to the Pope dated *November* 25. 1515.) that they were exhauſted through their Contribution to the Warre of *France*, at the inſtigation of *Julius* the ſecond; remonſtrating further, that, by a decree of the Councell of *Conſtance*, the Pope could impoſe no Tributes on the Church, but in caſe of neceſſity, and by a Generall Councell.

*Aug.
*Nov. 12.
Nov. 25.

The twelfth of this Moneth the Parliament ſate againe; wherein, among other Acts, further Order was given, for preventing

Novemb. 12. Regn. 7.

1515. venting Tillage to be turned into Paſture. A repeale of Licenſes alſo to ſtrangers for carrying in of *Gaſcoigne* and *Guyenne* wines, or *Tholouſe* Woad was enacted. Which was much to the encreaſe of our Shipping. A time was alſo prefixt, within which all Motions, Suites, Bills, Enditements or Informations popular ſhall be ſued, either for the King or Party, and this ſetled a great deale of quietneſſe. The Act concerning Labourers wages, made the yeare preceding, was alſo repealed, for as much as concern'd certaine Labourers in *London*.

Towards the end of this Parliament, Sir *Edward Poynings* deſiring to be diſcharged from his Government in *Tournay*, and the adjoyning places of *Mortaigne* and Saint *Amand*, Sir *William Blunt*, Lord *Mountjoy* was ſubſtituted; who appointing Sir *Sampſon Norton* to bee his Marſhall, ſo offended the People, that they roſe in Armes: Neither would they bee quieted, till the ſaid Sir *Sampſon* was baniſhed for ever. But, if *Poynings* returned to his Counſellor's place, divers others went away from it. For, beſides the Arch-Biſhop *Warham*, Biſhop *Fox*, offended with the Cardinall, retired himſelfe; deſiring this onely of the King, that hee would not ſuffer the Servant to bee greater then his Maſter. To which the King anſwered preſently, that it ſhould be his Care, that thoſe who were his Subjects ſhould obey and not Command. Then *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke* craved leave to goe to his Country houſe. For, as the Kings coffers were much exhauſted by his late warres and Triumphs, ſo not finding it eaſie to ſupply thoſe vaſt expences, which (in Pageants and deviſes) increaſed daily, hee wiſely withdrew himſelfe: *Charles* Duke of *Suffolke* alſo, not long after, following them. For, having borrowed Money of the King for his Journey into *France*, and being unable (through the Cardinal's oppoſition) to obtaine remiſſion thereof, or otherwiſe to pay it preſently, hee retir'd into the Country; ſo that the Cardinall had his free ſcope and liberty to ſway all things, under Colour of doing the King ſervice. For, whatſoever hee went about, that was his Pretence; though (for the moſt part) in labouring to Reforme, hee did nothing but Innovate. Hence many Clamors aroſe among the People; who being capable of almoſt nothing but their owne Antient Cuſtomes, ſeldome indure a change, though for their bettering and advantage. Hence was it, that they thought none ſo true among them, as thoſe, who traduced the preſent Government; nor ſo wiſe, as thoſe, who ſuſpected moſt, though beyand all probability. There was yet occaſion enough to feare *Woolſey*; being obſerved to have that Aſcendant over the King's diſpoſition, as he knew not how to be ſerious, or all moſt merry, without him. In either of which waves

ways he ſtill introduced ſomething for his own ends; for no man ſtudied them more. One example whereof I will here inſert. The Cardinall, having for his firſt Biſhopricke, that of *Tournay*, was not yet without an ancient Competitor, one *Loüis Guillart* a French-man, to whom it formerly appertained: This man, grudging to be thus diſpoſſeſt, obtaines from the Pope a Bull, whereby he was reſtor'd to that place, (as farre as words could carry it,) with a Clauſe of *Uſque ad Invocationem Brachij Sæcularis*, both in the City and without. So that the French and Flemmings ſeem'd equally interreſted thereby to procure his Conſervation. Our King underſtanding hereof, and knowing well the dangerous conſequence, * writes to the Biſhops of *Bath* and *Worceſter*, his Agents then at *Rome*, to proteſt againſt this ſtrange and inordinate Bull, (as he termes it in his Letters;) commanding them withall (not without ſome threats) to labour that it might be recall'd, as tending not only to the raiſing of Sedition in that City, and Quarrells betwixt him and the confining Princes, but to the wrongfull diſplacing of the Cardinall, who, being ſubrogated to the other as well in conformity to the right of his King, as upon the contumacy or negligence of the other (who had not as then done his Homage and fealty for his Temporalties) could not now be remov'd without much ſcandall. Before this, the Cardinall had deſired *Francis* to beſtow on *Guillart* ſome other Biſhoprick: but *Francis* delaying to give ſatisfaction herein, ſo incenſed the Cardinall, that he became his ſecret enemy afterward, (as *Polydore* hath it.) Hereupon he intimates to *Maximilian*, that, notwithſtanding the * late League betwixt *England* and *France*, there was probability, the King would not ſuffer *France* to grow greater by the acquiſition of *Milan* * (*Maximilian* therefore ſent, in the name of *Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, one *Anchiſtes Vïs-Conte*, a *Milaneſe*, to implore our King's aſſiſtance againſt *Francis*, in men or money. Of which alſo there was ſome hope ſecretly given by *Woolſey*.) However, our King (in ſo great a cauſe) would reſolve nothing, without communicating the buſineſſe firſt to the ancienteſt and wiſeſt of his Counſellors. Therefore recalling *Warham*, *Fox*, the Duke of *Norfolke*, *Lovell*, and divers others, he demanded their opinion in full Counſell; where *Woolſey* ſpeaking firſt, alleadged, that *Francis* had already broken the Treaty, by favouring *Richard de la Pole* a Fugitive and Traytor; in aſſiſting thoſe Scots, which oppos'd his Siſter Queen *Margaret*; And in contriving a ſecret League with that Nation, to the prejudice of that into which they lately entred with *England*. Beſides, that *Francis* with-held ſome goods and Jewells of Queen *Mary*. That when all this were otherwiſe, yet it ſtood not with reaſon of State to ſuffer *France* to grow any greater. Laſtly, he ſaid all this might be done warily, and without effuſion of Engliſh bloud, only when he would but privatly aſſiſt *Maximilian*. This was no ſooner uttered, but *Thomas* Biſhop of

1515

1513

* 1517. March.

Polydor. Virg.

April. 5. 1515.

* 1516.

Novemb.

1515. *Polyd. Virg.*

Dureſme riſeth up, and, not only confirmes the Cardinalls ſpeech, but extolls it with ſome palpable flatteries. Neither muſt it ſeeme ſtrange, that the Church-men concurr'd in this Vote; it being likely that (beſides Cardinall *Woolſey's* particular animoſity againſt *Francis* the firſt) *Leo* the tenth had a hand herein, as knowing how much ſafer it was for *Italy*, that a ſingle Duke ſhould governe *Milan*, then ſuch a potent Prince as *Francis* the firſt) all the others at the Table yet were of another opinion. Among whom therefore a reply was made to this effect.

That to breake a Treaty or League (ſolemnly ſworne) did ſeem a ſtrange Counſell in any, but eſpecially in a Divine. That, for their parts, they conceiv'd the violating of publique faith was to call God and man in judgement againſt them. They would not deny yet, but juſt cauſe of diſſolving Leagues might be given. But then that the wronged party ought both to proteſt the fault and denounce warre. That, if any other Courſe ſhould be allowed among Princes, and Eſtates, there were no ground for upholding truth and Juſtice; without which yet the Law of Nations and even Mankinde it ſelfe could not ſubſiſt. That therefore it were good to examine the grounds of the proceedings mentioned. In which though it could not be denyed but *Richard de la Pole* was admitted ſtill in *France*; yet, whether as Traytor to his Country, or a Perſon that came thither only for ſafety of his life, might be queſtion'd. That if the Spies, they had on *Richard*, ſaid true, his deſigne was only to goe into *Italy* with *Francis* the firſt, and then there could be no danger on his part. And for the other point, which was aſſiſting the Scottiſh faction againſt Queen *Margaret*, or contriving a ſecret League which might be a prejudice to the former, much might be ſaid; yet if buſineſſes were well examined, both the Treatyes of *Francis* might conſiſt; This latter with *Scotland* being proviſionall only, in caſe we ſhould come to a Rupture with *France*. They would not deny yet, but herein an advantage was taken by the French, ſomewhat againſt the Lawes of honour. But that we might make a benefit thereof. For, while *Francis* was in *Italy*, and farre remote from *Scotland*, it was eaſie for his Majeſty, under colour of reſiſting the new Faction ſet up by the French in *Scotland*, to be more then reveng'd. For, whether in his Siſter's name or his own, it was not hard to reduce a devided Country to his devotion. And that this might be thought a greater addition to him, then *Milan* to the French, when yet they could obtain it; that to take any other courſe, was to ſeek cauſes of quarrell, without colour, either of reaſon or Juſtice; to draw the French on himſelfe; to interrupt his way to *Scotland*, which now lay open; and laſtly to make him looſe credit both at home and abroad. The King, who knew the oppoſition among his Counſellors, ſeemed to temper the diverſity of opinions in a middle way; yet ſo, as, in effect, he inclined to the Cardinall. Therefore he ſaid,

he

hee would hinder the designes of *Francis*, without comming yet to a manifest Rupture; whereof also occasion was given. For as *Francis* being * Confederate with *Charles*, (now sixteene yeeres old, and taking on him the Government of the *Low-Countries*) as also with the Venetians, had renewed a war in *Italy*, and after a bloudy Battell at *Marignan*, had compelled *Maximilian Sforza* to resigne his right to *Milan*, and accept a Pension in *France*; So our King, who suspected this great addition to *Francis* might be dammageable to him, resolved secretly to assist the Emperor, with whom also the Pope and *Ferdinand* joynd, for the defence of *Italy*, and opposition of the Invaders. Returning for this purpose by *Richard Pace* (late servant to Cardinall *Bambridge*, and, for the present Secretary of State) not onely a huge summe of Money; but giving him Commission to treat both with the Emperor and *Francesco Sforza*, brother to the late Duke of *Milan*, concerning the loane thereof, and a strict League upon certaine conditions. Among which it was agreed, That, if *Milan* were recovered, such a yeerely tribute or Pension should be payd our King as this supply of Money did deserve; *Woolsey* not forgetting also, (after his usuall manner) to capitulate for an Annuall payment of ten thousand Duckats to himselfe. Hereupon, *Pace*, levying for the Emperors service certaine Regiments of *Suisse*, (who willingly entred this warre, both as they were obliged to the conservation of *Sforzas* interest, and as they desired to revenge their losse at *Marignan*,) the Emperour in person marcheth towards *Milan*. Neither did it hinder him, that the Pope was fallen away to *Francis*, and had appointed an Interview at *Bononia*, for the accommodating of their mutuall affaires; the Pope promising *Parma* and *Piacenza* to *Francis*; and he, on the other side, stipulating to recover *Urbin* for the Pope, (as indeed followed the next yeere.) Where also an Agreement called the *Concordat* was made, which the French Writers observe as derogatory to the Pragmatike Sanction, and the Liberties of the Gallicane Church. Being thus upon his way, *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, who was appointed by *Francis* to defend his Acquisitions in *Italy*, sends to his King for reliefe, preparing in the mean time to defend himselfe the best he could. But *Maximilian* being now in a faire way of obtaining his desires, retires suddenly into *Germany*; neither could he alleadge other cause of it, then a simple diffidence of the *Suisse*, (as *Polydore* hath it;) though *Guicciardine* tels another reason; which was, that *Maximilian* receiving no supply of money from *England*, and being not provided himselfe to pay them, was forced to desist. This encouraged the French and Venetian to proceed in their designes of besieging *Brescia*, which they got; but being repuls'd at *Verona*, *Maximilian* takes heart againe, and sends *Matteo* Cardinall of *Sedun* (or *Sitten*) into *England*, to negotiate for a supply of money, and withall to excuse his late

1515.

* April.

* Sept. 13.

Novemb.

Records.

Decemb. 11.

1516

May.

Octob.

1516 late Retrait, both for his diſtruſt of the *Suiſſe*, as alſo becauſe they openly refuſed to fight againſt ſome of their Countreymen, who were under *Bourbon*. Beſides, as he had long entertained our King with a hope that he would reſigne the Empire to him, ſo on this occaſion (as I finde by an Originall from Sir *Robert Wingfield*, dated 17 *May* 1516.) he renews the propoſitions; offering, beſides to give him the Dutchy of *Milan*; for the more aſſurance whereof, deſiring our King to paſſe the Seas to *Calais*, and ſo to take his way through the *Low-countries*, till he came to the City of *Triers*; where he, together with the Electors would meet, for performance of the aforeſaid Reſignation of the Empire; which alſo being done, he propoſed that an Army from thence ſhould invade *France*, while our King with one thouſand Horſe, and one thouſand Archers ſhould paſſe through *Germany* to *Coyre*, and ſo over the Lake of *Como* to the State and City of *Milan*; where having repos'd a while, *Maximilian* promiſed to goe along with him to *Rome*, to ſee him receive the Imperiall Crowne; which being done, he ſaid, our King might chooſe whether he would make an honourable Peace with *France*, or warre, for recovering his right; which, he ſaid, the Pope and all Chriſtian Princes could not but like well of. And thus far *Wingfield*; To whoſe relation though our King gave as much credit, as a profeſſion often made by *Maximilian* could merit; Yet as he conſidered withall, that there was much improbability in the offer, and the Action it ſelfe in a manner without Precedent; and, howſoever, that he ſhould engage his Kingdome for the Affaire of the Empire, (it being then ſo ſcant of moneys, as *Maximilian* was nick-named *Pochi-Dinari*.) So by his anſwer in *June* following, he wiſhed *Wingfield* to tell *Maximilian*, that though he thankfully accepted thoſe offers, yet that he deſired they might be kept ſecret untill the French were driven out of *Italy*. For which purpoſe, (as well as the reaſons before ſet down) I finde he promiſed *Maximilian* ſome more money, excuſing together the former defect of payment, with laying the fault on ſome *Genoua* Marchants. Beſides, at the Cardinall of *Seduns* intreaty in the Emperors name, he entred into a ſtrict League with *Maximilian*; which yet, becauſe it laſted not, I ſhall not particularly mention. For *Maximilian*, conſidering how little truſt he could repoſe in our Cardinall for the obtaining of money, and (for the reſt) being wearied with the wars, firſt makes a Truce with his adverſaries, and particularly the Venetians; after which, for a ſumme of money being two hundred thouſand Ducats, he reſtores *Verona* unto them, and then makes a Peace. To which purpoſe the death of *Ferdinand* did ſerve; who departing this life in the beginning of *Anno* 1516, did free himſelfe rather then the world, from not a few troubles, whereof he was the firſt procurer and Authour. This Prince (leaving to his Succeſſors the ſtyle of *Catholico*)

May 17.

June.

Novem. 2.

Decemb.
Jan. 23
15$\frac{16}{17}$.

tholico) was thought the moſt active and politique of his time. Inſomuch that he hardly took reſt, or ſuffred it in others. No man knew better how to ſerve his turne on every body, or to make their ends conduce to his. But while he eſcaped not the opinion and the name of falſe, (which yet his Countrey writers palliate no otherwiſe then with calling it *Saber-raynar*) he neither complied with his dignity, nor indeed the rules of wiſdome; true reaſon of State conſiſting of ſuch ſolid Maximes, that it hath as little need of deceit as a ſure game at Cheſſe of a falſe draught; there is no uſe of it, therefore, among the wiſer ſort; as being onely a ſupply of ignorance among the ruder and worſe kind of Stateſmen. Beſides, it appeares ſo much worſe in publique affaires then private, as it is never almoſt hid or unrevenged. Reputation againe is ſtill loſt thereby; which yet how much it concerns Princes, none can better tell then, ſuch as imagine them without it. This is ſtrange of him, that being of Vaſt poſſeſſions, enriched much from the Indies, proſperous in almoſt all his attempts, of a frugall diſpoſition, and long life; (for he attained ſixty three) there was hardly yet found in his Coffers enough to diſcharge his Interring, though not very ſumptuous; That I may ſay nothing of his debts. His Will and Teſtament declared his daughter *Juana* of *Caſtile* to be his heire. Onely, becauſe of her defect of wiſdome, and her ſonnes young Age, He appointed the Cardinall *Ximenes* Archbiſhop of *Toledo* to Governe, till the ſaid *Charles* came to *Caſtilla*. He left alſo to *Fernando*, brother to *Charles*, great poſſeſſions and Legacies, as loving him inwardly beſt; both that being born at *Alcala* 1503, he was a native of *Spaine*, (which his brother was not,) and that he gave much hope of towardlineſſe, and beſides bore his name. Inſomuch that, could he have contriv'd it handſomely, it is thought he would have made him his Heire in *Spaine*: ſundry particularities whereof, concurring much with the Spaniſh Hiſtory, being advertis'd to our King by Sir *John Stile* his Ambaſſador there; Our King and Queen (as they had before done for *Loüis* the twelfth) cauſed a ſolemne obſequie for him to be kept in the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Pauls* in *London*. But they mourned not long; the birth of our Princeſſe *Mary* following ſhortly after, upon the eighteenth of *February* $15\frac{16}{15}$.

1516.

Curita.

1503.

Sandov.

Feb. 18.

Ferdinand thus dead, *Charles*, who thought himſelfe as capable of governing *Caſtilla* as he was of the *Low-countries* (which *Maximilian* the laſt yeere put into his hands) ſends immediately to *Spaine*, to clame the Right and Title; which alſo was acknowledged; yet ſo, as it was thought fit to publiſh it together with his Mothers; ſo that it ranne thus, *Donna Juana*, and *Don Carlos*, Queen and King of *Caſtilla*, *Leon*, and *Arragon*, *&c. Navarre* (which was now incorporated to them) being not forgotten; He determined alſo in perſon to goe thither. For which purpoſe, as well as the better ſecuring the *Low countries* in his abſence, he paſt ſeverall

1516. verall Treaties with *Francis* and our King; The former was concluded at *Noyon*, *Aug.*15. where it was agreed, That within ſix Moneths following *Henry d' Albret* (*Jehan d' Albret*, and *Catherine* his wife being newly dead) ſhould be reſtored to the Kingdome of *Navarre*, or at leaſt ſufficient content given him otherwiſe; And if not, that it ſhould be lawfull for *Francis* to aſſiſt him. That *Charles* ſhould marry *Loüiſe* daughter of *Francis*, (then not a yeere old) who in conſideration thereof ſhould renounce his claim to *Naples*, and accept a Penſion of one hundred thouſand Crowns yeerely. That the Venetians giving the Emperour two hundred thouſand Ducats, he ſhould deliver them *Venora*. Beſides which, their Orders of Chevalry were ſent to each other, and an interview appointed, which yet tooke no more effect than the Treaty it ſelfe. The latter League was formed at *London*, *October* 29. betwixt *Joane* and *Charles* of *Caſtile*, the Emperor *Maximilian*, and our King, to this effect.

Bellay.

Sandoval

Octob.29.

That the Confederats ſhould defend one another, and bring Ayd by Land at their owne Coſts, (being requir'd) within a moneth after complaint, againſt the enemy.

If the enemy have Port-Townes &c. then the warre ſhall be alſo made by Sea, by them both, and the Fleet ſupplied if it be diminiſh'd, &c.

That no peace ſhall be made with the enemy, or Truce, but by mutuall conſent.

Place alſo was left for other Princes whatſoever, to come into this League within eight Moneths, by the conſent of all the Confederates.

That *Leo* the tenth ſhall be comprehended in this League, if he will excommunicate the Perſons and States that ſhall moleſt the Confederates. and that he enter within ſix moneths.

That the *Suiſſe* ſhall be admitted, if they will; ſo that they bind themſelves to ſerve under the Confederates, and not under any other Prince; And, on thoſe conditions to have Penſions.

I muſt now returne to the buſineſſe of *Scotland*, (intermitted a while, that I might not breake the context of my Hiſtory,) and therein call to minde, how *John Stewart* Duke of *Albany*, having been recall'd home, was preſently upon his arrivall (which was *May* 20. 1515.) declared Vice-Roy, till the King came to full age. Neither did it hinder, that he was born in the time of his Fathers baniſhment; and, for the reſt, ſuch a ſtranger, that he could not ſpeake the Countrey Language. For as a ſingular opinion of his worth went before, and the recommendation of the French accompanied him, ſo was he ſaluted with that univerſall applauſe wherewith new comers that have given hope of themſelves, are uſually welcom'd. The buſineſſes of the Countrey were yet ſo ſtrange to him, that he was inforced to uſe the directions of others. In this number, one *Iohn Hepburne* did much appeare. His

May 20. 1515.

Buchan.

firſt

first advise was, that he should not punish the Delinquents, both as they were many, and well allyed; and as it would gaine him strong Enemies. That he had more use of the peoples affections, then to alter them at his first entrance. That therefore his chiefe endeavour should be, to make good his Authority; neither should hee oppresse any, but those who were in estate to oppose him; amongst which three were most considerable, *Archibald Douglasse* was one, who, besides that he had married the Queene, was a person much in favour with the People. Secondly, *Alexander Humes*, a busie, potent, and able Lord. Thirdly, *Andrew Forman*, whose Riches were such, as alone would suffice for a great designe. The Vice-Roy, taking this advice into consideration, thought not fit yet to begin with *Douglasse*, lest the Queene, for protecting him should draw the English into *Scotland*, which he most doubted. Besides, he was so gracious with the greatest part of the Kingdome, that he was to be undermined rather then assaulted. And for *Forman*, he thought it was nothing but his wealth that made him envied. Onely *Humes* he thought it not amisse to question; as having between vehement suspitions, and some proofes, not a little matter against him. *Humes* having some notice hereof, changes his party, and now strives to combine with *Douglasse*, and the Queen. Therefore he laments to them the fortune of the King, who was fallen into the hands of one, who besides that he was a stranger to his Countrey, might be suspected for attempting on his Person, as being next Heire to the Crowne, after the King and his brother. That this was the more probable, because his Father *Alexander* (as the Scottish Writers have it) had taken the like course with his eldest brother *James* the third, whom he would have dispossest of the Kingdome. That there was no way to avoyd these dangers, but to flie with her sonne into *England*, (to which also our King had perswaded her privately,) and recommended the rest to his care. This advice (whether spoken by *Humes* to discover the Queenes designes, and thereupon to make his advantage with the Vice-Roy, or that he did indeed thinke this to be the best way for the Kings safety,) was brought beforehand to the Vice-Roy, who believing it easily, thought fit to seize on *Sterling-castle*, in which the young King and his mother were, and to put a Guard on them; yet admits some, who were of great credit, to give by turnes their directions for the young Kings education, and useth briefly some such providences as might argue all was done with a good intention; among which the taking an Oath of Fidelity to the young King, was most remarkable. This while *Humes*, with his brother *William*, refusing to obey a Citation to the Parliament, and being thereupon proscribed, fled to *England*; *Douglasse* also taking the

1516.

Buchan.

Aug. 10. 1515.

July 12. *Buch.*

1516. Queen with him followed ſhortly after, ſtaying yet at *Harbottle*-caſtle in *Northumberland*, by our Kings command, till further order was given. It appeared not yet, whether this were an eſcape in them, or that the Vice-Roy were under-hand conſenting to their departure, onely to be freer for his deſignes. Howſoever, he ſent inſtantly to our King, to cleare himſelfe from all ſiniſter practiſes againſt the Queene. He alſo labours the friends of *Douglaſſe* and *Humes* to draw them home, promiſing for this purpoſe all the good conditions that could be required. *Humes* takes the invitation, and returnes; *Douglaſſe* alſo (conſidering the Queene was with Childe, and neere her time, and therefore unable to remove any way farre) makes uſe of this occaſion to ſettle his Affaires at home. The Queene, in the meane while, being * brought to bed of a daughter, (whom ſhee called *Margaret*) by eaſie journeys comes to the Engliſh Court in the next Spring 1516. Yet were not buſineſſes in *Scotland* ſo quieted; for *Alexander Humes* having ſubmitted himſelfe (as aforeſaid) to the Vice-Roy, who gave him to the cuſtody of his brother in law, *James Hamilton* Earle of *Arran*, upon paine of death yet if he ſuffered him to depart; ſhortly after by repreſenting to *Hamilton* ſome neerneſſe of blood on his part, which might enable him to be Vice-roy, perſwaded the Earle to eſcape away together with him; while the Vice-roy being not grieved (perchance) thus to be quit of thoſe he ſuſpected moſt, ſeemes now to be at reſt. Onely he would not omit to take this advantage againſt *Hamilton*; therefore he battered and tooke his Caſtle; *Humes* in the meane time ravaging the Countrey about *Dunbar*. The Vice-roy hearing this, returnes to his wonted invitations of both him and *Hamilton* to come backe. *Hamilton* accepts it firſt, and *Humes* after; but *Humes* being ſummon'd againe to come to the Parliament, thinks fit (for redeeming his former fault when he laſt abſented himſelfe) to appeare. He perſwades his brother *William* alſo to goe with him, though many of their friends oppos'd it; for as his brother was equall with him in power and Authority, ſo the keeping him backe would have conduced perchance to the ſecuring of both. But he, confident of good uſage, neglects the advice, and comes with his brother to Court; where being ſeiz'd on, they were committed to divers priſons, for crimes objected againſt them; and particularly againſt *Alexander*, who was thought to have uſed ſome treachery in *Flodden*-Battell, if not to have kill'd the King. All which though hee conceived either ſuggeſted malicioufly againſt him, or at leaſt by a long intermiſſion to have been antiquated and forgiven, yet prevailed not; his Head and his Brothers being ſtrucke off in *October* 1516. Shortly after which (as *Leſlæus* hath it) the Kings younger Brother dying, the Duke of *Albany* obtained in Parliament to be declared next heire. Which being done, he enters (in *January* following

* Octob. 7. 1515.

Octob. 12. 1515.

Sept. 24.

Buch.

Octob. *Leſle.* Novemb. Jan. 1517. 1518.

following) into a League with *Francis*, and so *returned to that Countrey; onely that he might manifest his pretences were without any Ambition which might derogate from his Loyalty. 1516. * June. 1517.

The Queen of Scots comming to *London*, *May* 3. 1516. was much welcom'd by the King, the Queen, and her Sister Queen *Mary*, who all enjoyd therein a happinesse rare for Princes in that kinde, which was to see one another after they once dispos'd of abroad; The King for the more honour of her comming, commanded a Justs, in which Sir *William Kingston* was, both himselfe and horse, overthrown by him. May 3. May 19.

This yeere also those who manag'd any money for the King in the wars, or otherwise, were by the Cardinals command call'd in question. Among whom some by bribery, and some by cunning escaped; others being condemned in great summes; so that the Cardinall might be said to have in him so much of a good servant, as he willingly suffered none other to deceive his Master. To accompany this severity also, he caused Perjury to be rigorously punished; wherein I can never enough commend him; All other Treacheries extending for the most part, but to the depriving of Life, Possessions, or good Name; but this such a one, as without much labour may take away all together. Some Courts also were erected in the favour of poore people, against the oppression of the Great; which at the beginning were much frequented; but at last, the people receiving many delays and unsatisfactions in their suites, every one left them, and went to the Common-Law: as fearing, under this pretence, an Innovation. I must not deny unto the Cardinall yet, the attribute of Just, in all affaires of publique Judicature; whereof, (if we may believe Authors) he was ever apparently studious. Therefore, where disorders were committed, he severely punished, unlesse the parties found means to make their private peace. *Hall.*

I will conclude this yeere with a Passage out of our Records. *Leo*, continuing still the Councell of *Lateran*, among other Reformations, proposed that of the *Calendar*, inviting (for this purpose) our King, to send some of our most learned Divines and Astronomers thither; but as it appeares not what answer our King return'd to this Breve, dated *July* 10. 1516, so neither should I have inserted any thing hereof, but that it seems they were not sufficiently satisfied concerning the Principles from which the calculation should be deduced. July 10.

About this time a Ryot and Sedition in *England* hapned in this manner. Some Citizens and Apprentices of *London* of the poorer sort, being offended that all their chiefe Customers were wonne from them by the diligence and industry of strangers, and (for the rest) pretending to have received from them divers Contempts, Affronts and Injuries, found some occasions, and tooke others, to make an Insurrection against them; and the rather, that *Hall.*

1517 the ſeditious Sermons of one Doctor *Bele*, by the Inſtigation of *John Lincolne* a Broker, had not a little incited them: who taking Texts (as neere as he could finde in the Scriptures) to this purpoſe, traduced the ſence thereof even to encouraging the people to a Commotion. The beginning of this yet was not ſo witty as the laſt, neither ended it ſo well. For two Apprentices playing onely at Buckerels in the ſtreet, late on *May*-eve, contrary to the Lord
April 30. Mayors command, (who upon notice taken of the Citizens intent, was charged by the Kings Councell to require, under great penalties, all Houſholders to keep themſelves and their ſervants within doores from nine over-night till ſeven of the clocke the next morning) an Alderman came to arreſt one of them; but the ſaid Apprentice thinking therein that an ancient Cuſtome for taking liberty at that time more then any other, was infringed, cryed *Clubs*. Hereupon, they came forth in ſo great numbers, that the Alderman fled. The Apprentices being encouraged herewith, and for the reſt finding themſelves in a greater multitude, then to doe nothing, brake open ſome priſons, and tooke out divers perſons, committed thither for abuſing and hurting of ſtrangers. Neither could the Mayor or Sheriffes then preſent, hinder this; Nor Sir *Thomas Moore*, (late Judge of the Sheriffs
Hall. Court in *London*, but now of the Kings Councell,) though much reſpected by them, as being a Native of that City. The Priſoners being now ſet looſe, adviſe the Multitude to runne to the houſe of one *Mentas* a Picard, much hated by them: Where they kill'd ſome, chaſed the reſt, and rifled his goods. Hence they went againe to other ſtrangers houſes, which they ſpoyled in like manner. The Cardinall hearing this, and being not much more in the peoples favour then the ſtrangers, fortifies his houſe with Men and Ordnance. But the Lieutenant of the Tower proceeding otherwiſe, diſcharged ſome of the great Pieces among them. Howbeit this made them not ſo much deſiſt, as that having reveng'd themſelves as farre as the offence taken ſeem'd to require, they
May 1. though good about three in the morning to ſcatter and go home. But in their way, they were apprehended by the City-Officers firſt, and afterwards by ſome followers of the Earles of *Shrewſbury* and *Surrey*, who hearing of this diſorder, and taking the Innes-of-Court men with them, cleared the ſtreets of this unruly company. The beginning of the Riot was hereupon examined, and Doctor *Bele* and *Iohn Lincolne* ſent to the Tower. About
May 4. three daies after the Duke of *Norfolke*, the Earl of *Surrey* his ſonne, and divers others, with about one thouſand three hundred armed men came into the City, and, joyning with the Lord Mayor, proceeded legally againſt the chiefe offenders; to the terrour of the Citizens, who were the more affraid, that the Duke of *Norfolke* upon the killing of a Prieſt of his in *Cheape*, was reported to have
Hall. ſaid (as our Hiſtorians have it) in ſome paſſion, *I pray God I*

may

may once have the Citizens in my danger. This (though perchance a Calumny, forg'd againſt the Duke) wrought ſo, that they thought themſelves over-rigorouſly dealt with, in that the Statute *ſecundo Henry* the 5. Chap. 6. (which makes breakers of Truce, and ſafe-Conducts guilty of high Treaſon) was extended againſt them, though repealed afterward, 20. *Henrici ſexti.* Howſoever, much mercy was ſhewed; For, of two hundred ſeventy eight perſons which were Priſoners, *Lincolne* onely, who was thought the moſt ſeditious, and three or foure more were hang'd, drawne, and quarter'd; the reſt, who were about tenne, ſuffer'd nothing extraordinary in their death, but that for the more example they were hang'd on Gibbets erected in the ſtreets. All the others were thus pardon'd; The Recorder of *London*, and divers Aldermen coming in Black to Court, and deſiring moſt humbly to be heard, the King, after ſome admonition and check, as if the better ſort had conniv'd at this Riot, referres the reſt to the Cardinall, then Lord Chancellor. In concluſion, the King ſitting in *Weſtminſter*, and being attended with his principall Nobility and Officers, and the Lord Major; all the Priſoners in white ſhirts, and halters about their necks (into which habit divers alſo, (not yet diſcovered) put themſelves, to be capable of the King's Pardon) did, upon their knees, crave Mercy. Which the King gratiouſly accorded, permitting alſo the Gibbets, which much ſcandaliz'd the Cittizens, to be taken downe.

1517

May. 7.

May. 11.

May 22.

Shortly after, the ſweating ſickneſſe (call'd for the propriety by which it ſeized on the Engliſh Nation cheifely, *Sudor Anglicus*,) did much infect the Kingdome, being of that malignity, as within the ſpace of three houres it kill'd. This cauſed the King to leave *London*, and adjourning three Termes 1517, to remove *Trinity* Terme, 1518. to *Oxford*, where yet it continued but one day, and was adjourned againe to *Weſtminſter*. Nevertheleſſe divers Knights Gentlemen and Officers in the Kings Court dyed thereof; as the Lord *Clinton*, Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, and others of quality, the vulgar ſort ſo commonly periſhing, as in ſome Townes it tooke away halfe the People, in others the third part.

July. *Hall.*

Let us look now a while on forraigne buſineſſe. *Maximilian* continuing the forementioned Treatyes with our King, concerning divers publike affaires, and particularly that of Rendring the Empire, was deſired by King *Henry*, to give him a meeting in the Low-Countries. But *Maximilian* returning anſwer, That to excuſe that labour he would come over into *England*, King *Henry* ſent the Earle of *Worceſter*, and Doctor *Cuthbert Tonſtall* to him, * lately then come into *Flanders*. But as *Maximilian* was a Prince of great diſſimulation, they obſerved in him, that while on the one ſide he entertain'd our King with the offer of the Empire, &c. on the other he continued his Treaty (begun in *December* laſt) with the French. Beſides, his Grand-child *Charles* refuſed to confirme the late

* Jan.

Octob. 29. 1516.

1517. late League with our King. So that our Agents thought fit to repreſent to his Grace how little was to be expected; becauſe the Emperour varyed ſo much in his offers; Sometime ſaying, hee would reſigne the Empire to *Henry* the eighth, and himſelfe remaine King of the Romans; which honour his poſterity ſhould inherit. Sometimes, that he would reſigne the Empire to *Charles* of *Caſtile*, and make *Henry* King of the Romans, and his Grand-child *Ferdinand* King of *Auſtria*, and himſelfe Marſhall of the Empire, that ſo he may be equall to the Electors. But as Doctor *Tonſtal* advertiſed the King, That the Emperour muſt be Elect out of the German Nation: That King *Henry* in accepting the Empire, muſt confeſſe *England* to be under the Empire; Laſtly that he muſt be firſt King of the Romans, when yet the Emperour had declared he meant to hold that Title ſtill: So our King rejected theſe Propoſitions, as Vain, and Artificiall only to draw money from him; And our Agents return'd having only obtained, at laſt, an Oath from *Charles* and Queen *Joane*, his Mother, for performance of the late Treaty at *London*, with ſome ſmall alterations. *Maximilian* alſo, about the ſame time [a] departed out of *Flanders*, having [b] firſt concluded a League at *Cambray* betwixt himſelfe, *Francis*, and his Grand-child *Charles*, by which they confirmed the League at [c] *Noyon*, and [d] *Bruxells*, reſolv'd on a warre againſt the Turke; (as it was now projected in the Councell of *Lateran*,) and appointed an interview for all three in *April* or *May* following. Place alſo was left for the Pope to enter as Protector thereof, and for King *Henry*. This being advertis'd to our King, made him thinke how to defend *Tournay*, and therefore caus'd a Cittadell to be built there; not neglecting together to prevaile himſelfe of the Pope's mediation for a Generall Peace. Which, as it was willingly imbraced, ſo our King was intreated to ſend him two hundred thouſand Duckats (on ſecurity) for that Warre, which yet it was thought the Pope would employ for ſome affaires in *Italy*. Who alſo ſent a *Croiſade* and *Indulgences* into *Germany*, *England*, and many other places: The conditions of which were, That, whoſoever performed certaine Religious Rites, and paid certaine ſums of Money, ſhould have their ſinnes forgiven. Neither was there, in the uſe of theſe *Indulgences*, that diſtinction of Perſons or ſins made, which from ſo grave a Paſtor might be expected, ſo that (promiſcuouſly) all men, who would come to the price, (as ſome Authors have it) were not only promiſed everlaſting bliſſe, but made capable of delivering the ſoules of others out of Purgatory. When thoſe *Indulgences* firſt came forth, no divine worſhip in the Weſt parts of *Europe*, but what the Church of *Rome* preſcrib'd, was publiquely knowne. For though ſome oppoſers of the Papall Authority had appear'd long ſince, yet wanting thoſe ſupporters who might eſtabliſh and uphold their doctrine, it quickly fail'd. Some of their impreſſions yet were deriv'd to Poſterity; though in ſo obſcure

Octob. 29.
[a] May.
[b] March. 11.
[c] Aug.
[d] Decem. 1516
March. 26. 1517.

obſcure and perplex'd a manner, that they ſerved rather to ſhew errours, then rectifie them; forming (for the reſt) no eminent and viſible body, or at leaſt no other then ſuch as quickly diſappear'd. So that all thoſe, who for the preſent diſſented inwardly from any opinion commonly taught, kept yet the unity of the Church. Of which kind though (I doubt not) there were many, yet by diſtinguiſhing in private only the good doctrines from the ill, they both conſerv'd their conſciences, avoyded Schiſme, and maintained towards God, and among themſelves an uniformity; being therein not unaptly compared to ſheep, and other Creatures, who in paſtures; where both wholeſome, and hurtfull hearbs grow, chooſe yet only the better ſort. While thus, they might not only reach to Antiquity in all times, but univerſality in all places; ſince not the men (who may erre) but the doctrine giveth the true denomination unto the Church. It will be enough therefore that there was alwayes a Catholique, and a viſible doctrine in the more important parts thereof. And thus were all controverſies (ſave thoſe which the ſubtilties of the Schoolmen brought forth) declined. Neither did men thinke themſelves bound to ſtudy the intricacies, and ſophiſmes of Authors, in matters impertinent to ſalvation; but were contented with a ſingle faith in God, the comfort of a good life, and hope of a better upon true repentance; taking the reſt for the moſt part upon the faith of the Church. By which meanes as Peace was generally conſerved, ſo it was not doubted by thoſe who ſearch'd into the primitive times, but that together divers new doctrines (if not errours) were crept into the Church diſcipline. Among which ſome, yet, might have beene more excuſable, had not they not beene ſo ſeverely commanded, that the common ſort underſtood them for little leſſe then neceſſary Articles of faith. While thus they were held in much ſubjection, as being not able ſufficiently to diſtinguiſh the true and eſſentiall parts from thoſe that were added only for conveniency or Ornament. But as learning now (the benefit of Printing) became publique, ſo almoſt all men, either through reading or converſation, were literate. Inſomuch, that they durſt looke into the principles of Religion, and take upon them to diſcuſſe the parts thereof. Among theſe, none was more famous then one *Martin Luther*, an Hermit Fryar about thirty two yeares old, living about this time at *Witenberg* upon the *Elbe*, within the Dominions of *Fredericke* Duke of *Saxony*. This man, having obſerved divers things, not mention'd in the Beleefe, call'd *Symbolum Apoſtolorum*, to be introduced lately, examines all; begimning firſt with the *Indulgences* that came out this yeare; though ſo modeſtly, as he advertis'd only his ſuperiour the Arch-Biſhop of *Mayentz* of ſome abuſe therein, and pray'd Reformation; not omitting together, as he was of an acute, but vehement wit, to ſet forth ninety five concluſions, and preach publiquely, againſt them; (which yet hee ſubmit-

1517.

I. Sleidan. l. 1. Comment.

1517.

Aug. 18. 1518.

Concil. Trid. l. 1.

ſubmitted to the Pope by Letter dated in *Iune* 1518.) *Maximilian* alſo, foreſeeing whither theſe diviſions might tend, (and the rather that he found them favoured not onely by *Fredericke* Duke of *Saxony* but divers other great Perſonages) wrote to the Pope, deſiring him to moderate things ſo, as all cauſe might be taken away, not only of diſputations, but concerning impertinent points of Religion. But as the Pope, about thoſe times, had, (betwixt publique affairs and private liberalities) ſo exhauſted the eccleſiaſticall Revenue, as it was neceſſary to ſupply the wants thereof by extraordinary meanes, he purſued his deſigne uſing therein much the help of *Lorenzo Pucci Cardinall Sanctorum* the fourth; who, finding the Schiſme of the Councell of *Piſa* ſo farre extinguiſh'd, as the Roman Church needed not feare to reaſſume her former Authority, confirm'd the Pope therein. So that, though for not above foure hundred yeares, they had taken on them this and divers authorities, not known before, he perſwaded their continuance, leaſt any thing of that kind ſhould ſeeme invalid, or uſurped; Eſpecially, where the pretence was, if not the ſame, yet of a like condition. Whereupon looking further into Records, and finding that *Urban* the ſecond, had not only given *Indulgences* to thoſe, who went Perſonally to the War of the Holy-Land; but that his ſucceſſors had beſtowed them on ſuch, who being not able to goe would maintaine a Souldier there; And laſtly having diſcovered that they were granted even againſt thoſe that were diſobedient to the Roman Church, and alſo to thoſe who gave Money for building or repairing Churches in *Rome*, &c. He neither queſtion'd their Right, nor *Leo* contradicted it; both as he had many needy kinſmen and favorites, and as it maintain'd his Authority. Whereupon, a war againſt the Turkes, being projected, He ſent forth theſe *Indulgences*, granting, beſides, the liberty of eating Eggs and White-meats on Faſtingdayes, of chooſing their Confeſſor, and ſome ſuch habilities. Had this yet beene all, leſſe ſcandall had followed. But without regard to the end for which they were given, He, by way of anticipation, beſtowed on ſeverall Perſons the Money to be levyed; Aſſigning, among others, to *Magdalen* his Siſter, and wife to *Franceſco Cibo* (naturall Sonne to Pope *Innocent* the eighth) all that quarter from *Saxony* to the Sea Side. And the rather, that in Contemplation of this Marriage, himſelfe had been made Cardinall at fourteen yeares old 1489, and therein given a beginning to the Eccleſiaſticall greatneſſe of the houſe of *Medici*. Beſides, he was indebted to *Cibo* for his entertainment at *Genoüa*, at what time he was forced to fly the perſecution of *Alexander* the ſixt. They again Committing this buſineſſe to *Arembaldo* a Biſhop, but a Covetous perſon, much rapine was uſed: The *Indulgences* (as is ſaid) being generally granted to ſuch as gave moſt for them. And as this cauſed much offence, ſo againe the Fryars Hermits, (by whom they were ordinarily diſpenced) were not a little troubled,

troubled, that the Dominicans had now charge thereof. All which, together with the ſinfull and inordinate life of certain Commiſſioners deputed under *Arenbaldo*, for thoſe Levyes, together with the ſo notorious a Sale of twenty Cardinallſhips (as *Sandaval* himſelf diſſembles it not) *Anno* 1517. being notified, occaſion'd theſe following revolutions, which take up a great part of this Hiſtory. For, as theſe *Indulgences* (upon further examination,) were found to be no elder then is above mentioned, nor much confirmed but by a Bull of *Clement* the ſix. 1350. (who abridged *Iubilees* from every hundred yeare to the fifty eth,) nor Anciently practis'd at all, but for relaxation of Pennances, or Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline (without that they were ſaid to deliver from any thing towards God) many exceptions were taken againſt them; ſo that, though to the Merits of ſuch Saints as did works of ſupererogation (being a treaſure which might be conſumed) they had added the Merits of Chriſt, by way of ſupply; yet *Luther* and others after him, vexed all this againe, with that ſucceſſe which ſhall be told hereafter. Neither did there want ſuch as oppoſed them in *England* amongſt whom, one who was zealous of Gods Honour and the publique good, obſerving that not onely ſinnes towards God, were pardoned for Money, but offences towards the Law compounded for at no great Rates (as ſhall be told more particularly in its place where it will appear to what exceſſe this abuſe grew) ſpake after this manner to ſome of the principall Clergy. That puniſhments might have been left to God, but that they ſerve to deterre others. But who would be affraid now, when he knowes at what he may put away his crimes? Of what uſe would our threatnings for ſinnes be if they grow ſo contemptible as a little ſum of money would diſcharge them, is not this to make heaven venall, doth not this reflect ſo much on Chriſtian faith, that it makes a new price for ſinne? Beleeve me my Lords, to make our faults cheape, is to multiply them, and to take away not only that reverence is due to vertue, but to diſſolve thoſe bonds which knit and hold together both civill and Religious worſhip. For when men ſee what they are to pay for their faults, what will they care for other redemption? I would I could ſay we were already fallen under ſome diſeſteem, when by our enjoyning of eaſie faſting, Prayer and ſome little Almes, men finde they ſuffer no more than what they would gladly endure to ſinne again; for who is the leaner or poorer for our penances? let us not then make the Myſteries of Salvation mercenary, or propoſe everlaſting happineſſe on thoſe terms, that it may be obtein'd for money, which we find ſo ſeldom yet without deceit or miſchief. Let mens ſins rather lye againſt them ſtill then open ſuch eaſie wayes to remit them; And take this advice in good part, ſince it ſo much concernes us all. What effect yet this Adviſe tooke will appear hereafter.

1517

Sand.

1350

The diſſentions of *Italy* being for the preſent compos'd, *Francis*

1518. first thought himselfe at leasure, now to resent our Kings assisting of *Maximilian*. But (saith *Polydore*) because he considered as well, that hee should get nothing that way, and that withall hee was inform'd this businesse cost our King so much, that the losse thereof might be taken for a resonable Revenge; (for I find in our Records that in one year it cost our King five hundred thousand or six hundred thousand Ducats,) He dissembled the matter. Therefore Converting Malice into Guile, his only labour was how to corrupt the Cardinall; whom at length, between Bribes and flatteries, hee so dexterously won, that hee durst commit his designes to him. These yet were such, as the Cardinall would not abruptly disclose to the King. Therefore he said not much at a time of them, nor without making the King first some Present; which yet (saith *Polydore*) was but part of that which *Francis* gave him; so that while the King considered the workmanship or rarity of the Gift, he would Convey his meaning, and give these impressions he most desired should remaine in the Kings mind. At these opportunities, he made no difficulty to say, that *Francis* sought to him by Letters earnestly (concealing in the meane while his large bribes) and that all this did reflect on his Majesty whom that King did addresse himselfe to, by his mediation. That others perchance would suppresse and hide these things, as being enough to breed suspition, but that hee would ever proceed clearly and openly with his Majesty. According to which liberty hee would take the boldnesse to advise, That, since the French King did sue to His Majesty in so submisse a way, as to begin at his servants, that hee could not but thinke hee was in earnest: And for *Maximilian* (as being often disoblig'd) little helpe, or indeed trust could be expected. Our King also considering that so much hereof was true, that if hee could not make friendship with *Francis*, it were not amisse yet to avoyd Warre, embraces the motion. Of which *Woolsey* makes his advantage, and brings againe another Message from *Francis*, to such effect, that our King said openly, that hee saw well now *Woolsey* would governe them both. *Polydor. Virg.* The French King, having obtained this interest in the Cardinall, besides new Gifts, sends him divers Letters, terming him therein *Dominus* and *Pater*, and his advices Oracles, till at last hee thought hee might open unto him his Designe of having *Tournay* redelivered for a certaine summe of money. *Woolsey* promiseth his assistance, and hereupon brings the businesse to the King, and from thence, by his Command, to the Councell: where hee openly declares, what vast summes it had cost the King to winne *Theroüene* and *Tournay*; in the former of which yet hee had got nothing but the gratyfying of an unthankfull Person, which was *Maximilian*; in the other little else but a number of unusefull,

unuſefull and ſuſpected ſubjects; who that they might bee kept in order and obedience, would coſt more then they were worth. The charge of the Garriſon alone being above twelve thouſand pound yearly; beſides that of Convoyes, and Ammunition. That, after all this expence, yet, wee could hold it no longer then it pleaſed either of the two Princes, between whoſe Dominions it ſtood; ſince being ſo remote from the Engliſh Pale, it was improbable that from thence wee could ſuccour it; ſo that it were better to let it goe fairely, as for a ſumme of Money, or the like, then to ſtrive to hold it under ſo weake and dangerous a Title, as the ſufferance of his Enemies; One of which, being *Francis*, he thought by the reſtitution thereof might be obliged to be his friend, and the affront he might receive through the taking it by force, avoyded. Neither could *Maximilian* take it ill in point of Juſtice, if we reſtor'd to *Francis* a Towne formerly in his poſſeſſion. This being done, that it were moſt expedient for all Chriſtendom to joyn in League with one another, and againſt the Turke, who lately had made himſelfe formidable. Theſe reaſons were valid enough, had they not come from ſo falſe a ground as the corruption of the Cardinall; (which *Polydore* continually inculcates:)therefore they were embrac'd by all, but eſpecially the Biſhop of *Durham*, now Lord Privy-Seale; only it was requir'd, how much that money was, and of what kind thoſe conditions were? whereupon it was declar'd, that if it pleas'd the King to heare the Ambaſſadors of *Francis*, he had already demanded leave for them to come over, which alſo he had reaſon to endevour; for as I find by our Records, He and *Nicolas de Villeroy* the French Reſident, had in a manner concluded the buſineſſe in private already. This being granted, *Guillaume Gouffier Seignieur de Bonivet* and Admirall of *France*, and *Eſtienne de Poncher* Biſhop of *Paris* * came, with an unruly number for an Ambaſſade, (their Traine being twelve hundred) unto *Greenwich*; The French yet, betwixt Pride and diſſimulation, thought fit not to begin at the buſineſſe they moſt deſired to effect. Therefore their firſt overture was a propoſition for a League in Generall betwixt all Chriſtian Princes againſt the Turke, projected by the Pope the yeare before. That the Authors hereof ſhould be both their Majeſties. That the Pope, Emperour, and King of *Spaine* ſhould be admitted hereunto, as principall contractors, (if they deſired it,) within a certain time, and their Allyes and Confederates as comprehended only. This being taken into conſideration, upon the ſecond of *October* 1518. a League was concluded; which, for being ſingular in it's kind and an excellent Precedent for peace to the future Ages, I ſhall more at large recite, both out of our and the French Records; and the rather

1518.

July. 9. Records.

* Sept. 30.

1517. March. 16.

Octob. 2.

1518 ther that it ſeemes to have been the rule by which our King framed his Actions many yeares after, as will appeare in this Hiſtory.

That perfect friendſhip and amity ſhould continue for ever betwixt them, and their ſucceſſors, by Land and Sea; (wherein likewiſe all their Subjects and Allyes were to be compriſed.) That they ſhould be the friends of the friends, and the enemies of the enemies of each other; inſomuch, that, if any of the ſaid Confederats, or other being a ſtranger to them, ſhou'd invade any of the ſaid Confederats preſent Dominions, they ſhould give the ſaid Aſſailant an Admonition to deſiſt and make reparation; which if he did not, within the ſpace of a moneth accept, they ſhould declare themſelves his enemies, and two moneths after, both by Sea and Land, make warre againſt him, at an equall charge; allowing for this purpoſe free paſſage through each others Dominions, paying only for what was taken. That if civill warres did ariſe in any of their ſaid Countries, none of the Confederats ſhould meddle; unleſſe the ſaid civill wars were kindled and maintained by ſome forraigne Prince. That no one of the Confederats ſhould ſuffer their ſubjects to bear Armes againſt the other, or ſhould levy any forces of ſtrangers, to be imployed againſt the ſaid Confederats; upon paine of being held a violater of the ſaid League; which notwithſtanding ſhould hold firme among the reſt. That none of the ſaid Confedarats ſhould take the vaſſall or ſubject of the other into protection, without the conſent of the King to whom formerly he owed obedience: That all Rebels, Traytors, or ſuſpected of high-treaſon, and fugitives ſhould not be received, entertain'd or favour'd, in any of the Dominions of the ſaid Confederats: but that, after twenty dayes warning and requiſition they ſhould be remanded. That the Pope ſhould have notice of this League; upon condition yet, that, if he accepted theſe Articles within four moneths after, he ſhould be a principall contractor in this League, and name his Allyes alſo. That all the Princes before named ſhould, within the ſpace of four moneths, be received as principall Contractors, if they deſire it, otherwiſe not, without declaration and requeſt to the ſaid two Kings. That any other King, Potentate, or chiefe Lord, might upon his ſuite, be admitted to have the benefit of this Confederation, but not as a principall Contractor. Laſtly, That, howſoever other Princes ſhould obſerve or accept the ſaid Treaty, that yet it ſhould remaine inviolable betwixt them two.

Decemb. 31. *Leo* the tenth hereupon, though more deſirous of a Generall Confederacy againſt the Turke, accepted this League, as an Introduction thereunto upon the laſt of *December* following, naming together ſome leſſer Allyes whom he deſired might be compris'd, the Venetians having been nominated already both by *Henry* and *Francis*: upon mature deliberation alſo, *Charles* King of *Spaine* entered into it, and the rather that *Maximilian* the Emperor, conceiv'd

ceiv'd that all Chriſtian Princes might the ſooner be diſpos'd thereby to war againſt the Turke. Though as he died ſhortly after, the League ſeemd reſtraind chiefly to *Henry*, *Francis*, and *Charles*, and particularly to the firſt contractors, though not with ſuch confidence and fervency as it firſt began. To reinforce this Treaty alſo, (which was but an Introduction to another) *Francis* did propoſe a match betwixt the Dolphin his ſonne, and the Princeſſe *Mary*, which accordingly was * concluded two daies after, upon theſe conditions. 1518 Jan. 12. 1519. Octob. 4.

That our King ſhould give with his daughter 333000 Crownes, and *Francis* as great a Joynture as any King of that Countrey ever gave. That within foure moneths the Sponſals ſhould be made by the two Kings in their Childrens name. That if the Dolphin died before this marriage, the next ſonne of *Francis* ſhould take the Princeſſe on the ſame conditions. And if the Princeſſe died firſt, the Kings next daughter (if he had any) ſhould be given. For further Teſtimony of this deſired Allyance, our King condeſcended alſo to reſtore *Tournay*, *Mortaigne*, and Saint *Amand*, and the Territories adjacent, upon the payment of ſix hundred thouſand Crownes. at certaine termes. For which payment, as alſo performing of the marriage, ſufficient hoſtages ſhould be delivered to the ſaid *Francis*. That yet out of this ſumme the ſaid *Francis* might detaine 333000 Crownes, for the aforeſaid Dowry of the ſaid Princeſſe *Mary*, in caſe ſhe did not Inherit the Crowne of *England*. That the ſaid French King ſhould pardon, and take into his favour all the Inhabitants of the ſaid City of *Tournay*, and places adjacent, reſerving to them all ancient priviledges; and that King *Henry* ſhould thereupon releaſe the Oath of obedience they had made him. That, whereas the Citizens of *Tournay* did yet owe to King *Henry* twenty three thouſand livres, which now the French King had ſtipulated to pay; he ſhould ſubſtitute the French King to receive it of them againe. That King *Henry* might carry from *Tournay* all the Artillery, Munition, and Inſtruments of war, either offenſive, or defenſive, Victuals, &c. That in caſe the Marriage intended ſhould take no effect, by the default of *Francis*, that then *Tournay* ſhould be delivered back againe to King *Henry* or his Heires, together with the profits received in the mean while, without any deduction for reparation of the ſaid place. And that the Inhabitants thereof ſhould be diſcharged from all ſuperiority or Oath of Obedience made or acknowledged to the ſaid French King: Upon condition that the ſaid King *Henry* ſhould reſtore the ſaid French King the ſumme of ſix hundred thouſand Crownes, or ſo much as he ſhould receive thereof. But if the Impediment for Marriage ſhould happen on the part of King *Henry*, that then, upon payment of the intire ſumme of ſix hundred thouſand Crownes, *Tournay* ſhould remaine to the French King. And herein our Records and *du Gillet* do ſo concurre, as the chiefe difference *Tillet.*

ſeems

1518. seems to be onely about the ſumme of 500000 Crownes, which our Records ſay was the penalty on either ſide, for non-performance of the Marriage. There was alſo at the ſame time a Treaty concerning the Admiralties in both Kingdomes, having relation to one made the yeere precedent *July* 16. and that of *April* 5. 1515. By which it was agreed, that all ſuits, upon occaſion of depredation by Sea, might, from the Ordinary Judge be removed to *London* before the Admirall and Vice-Admirall, or their Deputies, and the Maſter of the Rolls of *England*; And at *Roüen* before the Admirall and Vice-Admirall of *France*, their Lieutenants, and the firſt Preſident of the Parliament in *Normandy*; who, upon appeale of the parties on either ſide, were bound to give a definitive ſentence within the ſpace of one yeere; which in caſe of neceſſity might be executed by ſtrong hand, or maine force. The ſaid Appeales yet might be brought before the Kings Councell on either ſide, there to be determined definitively within the ſpace of ſix moneths, &c. All things being thus ſetled for future quietneſſe, the Princeſſe *Mary* was promſed and * betroathed to the Dolphin in Saint *Pauls* in *London*. And the Earle of *Worceſter*, with *Nicolas Weſt* now Biſhop of *Ely*, and a Traine equall to that of *Bonivet*, were ſent to require performance from *Francis*, who thereupon * tooke his Oath, gave eight Hoſtages for payment on the Rendition of *Tournay*, and contracted the Sponſals in the name of his ſonne. In ſequence whereof, *Febr.* 8. following, the Earle of *Worceſter* delivered *Tournay*, though not unwillingly, ſince it was the Kings pleaſure, yet with ſo much ſcruple (having been by the name of Lord *Herbert* at the taking thereof) as he would not ſuffer the *Mareſchal de Chaſtillon* to enter it with Banner diſplayed but rolled up, it being (as he ſaid) voluntarily yeelded, and not gotten by conqueſt. Our Writers adde, that by *Francis* foure hundred thouſand Crownes were allowed our King, for the building of the Cittadell; but becauſe neither the French nor our Records (from whom I have taken the effect of theſe Treaties) mention it, I leave it to the diſcretion of the Reader. Onely I muſt not forget what I finde concerning the Cardinals ſatisfaction in this partieular, who had twelve thouſand *Livres Tournois* yeerely, for relinquiſhing the Biſhopricke of *Tournay*. As for the other chiefe Counſellors, *Polydore* ſaith, a certaine ſumme of money ſhould be diſtributed among them by the French King, *ita ut conſuevisſent facere olim ejus Majores*.

July 16. 1517. *Tillet.*

*Octob. 11.

* Decem. 14. Decemb. 19. 1519. Feb. 8.

Hall.

Thus was *Tournay* reſtor'd again to the French, however divers concurrent Articles were not performed afterwards, as wil appear.

Howbeit, it was agreed betwixt them, that *John* Duke of *Albany* ſhould not be permitted to returne to *Scotland* any more; it being not thought fit by our King, that one who was next in ſucceſſion to *James* his Nephew, ſhould have charge over him. Moreover, it was agreed that this young King ſhould be comprehended

ded in the League. This particular being reſolved a good while ſince, though not fully ſigned till now, was the cauſe that Queen *Margaret* returned to *Scotland*; where her Huſband met her at *Barwicke*; yet ſo, as there was not thence forth that intire love formerly obſerved betwixt them. Our Ambaſſadors being ſtill in *France*, the Biſhop of *Ely* went to ſee the Queen at *Amboiſe*, from whence he certified our King, that he ſaw the Dauphin (now almoſt a yeere old) and imbraced and kiſſed him. Four daies after the above mentioned Treaty, being the eighth of *October* 1518. another was concluded for an interview betwixt the Kings accompanied with their Queenes, and Madame *Loüiſe* the mother of *Francis*, and their Houſhold Officers. The time appointed was the laſt of *July* 1519, at *Sandinfield* in *Picardy*, or ſome other Neutrall place, according as their Deputies on either ſide ſhould adviſe; which upon the firſt of *April* following were to meet together for this purpoſe.

1518.

May 18. 1517.

Octob. 8.

While affaires paſt thus with *France* and *Scotland*, the Pope ſent *Laurentius Campegius* Cardinall as Legate, hither; to procure a generall League among Chriſtian Princes (or at leaſt a quinquennall Truce) for a war againſt the Turke. Beſides, he gave him Authority to demand a Tenth from our Clergy, as alſo a Commiſſion (ſpecified in a Bull) wherein Cardinall *Woolſey* and Himſelfe had Legatine power to viſit Monaſteries. This Legate (called by *Polydore*, *Inter Juris-conſultos Jure-conſultiſſimus*) comming to *Calais* was deſired by our Cardinall to ſtay there, as our * Hiſtorians write till he had procured from *Rome* that *Woolſey* might be joynd in the foreſaid Commiſſion with him; But, as I finde in our Records and *Polydore*, untill he had obtained from the Pope, that *Hadrian de Caſtello* the Cardinall (now in Priſon for a conſpiracy againſt the Pope) might be deveſted from the Biſhopricke of *Bath*, and the dignity conferred on him; of which alſo he had the greater hope, that the Pope (as I finde by our Records) had condemn'd him for the ſaid Conſpiracy. Beſides, it was the care of our Cardinall, to ſuffer none to have acceſſe to our King, whom he had not firſt ob'liged. Therefore our Cardinall preſented him, together with a promiſe to aſſiſt him for the Biſhopricke of *Saliſbury* when it ſhould fall, ſome red Cloth to apparell his Traine, which otherwiſe were but poorely cloth'd. To ſuit this alſo the * night before his comming to *London*, he ſent him twelve Mules, with empty Coffers fairely covered; ſome of which yet were overturned and broken in his paſſage * through the City, to the great ſhame of *Campegius*. Who finding at laſt his demand for a tenth rejected by our Clergy, advertiſes the Pope, and proceeds to the other point of viſiting Monaſteries. But our cunning Cardinall thinking himſelfe able enough to diſcharge this Office alone, (while *Campegius* ſtayd in *England*) diſpatches *John Clarke* Doctor of Law to the Pope, both to give account of this buſineſſe, and

June 29.
* *Hall.*
Antiq. Brit.

Polyd.

July 28.

July 29.

to

1518

*Dat. June 10. 1519.

to obtaine the whole power for himſelfe. This *Clarke* comming to *Rome* negotiated by our Kings commandment, ſo well on the Cardinals behalfe, that he obtained from the Pope a * Bull, whereby (*Campegius* being now revolted) he was made Legat *à Latere*, and enabled to viſit not onely Monaſteries, but all the Clergy of *England*, and diſpence with Church Lawes for one yeere next enſuing the date thereof. Which though it gave him great power, miniſtred much offence; as abridging the Biſhops power, and ſcandalizing the whole Clergy, who were ſo defam'd by the Cardinals information, that they were termed *Dati in reprobum ſenſum*, and the like, in the originall Bull among our Records, which I ſhould have inſerted in *toto contextu*, but that it is too long and infamous to the Hierarchy, and all Religious perſons. And now (ſaith *Polydore*) the Cardinall his pride did ſo prodigiouſly increaſe, that on ſolemne Feaſt daies, he would ſay Maſſe after the manner of the Pope himſelfe; not onely Biſhops and Abbots ſerving him therein, but even Dukes and Earles giving him Water and the Towell. Beſides, not contented with the Croſſe of *Yorke* to be carried before him, he added another of his Legacy, which two of the talleſt Prieſts that could be found, carried on great Horſes before him. Inſomuch (as *Polydore* ſaith) it grew to a Jeſt, as if one Croſſe did not ſuffice for the expiation of his ſinnes. All this yet was but a kind of prelude to that which followed. For, erecting a particular Court of Juriſdiction, which he called the Legats court, and placing in it as Judge one *Iohn Allen* Doctor of Law, thought to be a perjur'd wicked perſon, all manner of Rapines and Extortions were committed there. For making enquiry into the life of every body, no offence eſcaped cenſure and puniſhment, unleſſe privately they gave money; of which they found two commodities: one that it did coſt leſſe, the other that it exempted them from ſhame. Thus as the Rules of conſcience are in many caſes of a greater extent, then thoſe of the Law, ſo he found meanes to ſearch even into their ſecreteſt corners. Beſides, under this colour he arrogated power to call in queſtion the Executors of Wils, and the like. He ſummond alſo all Religious perſons of what ſort ſoever before him; who, caſting themſelves at his feet, were grievouſly chidden, and terrified with expulſion, till they had compounded. Beſides, all Spirituall Livings that fell were conferred on his creatures. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* underſtanding how all orders were thus Ranſack'd by the Cardinall, goes to the King, and acquaints him with it. The King replies, that he ſhould not have heard hereof but by him; adding, that no man is ſo blinde any where, as in his owne houſe; Therefore, I pray you, ſaid he, Father, goe to *Woolſey*, and tell him, if any thing be amiſſe, that he amend it. This grave perſon hereupon admoniſhes him, and afterwards particularly told him, that in medling with the laſt Wills and

Polyd. Virg.

Teſta-

Teſtament of the dead, he aſſum'd a power, not ſo much as claim'd by the Pope himſelfe, and for diſpoſing ſome Benefices in the gift of the Nobility, and other great Perſons, he thought he uſurped too much upon them. All the uſe *Woolſey* made thereof was to hate the Archbiſhop, with whom he was formerly offended; onely becauſe (as *Polydore* hath it) he ſtyled himſelfe in the ſubſcription of his Letter *Gulielmus Frater Cantuarienſis*. Yet leaſt the Archbiſhop ſhould doe him ill Offices, he temperd his ſpeech for the time. But ſhortly after his Agent *John Allen* being accuſed by one *John London* a Prieſt, it appeared ſufficiently that all the former Allegations againſt *Woolſey* were true; which made our King rebuke the Carinall ſo ſharply, that after that time, he became, if not better, yet more wary then before; At this time alſo certaine abuſes about Sanctuaries were taken away by the Kings Authority in ſequence of a Bull granted to that purpoſe by *Julius* the ſecond 1504. *June* 19. to King *Henry* the ſeventh. 1520.

Let us turne our eyes on forraine buſineſſes, now ſomewhat intermitted. *Charles* intending a journey into *Spaine*, the French King offerd him the convenience of paſſing through *France*, and Hoſtages for ſecurity, together with the Keys of the Cities he ſhould goe thorough; but *Charles* (as our Ambaſſadors write) refuſed, ſaying, if he landed any where it ſhould be in *England*. According to which Reſolution, taking ſhip, he came to *Spaine Aug.* 25. 1517. as *Sandoval* hath it, (our Records ſay he ſet not to Sea till *Sept.* 8.) where he found things much diſcompoſed, through the ſeverity of the Cardinall *Ximenes*. Beſides, there wanted not ſuſpition that many would have ſet up his brother *Ferdinand* againſt him, whom therefore he ſhortly after ſent to *Flanders*. Howſoever *Ximenes* dyed, not without probability that he was poyſoned, though by whom is uncertaine. *Charles* his firſt Art was calling a Cortes or Parliament in *Caſtilla* and *Leon*, which paſſed not without trouble; there being no little contention whether the People ſhould firſt ſweare obedience to *Charles*, or he the obſervance of their ancient Laws, Liberties, and Priviledges, which yet at laſt was ſo temper'd, as they came neere in time together; though, for conſerving the Royall dignity, ſome particular perſons were induced to ſweare firſt. He alſo cauſed Jouſts and Tourneyes to be held according to the manner of that age: Into which *Sandovall* ſaith, ſixty Cavalieres entred, their Lances pointed with Diamonds, who alſo encountred ſo roughly that moſt of them were overthrowne and ſore hurt, and twelve Horſes kill'd; Though yet this was little in regard of a Jouſts that * followed, at which ſeven of the Actors were kill'd outright; wherein nevertheleſſe *Charles*, though very young, appeared, breaking three Lances in foure Carieres. After this, eſtabliſhing ſome Laws, and obtaining ſome money from his people, he went to *Aragon*, where he called a Cortes likewiſe; and ſhortly after, 1517. August. Sept. 7. 1517. 1518. Jan. 1518. March 4.

1519. (hearing, that ſince the death of *Horrnc Barbaroſſa* (who from a low fortune & birth made himſelf firſt a formidable Pirat, then* King of *Argiel*) *Hariadin Barbaroſſa* his brother, ſucceeded in that kingdom; and in the exerciſe of Piracy,) ſent *Don Hugo de Moncada* Vice-roy of *Sicily* to *Argiel*, with as ill ſucceſſe as their expeditions thither have commonly proved. Not long after which, newes was brought him of the death of *Loüiſe* of *France*, whom by the Treaty of *Noyon* he ſhould have married, and of the ſickneſſe of *Maximilian*; who, now growing old and infirme, determined to make one of his Grandchildren Emperor: Aſſembling for this purpoſe a Diet at *Augsburgh*, and propoſing particularly *Ferdinand*; as believing the Electors would ſooner chooſe him, then greaten any other Prince with that Acceſſion. But as he alone could not diſpoſe this buſineſſe, ſo both *Francis* and *Charles* were earneſt in it. Our King alſo not omitting to diſcover how *Germany* ſtood affected to him. And the rather, that the Pope, as I finde by our Records, did encourage him thereunto. *Maximilians* death upon a diſſentery *January* 12. 1519, enſuing this while, *Richard Pace* was * ſent to *Germany* by our King; who, in his * diſpatches certified with what Ambition *Francis* and *Charles* aſpired to this Dignity; ſaying nevertheleſſe, that the Electors of *Mayentz*, *Colen*, and *Tryers* ſtood ſo affected, that if our King had put in ſooner, and before they were engaged, he thought his Majeſty might have carried it, ſince the Popes Nuncio there affirmed ſtill he had Commiſſion from his Holineſſe to aſſiſt him; as being deſirous it were beſtowed on any rather then either *Charles* or *Francis*, but eſpecially on *Charles*. Though at laſt, finding that betwixt money given, and Forces raiſed by *Charles*, he would prevaile, his Holineſſe thought fit to comply, and give his aſſent: and the rather, that the Duke of *Saxony*, whom the Electors once nominated, refuſed it. Whereupon *June* 28, 1519. *Charles* was publiquely choſen at *Francfort*; News whereof being brought to *Barcellona*, at firſt rejoyced, but afterwards troubled him; as conſidering what a burden he had undertaken, eſpecially in a time when the *Turke* made his approaches againſt Chriſtendome. Yet, were not theſe all his cares; For, as his Clergy in *Spaine* was ſo offended at the demand of a tenth of their Revenue towards a war againſt Infidels, that there was *Ceſſatio à Divinis* (as *Sandoval* hath it) for above four moneths in all the Kingdom; And as the people againe began a dangerous inſurrection for the cõſervation of their liberties (which endured ſome yeeres following, with more method then in ſuch popular Commotions are ordinarily found) ſo he had much to doe at home. Beſides the people in *Auſtria* began another no leſſe dangerous in thoſe parts, and of little leſſe continuance. Againe, *Francis*, who was now in good correſpondence with our King, preſſed the reſtitution of *Navarre*, according to the Treaty of *Noyon*, and rayſd him troubles in *Naples* and *Sicily*. All which important affairs yet

* 1517.

1518. Aug.

May 20.

June 20.

Jun. 28.

Sandov.

yet were pretermitted, onely to comply with the Ceremony (for it was no more) of receiving the Imperiall Crown, so secure was he of all things but his Title; onely in the midst of these afflictions, the happy newes of the discovery, and begun-Conquest of *Mexico*, and *Nueva Espanna* arrived; which though worthy a particular Relation, I shall not insert, lest I should too much increase the bulke of this History. Though for giving a taste thereunto, I shall not omit to tell my Reader, that *Hernando Cortes*, undertaker thereof, going with about foure hundred Spanish foot, and fifteen horse, and seven little field-Pieces, into many populous, but diversly affected Kingdomes, did so dexterously behave himselfe, that, playing the part sometimes of an Ambassador, and sometimes of a Souldier, he prevayld himselfe of all. And, in conclusion, notwithstanding the opposition both of his Countrey-men and Enemies, layd a foundation of a greater Dominion then any man before him did. Before yet I come to the actions of the new Emperor, I shall exhibite the description of *Maximilian* I have collected out of severall Authors. 1519.

This *Maximilian*, being King of the *Romans*, and called Emperor, though never Crown'd by that Title, gave much occasion of discourse concerning the reason thereof; some saying, he declined the charge and hazzard of going into *Italy* for receiving the Imperiall Crowne at the Popes hands; others believing, that according to his often profession, he meant first to be Emperor of *Constantinople*, which he said was his most lawfull Title. As for his education, he was a Prince brought up in much ignorance, yet studious to repaire that defect by conversation with the more learned sort. His bounty was observed such, that it extended even to the disabling him in the pursuit of his designes; wherein he made a Royall vertue criminall. He had treated with the Princes of his time, with so ill succesſe, that he knew not in what posture to keepe himselfe; being in the same danger for the most part, whether his faith were broken or theirs This made him devout even to superstition. For his interprises in the war, as they were many, so they ended differently, he getting sometimes more by a bad peace, then a just war. His spare time he imployed in Poetry, writing the History of his life in Dutch verse, which booke by *Pedro Mexia* is called *Teur dancf*, and another called *Puerto de la Honra*. One of his chiefest happinesses was, that his Posterity came to enjoy some of the greatest and best parts of *Europe*. He was of the Order of the Garter, and his Obsequy was solemnly kept in St *Pauls*, by our King and the Knights of that Fellowship. *Hall.*

I must remember now, that at the conclusion of the Treaty with *France*, *October* 8. 1518. it was agreed betwixt both Princes, that there should be an interview in *July* 1519, which yet tooke not effect, because of the death of *Maximilian*, and the occasions ensuing formerly mentioned; therefore it was put off till 1520;

1519. Records. June.

both Kings in the mean while agreeing not to cut off their Beards, till they ſaw each other. *Francis* having alſo now a ſecond ſonne, deſired our King to give him his name; which our King accepted kindly, calling him *Henry*, (afterwards King, and ſecond of that name.) Neyther did he omit any thing, which might argue his reſpect. Therefore he ſollicites our Cardinall (whom he called his Father and Couſin) ſtill with gifts, ſends Preſents to the Princeſſe *Mary*, and leaves nothing unattempted which might ſecure him on that ſide, knowing well how puiſſant an enemy he had provoked. *Charles* on the other ſide, conſidering how much it concerned him to keep the Cardinall at his devotion, countermines *Francis* in his own way. On which occaſion I ſhall obſerve, that, as ſince the diſcovery of the *Indies*, Coyn hath been much more plentifull, ſo greater matters have been done in theſe latter tir by Bribes, then by the Sword; Thoſe who have money (that is to ſay, a ſeed which will ſpring any thing in corrupt minds) finding meanes, either in the Authors or the Actors in buſineſſes, to diſpoſe them to their ends, or at leaſt to make advantage of the intelligence they receive from them. *Francis* ſuſpecting what might follow hereupon, provides betimes to keep the Scottiſh his friends; therefore though it was his motion formerly to compriſe the young King and that Nation in generall within his League with *England*, yet now he ſtrives as much to withdraw them: Therefore when our King ſent to require their Oath thereunto, they refuſed; ſo that all that buſineſſe ended in a Truce onely for one yeere. And here I muſt not omit to relate the Cardinals extreame Ambition; who having a deſigne to make himſelfe Pope, did ever comply with thoſe, who he thought might be his beſt aſſiſtants. Therefore now that *Charles* was grown the more potent, and that, beſides it was manifeſt, that, to which party ſoever our King inclined, He would turne the Ballance, he hoped by favouring *Charles* to obtaine his deſire. Neither wanted he continuall Preſents on his part equall to, if not exceeding the others; ſo that now he rejected the aſſiſtance of *Francis*, though offering him the voyces of fourteen Cardinals (as I finde by our Records) and applies himſelfe to *Charles*; Nevertheleſſe the deſigne for the Interview with *Francis* continued; which being minuted by our Ambaſſador Sir *Thomas Bolen*, was continued by his Succeſſor in *France* Sir *Richard Wingfield*; among whoſe Diſpatches (extant in our Records) I finde this paſſage in a Letter to the King *March* 16. "I have preſented to the French King the "Sword, for the nimble handling whereof he hath nor knoweth "no feat, but thought it not maniable: And call'd the Admirall "to him, and cauſed him to feele the weight thereof, who ſhew'd "him that he had ſeen your Grace weild one more peſant. "But for ſuch promiſe as he had made your Highneſſe, he might "not diſcover it; ſaving that it was by meanes of a Gantlet. The

Leſle.

March 16.

French

" French King desires one of those Gantlets, and he will send your " Grace such a payr of *Cuiraſſes*, as your Grace hath not seene, the " secret whereof is for the eatie bearing of such weight, as rests up- " on the *Cuiraſſes*, which is commonly born by the shoulders, and " in this *Cuiraſſe* the shoulder beares no burden. All which I have set down, to awaken the industry of these times in such Inventi ons. I will come now to the order of the Interview, remitted both by our King and *Francis* unto the Cardinall's direction. Who ac cordingly, upon the 12 of *March* 1520, declared this order. That, March. 12. in regard his King was to passe the Seas, to his danger and Cost, and should leave his Kingdome, only to do *Francis* Honour: therefore that the Interview should not be in a Neutrall place, but that King *Henry*, his Queene, and the Queen Dowager of *France* should come to *Guisnes*, and the French King, his Queen, and Madame *Loüyse* his Mother to *Ardres*, before the end of *May* next; and then that, before 4 of *June* following, King *Henry* should goe halfe a League towards *Ardres*, without passing yet the limits of *Guisnes* or the Enlish pale, and there, in some open place, neere the Confines of the French, (which should be declar'd by deputies on either side) the said French King parting from *Ardres* the same day, and houre, and coming to the said place (where no Tent was to be pitched) should meet the said King *Henry* within his own Territories, and there should salute one another, and speake together on Horse-back, as long as they pleased. This being done, that the French King should returne to *Ardres*, and King *Henry* to *Guiesnes*. The next day that the said Kings should meet in some Newtrall place, to be nominated by their Deputies; where, after salutations on both sides, King *Henry* should goe to *Ardres* to see and dine with the Queen of *France*, and his Mother, and the French King to *Guisnes*, to see and dine with the Queen of *England*, and Dowager of *France*. That the said enterview should be celebrated with *Tourneyes* and *Iousts*, and exercises of Armes, as well on foot, as on Horse-back, in some place chosen by the said Deputies, betwixt *Guisnes* and *Ardres*; which should be ditched, fortified, and guarded by an equall number of Persons to be appointed by the said Kings. And that, during the said exercises of Armes, the Queene's and their Traine might familiarly converse together, in the evening still returning to their severall lodgings of *Ardres* and *Guisnes*. That the honour and precedence, should be given to them still, who came to see the other. That the number of the Persons and Horses permitted to be at this Enterview should be signed in Certaine Rolls by the said Kings, and should not be increased without mutuall Consent. That two Gentlemen with an equall number of followers should watch continually upon the high-wayes, as well for surety of the said King's Persons, as for the safer conducting the victualls. And that these every night should give account, to their severall Kings and Counsellors,

1520. cellors, of their charge. That the Souldiers of the Garriſons of *Bouloigne* and *Calais* ſhould not come neare, without expreſſe lycenſe of both Kings. I find alſo that it was agreed that the number of ſtrokes at *Tourney* ſhould be determined by the Ladies; who therefore were requir'd to come thither from all places, that could furniſh beauty, and worth enough to deſerve ſo much honour. This being Concluded, the Earle of *Worceſter* on our Kings part, and *Monſeure de Chaſtillon* on the part of *Francis*, layd out the ground for theſe Triumphes, betwixt *Guiſnes* and *Ardres*, but within the Engliſh pale. While theſe Magnificences were preparing, much diſcourſe paſt betwixt both Princes, and the Ambaſſadors reſident in either Court, concerning the Ancient formes uſed at great ſolemnities. Among which it appears, in a diſpatch of *Wingfeild's*, that *Francis* told him, how hee had heard that our *Edward*, (I thinke he meant *Edward* the third,) was uſed at ſuch times to have his meat carryed up by Cavaliers on Horſe-back; But to let theſe things paſſe, and come to our Hiſtory, I find *Francis* purſued ſtill his point, and is ſo confident now of the Cardinalls favour, that he durſt make an overture to him, for reſtoring *Calais*, and all the other Townes in the Engliſh pale, for a certain ſum of Money. Neither was it ill entertain'd by the Cardinall; though the difficulty of effecting it did ſomewhat deterre him. For as the narrow Seas have been (time out of mind) under the Juriſdiction of the Engliſh, and that our Ships, in making and keeping the paſſage over, were a kind of Bridge, ſo it could not but ſeeme ſtrange, to every man well-affected to his Country, that any Motion ſhould be made, whereby wee might looſe the further end thereof, and therein deprive our ſelves of a landing place. Therefore the Cardinall did not thinke fit to propoſe the buſineſſe at once, nor without diſcovering firſt, how it would take with the generall ſort. For this purpoſe, then, he would caſt out theſe words in his ordinary ſpeech, and at his table; whenſoever there was queſtion of forraigne buſineſſe. What have we to doe with this *Calais*, that lyes in the Continent, and coſts us more then it is worth? I would we were honeſtly rid of it. ¶ The time now drew neere, when, according to the Agreement, the two Kings were to meet betwixt *Guiſnes* and *Ardre*. This alſo was ſeconded much by the Cardinall, who between Pride and Vanity, deſir'd to ſee theſe two together; whom hee was generally thought to governe. He knew alſo his Preſents would not be little; therefore he perſwaded our King to build ſome ſuch houſe neare *Guiſnes*, as might be worthy the reception of two ſo great Princes. To performe this, two thouſand Artificers were appointed. The Modell whereof is ſtill extant in *Greenwich*, among thoſe many rare Pictures, which the moſt vertuous Prince, King *Charles* my good King and Maſter hath. The Cardinall alſo ſummons the prime Nobility to attend the King this journey, with that ſplendour

April.

which

which might become Perſons of their dignity. Some of the more thrifty ſort yet, and eſpecially the Duke of *Buckingham* repin'd hereat, laying the fault of this expence on the Cardinall chiefely, who hearing thereof, for this as well as ſome other cauſes, hereafter mention'd, reſolv'd his ruine. 1520.

Charles the Emperour hearing now of theſe preparations for the Enterview, thought fit perſonally to treat with our King, concerning the breaking it off, as well as all other friendſhip with *Francis*. For thoſe Ambaſſadors whom he had ſent before to the Engliſh Court for this purpoſe, had fayled, our King alleaging to them for all other Reaſons, his promiſe given. Neither could they deny, but the engagement was deepe; for a King of Armes had been in the Engliſh Court on the part of *Francis*, with a Proclamation, declaring that, in *June* next, the two Kings, *Henry* and *Francis*, with foureteene Aydes, would, in a Campe betwixt *Ardre* and *Guiſnes*, anſwer all Commers that were Gentlemen, at *Tilt*, *Tourney*, and *Barriers*. The like Proclamation was made by *Clarenceaux* in the French Court. And yet theſe defies ſtopt not there, for they were ſent by our King to the *Low-Countries*, *Burgundy*, *Germany*, and by *Francis* into *Spaine*, and *Italy*. And now our principall Noblemen had made themſelves ready to attend the King. Among whom, none was ſo gorgeous as the Duke of *Buckingham*; who, finding the King yet not ready to ſet forth, went before to ſee ſome Lands he had in Kent. But his Tenants exclaiming there againſt one *Charles Kneuet* his Steward or Surveyour, for exacting on them, the Duke diſcharg'd him? This peice of Juſtice yet prov'd afterwards the cauſe of his overthrow, as ſhall be declar'd in his place, ſo fatall was it to that houſe of the * *Staffords* to ſuffer by their ſervants. Our King finding now the time of meeting to grow neere, comes to *Canterbury* May 25, intending there to paſſe his *Whitſontide*. This while *Charles* the Emperor had ſo layed his journey from *Spaine*, that the day following, himſelfe accompanyed with divers, not only Lords but faire Ladies comes unexpectedly to *Dover*. Our Cardinall hearing this, poſted away preſently, to aſſure him of his welcome. Our King alſo the next day after, very early, came to *Dover* Caſtle, where the Emperour was lodg'd, who met him on the ſtayres; where being ſaluted by our King, and afterwards reconducted to his Chamber, *Charles* continues his Deſigne to breake this Interview, as well, as all other correſpondence with *Francis*: For both *Charles* and *Francis* had great Deſignes at that time; *Francis* deſir'd to hold the territory of *Milan*, and to recover *Naples*, (which the French having * once got under *Charles* the eighth, did againe ſo ſuddenly * looſe, that it ſeem'd no place there was ſtrong enough, either to hold them out or keep them in) Beſides, he purpos'd to re-eſtabliſh *Henry d' Albret* in the kingdome of *Navarre*, according to the Treaty of *Noyon*. Againe, the Duke of *Gueldres*, being taken under his protection, he could

v. 1. *Rich.* 3.

May. 25.

May 26.

Serres.

* 1494.
* 1495.

1520. could doe no leſſe then defend him againſt *Charles*, who laboured to bring that Province into ſubjection. But eſpecially, the right he conceived to have in the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, he deſired to conſerve, againſt the pretences of *Charles*; who, on the other ſide, endeavour'd to oppoſe him in all theſe places; and was, beſides, offended that *Francis*, declining an Accord made before in* *Paris*, had extorted from him new conditions in the Treaty at * *Noyon*. Therefore, knowing no Prince could ſo much help or hinder him in theſe Affaires, as our King, he offers more advantagious conditions then *Francis* did. And to make this the more acceptable yet, he had largely both preſented the Cardinall, and promis'd (if ever occaſion hapen'd) to make him Pope. And that he might the better in gifts exceed his Competitor *Francis*, a great part of the ſpoyles of *Mexico* had been brought him. In the firſt part our King excus'd himſelfe, as being far ingag'd in honour to meet *Francis*; but for the latter, he bid him be confident, as ſoone as this Interview was paſt. From thence then, our King invited him to *Canterbury*, where he gladly ſaw his Aunt Queene *Katherine*; the Queen Dowager of *France* alſo (once propoſed for his wife) ſeem'd very conſiderable, as being for her beauty much celebrated by the Engliſh and French writers. And, if we may beleeve *Polydore*, his paſſion in ſeeing of her was ſad as he could not be perſwaded to dance, and not that Spaniſh gravity, which, in his age, and amongſt ſuch company, might well have been lay'd aſide. Therefore, having paſs'd over the *Whitſontide* holydayes in thoſe ſports, and entertainments, which our King gave him, He * departs to *Sandwich*, whence * taking ſhip he arriv'd in his native Country of *Flanders*, while our King the ſame day paſt to *Dover*; and thence * with all his Trayne and company to *Calais*. The 4. of *June*, the King, two Queenes, and all the reſt, who were aſſign'd in his Roll or Liſt, remov'd to his Princely lodging neere *Guiſnes*, being a ſquare of timber, whereof every ſide contained three hundred twenty eight foot, with a Savage before it, carrying Bow and Arrowes, and the word *Cui adhæreo præeſt*. The parts of which great building, having been artificially framed in *England*, were now put together, and afterwards taken a ſunder, and brought home. This, again, was moſt ſumptuouſly furniſh'd; eſpecially the Chappell; from which a private Gallery reached to the ſtrong Caſtle of *Guiſnes*: The houſe for *Francis* (neare *Ardre*) was a Building rather great then coſtly, as being erected with ſuch materials, as could be gotten in haſte; his firſt intention being to lodge in a Rich Pavilion of Cloth of Gold; untill the wind threw it downe. Before yet theſe Kings met together, the Cardinall went to ſee *Francis*, and treat with him concerning ſome particulars, about the Marriage betwixt the *Dolphin* and Princeſſe *Mary*. The ſubſtance whereof was, (as I find by the French Records,) That after the Million of Crownes (agreed on in *May* 1515.) were ſatisfied, *Francis* ſhould

* 1515.
* 1516.
May. 27.
* May. 29.
* May. 30.
* May. 31.
June. 4.
Till.

pay

pay at *Calais* one hundred thouſand *Livres Tournois* yearly to our King, untill the Marriage were ſolemnized in the face of the Church; and ſo, during the life of the ſaid *Henry*; after which if the *Dolphin* ſhould in Right of his wife, be King of *England*, to her and her heires. But if the Marriage were not accompliſhed, then the ſaid payment ſhould ceaſe. As for the differences betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, That Madame, the Kings Mother, and the Cardinall of *York* ſhould determine them. All which were concluded the 6. of *June* 1520. The day following the Interview began. The Signall of departing was a warning Peice, to be ſhot, when either of the Kings were ready. This being given, they both iſſued forth royally attended. There was ſome ſtay yet, upon a report, that the numbers exceeded the liſts agreed on. *Francis* ſtopt firſt, and our King afterwards; it being told him by the Lord *Abergaveny*, the French were twice as many. But the Earle of *Shrowſbury* affirming, the French were more affray'd of the Engliſh, then the Engliſh of them, they went on, Our King (being thought the goodlieſt Prince of his time) appearing ſomewhat before the reſt. The French King beholding the demeanour of the Engliſh a while, rode himſelfe alſo before his Traine, the Duke of *Bourbon* bearing a naked ſword before him, and his Admirall and Maſter of the horſe following him. Our King obſerving this, caus'd the Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, who bare the ſword of Eſtate, to draw it, and goe on likewiſe. At laſt coming neare, and the Trumpets ſounding on both ſides, they both alighted in the Valley of *Andren*, and ſaluted each other, paſſing from thence Arme-in-Arme to a Tent of Cloth of Gold erected there; (the firſt agreement concerning theſe points, being it ſeemes ſo much altred.) Where, complements being paſs'd on both ſides, they tooke leave, and return'd to their ſeverall lodgings, upon the 9. both Kings came to view the Campe, or place of exerciſe being 300 yards long and 106 broad, well ditch'd and fenc'd, ſave at the entries; having on the ſide ſcaffolds erected for the beholders. There were alſo ſet up two Artificiall trees (the one a Hawthorne for *Henry* our King, the other a Frambouſier or Raſpis-buſh for *Francis*) with the Arms of the two Kings and their ſeverall Aydes, on which alſo the Arttcles of Jouſts Tourney and Barriers were faſtned The Ayders on the Engliſh ſide were the Duke of *Suffolke*, the Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, Sir *William Kingſton*, Sir *Richard Jerningham*, Sir *Giles Capel*, Mr. *Nicholas Carewe*, and Mr. *Anthony Knevet*. On the French party were *Monſieur le Duc de Vendoſme*, Mr. *de Saint Pol*, Mr. *de Montmorancy*, Mr. *de Bryon*, Mr. *de Saint Meſme*, Maſter *de Bruecall*, and Maſter *Tabanes*. To encounter theſe againe, divers noble Perſons, and good Cavaliers came from forraine Countries; who, preſenting their Armes to the Heralds, were thereupon admitted to the Exerciſe, being appointed upon *Munday* the 11. when the Queens on both ſides and Ladyes coming to

1520.

June 6.

June 7.

June 9.

June 11.

1520 the place, the Kings armed themſelves, with their aydes, who did weare ſutable Liveryes on either ſide. I will not here particularly ſet downe the courſes of theſe Champions, ſince *Hall*, who ſeemes to have been an eye witneſſe, relates them at large. And leſſe ſhall I recount their deviſes, approaching much to the *Rebus* of *Picardie*; according (perchance) to the manner of that time. Let it ſuffice that, among all, none did better (if ſo well) as the two Kings, and eſpecially ours; who diſabled *Monſieur de Grandeville* at the ſecond courſe to runne any more that day. *Monſieur de Montmorancy* held him yet better to it, yet ſo, as to get no advantage. This exerciſe continued foure dayes together: The next day, the French King came early to *Guiſnes*, with a ſmall Trayne; our King alſo (after giving him his *bien-vend*) departing with the like equipage to *Ardres*: ſo that they paſs'd that day with feaſting and dancing with the Queenes, and other Ladies on either ſide. Only I obſerve our King's manner was more gentile then that of *Francis*: for, comming diſguis'd in Masking Clothes, hee not only prevented Treachery againſt his Perſon, when any were intended, but avoyded conteſtation for precedence in his returne home, that night, when he met *Francis* by the way. On Sunday * they repos'd, for the honour of that day; and on Munday, for fowle weather. On Tueſday they continued their Courſes with a like honour: On Wedneſday, being the twentieth, the *Tournay* began; where with ſwords was a rude *Chamaillis*; yet the Kings and their Aydes beat the Counter party to diſarming. Where our King, particularly, got that honour, that a brave French Nobleman with whom he fought, preſented him his Horſe as a gage of his being overcome. The next day our King in *Tournay* likewiſe brok the Poldron of *Mr. de Fluranges*, and made him depart the Campe. But this ſport was ſo rough, that foure of the Aydes being hurt, others were ſubſtituted in their places. The 22. the Barriers began; and, after it, the caſting of Hand-ſpeares or Darts, with the Target, and fighting with the two-handed-ſword. At which exerciſe likewiſe much commendations was given to either King. For Celebrating theſe Magnificences alſo, the Cardinall ſolemnly ſung an high Maſſe, being attended in the moſt Pontificall manner. At the Cloſe whereof, he diſpenced the treaſure of the Roman Church (being the Indulgences granted by *Leo* the tenth) unto the two Kings, who that day dyn'd together by themſelves, their Queens eating together alſo in an other room: This being done, they both turn'd to Barriers where our King, with a few ſtrokes, diſarm'd his adverſary. The next day our King, with his Siſter Queen *Mary*, went in Masking Apparell to ſee the French Queen at *Ardres*, *Francis* likewiſe going to the Engliſh Queen. At the return they alighted, and after many Complements, Embraces, and rich Preſents to each other, bid adiew the twenty fourth of *Iune*. *Polydore* obſerves yet, that there was ſome abruptneſſe

E. *Hall*.

June 16.

June 17.

June 20.

June 22.

June. 24.

in

in the farwell; and ſaith *Francis* told our King, that our Nation did not well comply with the French in their mutuall viſits. But our King putting this off diſcreetly, their diſcurſe paſſed no further. And perchance the occaſion of this *Mal-entendu*, was, that the French gave forth, *Calais* ſhould be delivered up for Money. The next day the King and all his Traine departed to *Calais*, giving licenſe unto many there to returne unto *England*. Upon the 10th. of *July*, the Emperour being at *Graveling* (with his Aunt the Lady *Margaret*) our King (at their Requeſt) admits another Interview. To this purpoſe going towards *Graveling*, the Emperour met him the way, and conducted him thither, giving for the reſt to the Engliſh all that good entertainment ſo little a place could affor'd. The next day, the Emperour and his Aunt the Lady *Margaret* went with our King to *Calais*, where much Maskings, and Magnificences paſſing, buſineſſes yet were not forgot. For our King (together with *Monſieur de-la-Roche*, employ'd for *Francis*) read and offer'd to *Charles*, (now Emperour) the Tripartite League, ſigned betwixt them formerly; requiring him to enter thereunto by the name of Emperour (as I conceive it.) But the Emperour having formerly ſign'd the League by the name of *Charles*, and beſides deſiring more the accompliſhing of his deſignes in *Italy*, and elſe-where, then to confirme that agreement, ſo deferr'd or avoyded this propoſition; that I find not what effect it preſently tooke. But it is probable he was not willing to engage our King any further in the affaires, betwixt himſelfe and *Francis*, as thinking that he was alone too ſtrong for his adverſary. He would alſo have gone out of Towne that night, being the third after his coming; but our King uſing a courteous kind of violence to make him ſtay, the rumour went among the Emperours ſervants, that he was detayn'd; but the next day clear'd this: for the Emperour, being conducted ſome part of his way towards *Graveling*, was courteouſly bid farwell, and preſented with a brave Courſer richly trapped. The French King hearing of theſe kind paſſages, and remembring particularly that *Charles*, by his firſt agreement had conſtituted our King, Arbiter of all emergent differences, tooke this Interview extreamly ill; and the rather that he heard ſome muttering of a Match propoſed by the Lady *Margaret*, betwixt the Emperour and the Princeſſe *Mary*, though a child. Which yet was a miſtake it being not treated of ſeriouſly (as the Spaniſh writers have it) till neare two years after; and not before the French had both broken the common League, and given new provocations by their practices in *Scotland*. Our King having now no more to doe at *Calais*, tooke the firſt faire wind, and, with all his Trayne, came ſafely into *England*.

1520.

E. Hall.

July 10.

July 11.

I ſhall returne now to the buſineſſe of *Luther*, whom *Leo* cited to *Rome* 1518. giving * order alſo to Cardinall *Cajetan* his Legat in *Germany*, to oppoſe his doctrine, not omitting Letters to this purpoſe,

*Aug. 23. 1518.

1520 poſe, both to *Fredericke* Duke of *Saxony*, and to the ſuperiour of the *Auguſtines* in *Germany*. Whereupon *Cajetan*, in divers conferences at the dyet of *Augsburg*, labours to convert him, but in vaine. At laſt *Luther*, being threatned by *Cajetan* in the Pope's name, He appeales to him, in the forme uſuall in theſe Caſes, *tanquam à Pontifice minus edocto ad eundem rectius edocendum*; but deſires, with all, he might anſwer for himſelfe in *Germany*, and that caution might be given for his ſafety; ſince, what was controverted by him, did not appear as yet to be poſitively defin'd any way by the Church. *Leo*, this while, to make good his Authority * grants new *Indulgences*, which no man ſhould reject unleſſe hewould be excommunicate, &c. *Luther* finding, thus, no hope of alteration, and beſides that he was branded with the name of Hereticke, * appeales from *Leo* to a Generall Councell; yet writes to the Pope, (1519) a very ſubmiſſe Letter, wherein he proteſts; That hee was never intended to fall away from the Church. That all hee ſaid, was chiefely intended againſt thoſe who abuſed the power of *Indulgences*; concerning which therefore he would ſpeake no more, ſo that his adverſaries were likewiſe ſilenced; briefely, that hee would omit nothing, which might concerne Peace in Religion.

Sleid. 1518. Octob. 19.

1518. *Nov. 11. *Sleid. C. L.* 1

1518. *Nov. 28. 1519. March. 3.

Maximilian dying about this time, *Luther* had ſome Reſpite. Mens eyes being turned more on him, who was to ſucceed *Maximilian*, then any other Argument. Beſides, he ſeemed now unwilling any longer to diſpute the Pope's Authority, to which his adverſaries enviouſly reduced all the controverted points. Yet as *Ulricus Zuinglius* appeared about this time at *Zutich*, to conſent with *Luther* in many things, and that a Letter of *Eraſmus* alſo, dated 1519, did much encourage him, ſo he began to recover force. That of *Eraſmus* (*extant l. 6. Epiſtol.*) telling him, he had ſome favourers in the *Low-countries*, but many in *England*, and among them divers principall Perſons; that yet he ſhould do well to uſe modeſty and diſcretion; *Chriſt* having thereby both inſtituted his Doctrine, and his Apoſtle *Paul* deſtoyed the Jewiſh Law, only by referring the Doctrine and Precepts contained therein unto *Allegorie*. That he ſhould doe well to ſpeake againſt thoſe rather who abuſed the Papall Authority, then againſt the Pope himſelfe. In concluſion, that hee ſhould take heed of doing any thing out of anger, hate, or vaine glory. *Philip Melanthon* alſo, a learned pious, and charitable man, did many wayes ſecond *Luther*. Concerning all whom, and many more famous Schollers, who lived at that time, it may be obſerved, that had they agreed among themſelves, and not ambitiouſly affected ſingularity in ſome one point or other, they might have found more followers of their Doctrine, and conſequently have oblig'd the Pope, either to cut off ſome points as ſuperfluous, or to have recommended them with more indifferency to the People. Howſoever, all theſe perſons concurring with *Luther* in great part, gave him that courage,

that

that whereas at first he disputed chiefly concerning Purgatory, true Penitency, (or Pennance,) the Office or duty of Charity, and Indulgencies and Pardons, he began no wto question the Popes Authority, Images in Churches, the *Celibate* of Priests, and some other points tending hereunto. As this yet got him great fame, so it procur'd him many Enemies; before whom, that he might give an account of his Doctrine, he comes to Conference at *Leipsique*, 1519. accompanied with *Philip Melanchon*, where *Iohn Eccius* oppos'd him, desiring to begin his disputation at the Popes Authority; but *Luther*, conceiving this was to make him odious, labours to decline the question; for the rest, thinking fit onely to send unto the Pope; to whom, about the beginning of 1520, he writes to this effect. That, though he appeal'd from him heretofore to a Generall Councell, it was not with an ill minde, as having in his continuall Prayers sollicited the Almighty for him. That he could not deny himselfe to be sharpe and censorious enough, when offence was given; yet that he ever thought well of his Holinesse in particular, onely it grieved him that he lived in so wicked a Court as that of his at *Rome*, which he said was now become another *Babylon* or *Sodome*; that he being amidst such people, as a Lambe amongst Wolves, it were pitty he should any longer reside there. That it were better for him therefore to leave all, and descend to some simple Parsonage or Living, or otherwise to maintaine himselfe with what he had gotten already, then to hazzard himselfe to such Pestilencies and Infections; That, in this advice, he did but imitate *Bernard*, who did deplore the estate of *Eugenius*, when *Rome* was far purer then at this day. In conclusion he recommends to him his late Booke entituled *De libertate Christiana*. But whatsoever *Luthers* advice was, I cannot believe him so simple, as to suppose his words had either the power or Spels to call the Pope from his seat, or that tendernesse of conscience to live among wicked persons, was enough to make him forsake, together with his charge, all his dignities and honours; therefore I believe he meant this, as the Pope himselfe understood it, onely for a Pasquill or Satyre; which made him also assemble the Cardinals, and consult with them herein, who all condemned *Luther*; yet not so, but it was wish'd by some, a Reformation of divers abuses had either preceded *Luthers* admonition, or at least accompanied it at that time, when in humble and modest termes he submitted himselfe to the Church. That their arrogating supreame power in temporall things, had made divers Princes disaffect their Government, who yet embraced their Doctrine. That, therefore, it was not safe to suffer them to have an Author for deserting the Church, who had already sought occasions for it, in the late Councell of *Pisa*, and elsewhere; Neither was it a good Argument, to say that *Luther* was a dangerous person; since, the more hurt he could doe, the lesse he was to be forced to extremities; as having betwixt his wit

1520 *Sleid.*

1519. July. 4.

April 6.

Sleid. l.2.

1512.

1520. wit and favourers, enough to trouble all things: Briefly, that, to avoyd his venomous Doctrine, the best way was not to urge him to cast it forth, but rather (if it could be done handsomely) to quiet him by bestowing some Ecclesiasticall preferment. But so haughty were the major part of the spirits in this Assembly, that rejecting this Politique advice, they condemned *Luthers* bookes to
June 15. the fire; but *Luther* growing hereupon but more fierce, was at length Excommunicated, and his Bookes burnt. He, on the other side, striving to revenge this, at *Witenberg* in a full Assembly
Decem. 10. of Schollers burnes * the Booke called *Jus Pontificium*; warning men besides to take heed of the Papall Government, and Doctrines, appealing againe to a Councell. *Charles*, understanding these passages, was much troubled, as foreseeing the following dissentions. Nevertheless, he tempered businesses so, as he held the Pope thereby in some suspence; Therefore he would not precipitate his sentence against *Luther*, or so much as censure him, till he were
* Octob. 23. publiquely heard. For which purpose, (after his being * Crownd
* Jan. 6. solemnly at *Aix*.) He assembled a Dyet at * *Wormbs*, whether he
1521 called *Luther*, giving him a safe Conduct also, to goe and returne.
*April 16. Whereupon *Luther* * came in his Fryers habit, but refusing to re-
* May 8. tract his opinions, he and his favourers were * proscribed by Decree or Edict. Howbeit, as this did rather punish then convince him; Our King (being at leasure now from warres, and for the rest delighting much in learning) thought he could not give better proof either of his zeale or education, then to write against *Luther*. To this also he was exasperated, that *Luther* had oftentimes spoken contemptuously of the learned *Thomas* of *Aquine*, who yet was so much in request with the King, and especially the Cardinall, that (as *Polydore* hath it) he was therefore called *Thomisticus*. Our King hereupon compiles a Booke, wherein he strenuously opposes *Luther* in the point of Indulgences, number of Sacraments, the Papall Authority, and other particulars, to be seen in that his worke, entituled *De sept. Sacrimentis*; a principall copy whereof, richly bound, being sent to *Leo*, I remember my selfe to have seen in the *Vatican Library*. The manner of delivery whereof (as
Octob. 10. I finde it in our * Record) was thus; Doctor *John Clarke* Dean of *Windsor* our Kings Ambassador, appearing in full Consistory, the Pope, knowing the glorious Present he brought, first gave him his Foot, and then his Cheekes to kisse; then receiving the Booke, he promised to doe as much for Approbation thereof to all Christian Princes (which our King much desired) as ever was done for Saint *Augustines* or Saint *Hieromes* workes; assuring him withall that the next Consistory he would bestow a publique Title on our
* 1515. King: which having been * heretofore privately debated among
1516. the Cardinals, and those of *Protector*, or *Defensor Romanæ Ecclesiæ*, or *Sedis Apostolicæ*, or *Rex Apostolicus*, or *Orthodoxus*, produced, they at last agreed on *DEFENSOR FIDEI*. A

Tranſcript of which Bull (out of an Originall *ſub Plumbo* in our Records) I have here inſerted. 1521

LEO Epiſcopus Servus Servorum Dei, Chariſſimo in Chriſto filio, Henrico Angliæ Regi, Fidei Defenſori, ſalutem & ampliſſimam ben. Ex ſuperna diſpoſitionis arbitrio, licet imparibus meritis, Univerſalis Eccleſiæ Regimini præſidentes, ad hoc cordis noſtri longe lateque diffundimus cogitatus, ut Fides Catholica, ſine qua nemo proficit ad ſalutem, continuum ſuſcipiat incrementum; & ut ea, quæ pro cohibendis conatibus illam deprimere, aut pravis mendacibuſque commentis pervertere & denigrare molientium, ſanâ Chriſti fidelium præſertim dignitate regali fulgentium doctrinâ ſunt diſpoſita, continuis proficiant incrementis, partes noſtri miniſterii & operam impendimus efficaces. Et ſicut alii Romani Pontifices prædeceſſores noſtri Catholicos Principes, prout rerum & temporum qualitas exigebat, ſpecialibus favoribus proſequi conſueverunt, illos præſertim qui, procelloſis temporibus, & rabida Schiſmaticorum & Hæreticorum fervente perfidia, non ſolum in fidei ſerenitate & devotione illibata, ſacro-ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ immobiles perſtiterunt, verum etiam tanquam ipſius Eccleſiæ legitimi filii, ac fortiſſimi Athletæ Schiſmaticorum & Hæreticorum inſanis furoribus ſpiritualiter & temporaliter ſe oppoſuerunt: Ita etiam nos Majeſtatem tuam, propter excelſa & immortalia ejus erga nos & hanc ſanctam ſedem, in qua permiſſione divinâ ſedemus, opera & geſta condignis & immortalibus præconiis & laudibus efferre deſideramus, ac ea ſibi concedere, Propter quæ invigilare debeat, à grege dominico Lupos arcere, & putrida membra, quæ myſticum Chriſti Corpus inficiunt, ferro & materiali gladio abſcindere, & nutantium corda fidelium in fidei ſoliditate confirmare. Sanè cum nuper dilectus filius Iohannes Clarke, Majeſtatis tuæ apud nos Orator, in Conſiſtorio noſtro coram Venerabilibus fratribus noſtris Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalibus, & Compluribus aliis Romanæ Curiæ Prælatis, Librum,

quem

1521. quem Majeſtas Tua Charitate, quæ omnia ſedulò & nihil perperam agit, fideique Catholicæ zelo accenſa & devotionis erga nos & hanc ſanctam ſedem fervore inflammata contra erroris diverſorum hæreticorum ſæpius ab hac ſancta ſede damnatos, nuperque per Martinum Lutherum ſuſcitatos & innovatos tanquam nobile, & ſalutare quoddam Antidotum compoſuit, nobis examinandum, & deinde authoritate noſtra approbandum obtuliſſet, ac luculenta Oratione ſua expoſuiſſet Majeſtatem tuam paratam ac diſpoſitam eſſe, ut, quemadmodum veris rationibus & irrefragabilibus ſacræ Scripturæ ac Sanctorum Patrum authoritatibus, notorios errores ejuſdem Martini Lutheri confutaverit, ita etiam omnes eos ſequi & defenſare præſumentes totius Regni viribus & armis perſequatur; Noſque ejus libri admirabilem quandam & cæleſtis gratiæ rore conſperſam doctrinam diligenter accurateque introſpexiſſemus; Omnipotenti Deo, a quo omne datum optimum & omne donum perfectum eſt, immenſas gratias egimus, qui optimam & ad omne bonum inclinatam mentem tuam inſpirare, eique tantam gratiam ſupernè infundere dignatus fuit, ut ea ſcriberes, quibus ſanctam ejus fidem contra novum errorum damnatorum hujuſmodi ſuſcitatorem defenderes, ac reliquos Reges & Principes Chriſtianos tuo exemplo invitares, ut ipſi etiam Orthodoxæ fidei & Evangelicæ veritati in periculum & diſcrimen adductæ, omni ope ſua adeſſe opportuneque favere vellent. Æquum autem eſſe cenſentes, eos, qui pro fidei Chriſti hujuſmodi defenſione pios labores ſuſceperunt, omni laude & honore afficere, volenteſque non ſolùm ea quæ Majeſtas tua contra eundem Martinum Lutherum abſolutiſſima doctrina nec minori eloquentia ſcripſit, condignis laudibus extollere ac magnificare, authoritateque noſtra approbare & confirmare, ſed etiam Majeſtatem ipſam tuam tali honore ac titulo decorare, ut noſtris ac perpetuis futuris temporibus Chriſti fideles omnes intelligant, quàm gratum acceptumque nobis fuerit Majeſtatis tuæ Munus, hoc præſertim

præſertim tempore, nobis oblatum : Nos, qui Petri, quem Chriſtus in Cœlum aſcenſurus vicarium ſuum in Terris reliquit, & cui curam gregis ſui commiſit, veri Succeſſores ſumus, & in hac ſancta ſede, qua omnes dignitates ac tituli emanant, ſedemus, habita ſuper his cum eiſdem fratribus noſtris matura deliberatione, de eorum unamini conſilio & aſſenſu, Majeſtati tuæ titulum hunc, (viz.) Fidei Defenſorem donare decrevimus, prout Te tali titulo per præſentes inſignimus; mandantes omnibus Chriſti fidelibus, ut Majeſtatem tuam hoc titulo nominent, &, cum ad eam ſcribent, poſt dictionem, *Regi*, adjungant, *Fidei Defenſori*. Et profectò, hujus tituli excellentia & dignitate ac ſingularibus meritis tuis diligenter perpenſis & conſideratis, nullum neque dignius neque Majeſtati tuæ convenientius nomen excogitare potuiſſemus : quod quoties audies & leges, toties propriæ virtutis optimique meriti tui recordaberis; nec hujuſmodi titulo intumeſces vel in ſuperbiam elevaberis, ſed ſolita tua prudentia humilior, & in fide Chriſti, ac devotione hujus ſanctæ ſedis à quâ exaltatus fueris, fortior & conſtantior evades, ac in Domino bonorum omnium largitore lætaberis, perpetuum hoc & immortale gloriæ tuæ monumentum poſteris tuis relinquere, illiſque viam oſtendere, ut, ſi tali titulo ipſi quoque inſigniri optabunt, tali etiam opera efficere præclaraque Majeſtatis tuæ veſtigia ſequi ſtudeant; quam prout de nobis & dominica ſede optimè merita eſt, unâ cum uxore ac filiis, ac omnibus qui à te & ab illis naſcentur, noſtra benedictione, in nomine illius à quo illam concedendi poteſtas nobis data eſt, largâ & liberali manu benedicentes, Altiſſimum illum, qui dixit, per me Reges Regnant, & Principes imperant, & in cujus manu corda ſunt Regum, rogamus & obſecramus, ut eam in ſuo ſancto propoſito confirmet, ejuſque devotionem multiplicet, ac præclaris pro ſancta fide geſtis ita illuſtret, ac toti Orbi terrarum conſpicuam reddat, ut judicium quod de ipſa fecimus, eam tam inſigni titulo decorantes, à nemine falſum aut vanum judicari poſſit :

1521.

1521 demum, Mortalis hujus vitæ finito curriculo, ſempiternæ illius gloriæ conſortem atque participem reddat.

Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno incarnationis Dominicæ Milleſimo Quingenteſimo Vieeſimo Primo. Quinto Id. Octobris, Pontificatus noſtri Anno Nono.

✕ *Ego Leo X. Catholicæ Eccleſiæ Epiſcopus ſs.*
Ego P. tt. S. Euſebii Presb. Cardinalis ſs.
Ego A. tt. Sanctæ Mariæ in Tranſtiberim Presb. Cardinalis Bonon. ſs.
Ego Laur. Scop^um quatuor Coronatorum Presb. Cardinalis ma^n. propr^a. ſs.
&c. (24 alii Cardinales.

Such was the covetouſneſſe of the Richer ſort at this time in *England*, that they converted many large Corn-fields into Paſture; hereof enſued a generall decay not onely of houſes, but of perſons, which ſhould doe their King and Countrey ſervice. Beſides, Sheep, Cattell, and Clothes being thus within the hands of a few, the price was much inhaunſed. To remedy this miſchiefe, the King cauſed the ancient Statutes, provided on that behalfe, to be looked into. And accordingly directed his Commiſſion to the Juſtices of Peace, to reſtore all the Tillage ground that had been encloſed any time within fifty yeeres laſt paſt, and to cauſe the houſes anciently upon them to be re-edified; yet (as *Polydore* hath it) divers by compounding ſecretly with the Cardinall, exempted themſelves.

About this time *Edward Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, eminent for his high bloud, and large Revenue, drew on himſelfe a dangerous ſuſpition; which though it was againe fomented by the Cardinall, who diſaffected him for ſome ſpeeches he had caſt forth, yet, could not have overthrown him, but that ſome indiſcretion of his owne concurred. Beſides, he ſuffered much through the ill offices of *Charles Knevet*, formerly mentioned; who yet durſt not appeare, till he ſaw the Duke not onely diſcountenanced, but weakned in his Friends and Allies. And of theſe I finde two principally. One, *Henry Percy* Earle of Northumberland, whoſe daughter the Duke had married; the other *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey*, who had married the Dukes daughter. Againſt *Northumberland*, cauſe was taken for clayming certaine Wards; which, after cloſe commitment, yet, he was forced to relinquiſh Againſt *Surrey* the Cardinall proceeded otherwiſe. For, though he hated him for drawing his dagger at him on ſome occaſion; yet as the Earle was more wary then to give new offence,

he

he thought fit to ſend him away upon ſome honourable Imploy- 1521.
ment, for which he found this Overture.

Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Earle of *Kildare*, made Deputy in *Ireland* to *Henry* Duke of *Yorke*, (now King, who at * foure yeeres old was by his Father made Lieutenant of that Countrey) having done divers good ſervices againſt Rebels, was made * Knight of the Garter, and enjoyed that place till his death; when his ſonne *Gerald* being ſubſtitute therein, ſo behaved himſelfe, as he likewiſe got much credit: though, as he had the houſe of *Ormond* his enemy, and particularly Sir *Pierce Butler* Earle of *Oſſory*, ſecret ill-offices were done him; Nor did it availe, that he had given his ſiſter in marriage to the ſaid *Butler*, and help'd him to recover the Earldome of *Ormond*, detained wrongfully ſince the death of *James*, by a Baſtard of that Family; For it was impoſſible to oblige him; eſpecially, where he found ſo advantageous an occaſion to diſſent. For as he watch'd over the Earle of *Deſmond*, his perpetuall adverſary, ſince the diviſion of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke*, (in which his Anceſtors were on the ſide of *Lancaſter*, and the *Kildares* and *Deſmonds* on that of *Yorke*,) he diſcovered more favours done the preſent Earle of *Deſmond*, (whom he called a Traytor) then he thought due to him; Inſomuch that he complain'd to the Cardinall, who thereupon ſent for *Kildare*. Though *Polydore* ſaith, he came voluntarily into *England* to match with ſome Engliſh Lady, and there behaved himſelfe ſo unreſpectfully to the Cardinall, that he was caſt into Priſon. But whatſoever the cauſe was, his charge was beſtowed on the Earle of *Surrey*, who going to *Ireland* in *April* 1520, reduced the Earle of *Deſmond* and others to obedience.

Camp. Hiſt. of Ireland.
* 1495.
* 1504.
* 1513.
Campion. Hiſt. Irel.
1520.
1520. April.

The Duke of *Buckingham* being thus expoſed and unfriended, the Cardinall treats ſecretly with *Knevet*, concerning him; who thereupon diſcovers his late Maſters life; Confeſſing that the Duke, by way of diſcourſe, was accuſtomed to ſay, how he meant ſo to uſe the matter, that, if King *Henry* dyed without iſſue, he would attaine the Crown, and that he would puniſh the Cardinall. Beſides, that he had ſpoken hereof unto *George Knevet* Lord *Abergavenny*, who married the ſaid Dukes daughter. By what meanes yet the Duke intended particularly to effect theſe deſignes, I doe not finde exactly ſet downe by *Charles Knevet*. Neither doe the Authors, who write hereof relate his Pedegree. Onely our Heralds ſay, he was deſcended from *Anne Plantagenet* daughter of *Thomas* of *Woodſtocke*, ſonne to King *Edward* the third. How farre this yet might entitle him to the Crown in caſe King *Henry* ſhould have no iſſue, I have neither leiſure nor diſpoſition to examine. I ſhall onely therefore, for ſatisfaction of the Reader, ſelect ſome principall points out of his Indictment; leaving the Reader, for the reſt, unto the ſearch of the Record: In which, the points that in my opinion made moſt againſt the Duke, were; Firſt, That at

1521.
* 1512.
April 24.
& July 22.
& 1513.
April 26.
& 1517.
July 20.
* 1515.
April 16.
* 1518.
March 20.
* Feb. 20.
1519.
* Feb. 20.
1519.

* ſeverall times he had ſent to one *Hopkins* a Monke in the Priory of *Henton*, to be informed by him, concerning the matters he imagined; and that the Monke ſhould returne anſwer, The Duke ſhould have all; and therefore ſhould labour to procure the love of the people. 2 That the Duke * afterwards ſhould goe in perſon to the ſaid *Hopkins*, who confirmed the ſaid prediction, adding, that he knew it by Revelation. Whereupon the ſaid Duke ſhould give him ſeverall Rewards. 3 That he ſhould * ſpeake to *Ralph Nevil*, Earle of *Weſtmerland*; (his ſonne in law) that, if ought but good come to the King, the Duke of *Buckingham* ſhould be next in blood to the Crown, the King having as yet no iſſue. That, to comply herewith, he did many things which argued Ambition, and deſire to make himſelfe popular. That he * ſaid to one *Gilbert*, his Chancellor, that whatſoever was done by the Kings Father, was done by wrong; murmuring withall againſt the preſent Government. 4 That the ſaid *Charles Knevet*, that if he had been committed to the Tower, (whereof he was in danger upon occaſion of one Sir *William Bulmer*) he would haae ſo wrought, that the principall doers thereof ſhould not have cauſe of great rejoycing. For he would have playd the part which his Father intended to have put in practice againſt King *Richard* the third at *Salisbury*, who made earneſt ſuit to come into the preſence of the ſaid King; which ſuit if he might have obtained, he having a Knife ſecretly about him, would have thruſt it into the body of King *Richard*, as he had made ſemblance to kneele downe before him. And that, in ſpeaking theſe words, he maliciouſly layd hands on his Dagger; ſwearing, that, if he were ſo evill us'd, he would doe his beſt to accompliſh his intended purpoſe. 5 That * being in ſpeech with Sir *George Nevill* Knight, Lord *Abegavenny*, he ſaid, that if the King died, he would have the Rule of the Realme, in ſpight of whoſoever ſaid the contrary; ſwearing, that if the Lord *Abergavenny* reveal'd this he would fight with him. This I conceive to be the ſubſtance of the moſt ſpeciall Articles in the Evidence; which the Courteous Reader yet may doe well to conſider more at large, as they are extant on Record. How far yet theſe particulars were proved, and in what ſort, my Authors deliver not. Onely I finde (out of our Records) that the Duke of *Buckingham* being committed to the Tower *April* 16. did under his own hand declare to Sir *Thomas Lovell* Conſtable of the Tower, the paſſages betwixt him and *Hopkins*, in this manner: That is to ſay, that the Summer before our King made warre in *France*, *Hopkins* ſent for him; but, not being able to goe, he commanded one *Delacour*, his Chaplaine, to repaire thither; howbeit, that *Hopkins* ſaid nought to him; yet that himſelfe came the next * Lent; where, in Shrift, the ſaid Monke told him, that our King ſhould win great honour in his journey to *France*; and that if the King of Scots came to *England* then, he ſhould never goe home againe.

* 1519.
Sept. 10.

April 16.

1512.

* 1513.

And

And that, when he asked *Hopkins* how he knew this, he ſaid *ex deo habeo*: And that *Hopkins* demanding afterward, what Children the King had had, He told the number; and that *Hopkins* ſhould ſay thereupon, I pray God his iſſue continue; for that hee feared God was not contented, becauſe he made no reſtitution according to his Father's Will, charging the Duke further to adviſe the King's Councell to make reſtitution. Further, That he told his Chancellor thoſe words, and at his returne out of *France*, came to *Hopkins* againe, and ſaid, he had told him true: Alſo, that (another time) he came to *Hopkins*, together with his ſonne *Stafford*, and the Earl of *Weſtmerland*; and that *Hopkins* asked who he was, and thereupon ſhould ſay, that ſome of his bloud or name ſhould prove Great Men. And that, after this, *Hopkins* ſhould ſend to the Duke, to pray him, according to his promiſe, to help their Houſe (being at *Henton* in *Sommerſetſhire*) to make their Conduit; the ten pounds, formerly-given by him, being ſpent. And more then this he confeſs'd not. Notwithſtanding which, when the Indictment was openly read, the Duke ſaid it was falſe, untrue, conſpir'd, and forg'd, to bring him to his death; alleadging (as he was an eloquent Perſon) many reaſon to falſifie the Indictment; the King's Attorny on the other ſide, producing the Examinations, Confeſſions, and proofes of witneſſes. The Duke hereupon deſired the witneſſes which were *Knevet*, *Gilbert*, *Delacour*, and *Hopkins*, to be brought forth. Theſe confirming their depoſitions, the Duke was tryed by his Peeres, (being a Duke, a Marqueſſe, ſeven Earles, and twelve Barons) before the Duke of *Norfolke*, who was for the time made Lord High Steward of *England*. They condemning him, the Duke of *Norfolke* delivered his ſentence, not without teares. To which he replyed, My Lord of *Norfolke*, you have ſaid as a Traytor ſhould be ſaid unto, but I was never none. But, my Lords, I nothing maligne for what you have done to me; but the Eternall God forgive you my death, and I doe. I ſhall never ſue to the King for Life: Howbeit, he is a gracious Prince, and more Grace may come from him, then I deſire. And ſo I deſire you, my Lords, and all my fellowes, to pray for me. Whereupon hee was brought back to the Tower. Where all the favour he received was a Meſſage from the King, declaring his ſentence was mitigated ſo farre, that, inſtead of receiving the death of a Traytor, he ſhould have only his head * cut off. Thus ended the Duke of *Buckingham*, much lamented by the people, (who libell'd the Cardinall for it, calling him *Carnificis filium*,) as being thought rather *Criminall* through folly and raſh words, then any intention declared by overt Act againſt the King's Perſon; and therefore not uncapable of his mercy; which alſo it was thought would not have been denyed, had he ſued for it in fitting terms. But ſince at his Arraignment, he did, as it were, diſclaime his life, he would not obtrude it; and therefore only cauſed a Letter of comfort to be written to the Dutcheſſe,

1521.

Hall. Holinſhead.

E. Hall.

May. 13.

May 17.

1521. Dutcheſſe, and Lord *Stafford*. Yet the *Tragedy* ended not ſo; for though *George* Lord *Abergavenny*, after a few moneths impriſonment, was, through the Kings favour, delivered; yet *Hopkins*, after a ſerious repentance that he had been an Author of ſo much miſchiefe, dyed of griefe. And here I muſt obſerve that together with this Duke, that great place of High-Conſtable-of-*England* remaines extinguiſh'd, unleſſe ſome extraordinary occaſion reviveit.

I ſhall returne here to ſpeake of *Charles* the fifth, who having, as is ſayd, keept a Diet at *Wormes*, did now Leavy Forces. And the rather, that he heard warre was intended againſt him by *Solyman*; who, being a Martiall Prince, and Crowned the very ſame day at *Conſtantinople*, that *Charles* was at *Aix*, ſeemed to have ſomewhat of the ſame Aſcendent; however they differ'd in their Intereſts. Beſides, it was obſerved, that as *Charles* the fifth was the eleventh Emperour from *Albertus*, in whoſe time the houſe of the *Ottomans* began; ſo *Sueliman* (or *Solyman*) was the eleventh Prince of his Race. Howſoever, on their occaſion much of their Subjects bloud was ſpilt, and more would have been, had not *Francis* turned the Armes of *Charles* upon himſelfe. The Cauſes of diſſention betwixt *Charles* and *Francis*, were; Firſt, That *Claude* Eldeſt daughter of *Loüis* the twelfth, and *Anne* of *Bretagne* having by
* 1501. a ſolemne * Treaty been accorded to *Charles*, *Francis* yet * obtain'd
* 1514. her, and thereby eluded his hopes of *Bretaigne*. Secondly, their
May 18. mutuall Ambition for the Empire. Thirdly, ill-Offices done by
1519. their Courtiers betwixt them. Fourthly, but chiefely, the incompatibility of their demands for their Ancient Right; whereof I find theſe moſt urged. Homage for *Flanders*, and *Artois*, required by *Francis*, as being held anciently of the Crown of *France*; which *Charles* yet refuſed, ſaying, that, ſince that Eſtate was devolved to an Emperour, it was in a higher dignity, then could be ſubmitted to any Inferiour. But to this again *Francis* replyed, that it derogated from no body to give what was due. Beſides, that the Title of a King was greater and more Auguſt then that of an Emperour; both as the power is more abſolute in it ſelfe, and that it depends not on the Election of others; for which purpoſe a paſſage was alleaged out of *Matth. Paris*, when the Empire having beene offered to *Robert*, brother of *Saint Loüis*, the Councell of State refus'd it, for this reaſon; ſaying further, it was enough that *Robert* was brother to ſo great a King. For which Cauſe alſo, the French obſerve, that none ever aſpir'd to it of the Line of the *Capet's*, but *Francis*. Againe, they differ'd about *Milan*, of which
* 1500. *Loüis* the twelfth having gotten the * Inveſtiture, *Francis* did in
* 1515. purſuit of his Right, expell *Maximilian Sforza*; whoſe Brother and ſucceſſor yet was protected by *Charles*, and reinplaced. Moreover, the Duchy of *Burgundy* was queſtioned by *Charles*. For though *Loüis* the eleventh had united it to his Crown, and that, for Title thereunto,

thereunto, it was alleaged, that *Iohn* King of *France* had given it to his younger Son *Philip*, to hold to him and his heires Males only; and that *Charles* laſt Duke of *Burgundy*, having but one onely daughter, it therefore reverted; yet *Charles* underſtanding the buſineſſe otherwiſe, claimed it by a long ſucceſſion of his Anceſtors in *Burgundy*. Theſe ſo many pretences on either ſide engaged the two Princes into perpetuall warres, which began this yeare. For *Francis*, inſiſting ſtill upon the Treaty of *Noyon*, prepared to recover *Navarre*; And to this he thought the Comunidadoes or Inſurrections in *Spaine* (begun 1519, and continued ſtill) would conduce. For as the people held their *Iunta* or Aſſembly for redreſſe of their grievances, he conceived ſome might be drawn to his party. But he was deceiv'd; for they mutined not for his ſake, but their own, as appear'd; pretending for their chiefe grievances only, that their King lived in forraigne parts, and tranſported their Money for his occaſions there, and beſtowed divers great Places in *Spaine* on ſtrangers. So that, though they continued their demaunds with much inſolency and boldneſſe, they perſiſted nevertheleſſe in their love to their Prince and Country, without admitting a Treaty with *Francis*. All which yet could not preſerve them. For, though they proceeded with more ſobriety and correſpondence, then hath been obſerved in any popular Inſurrections, (as *Sandoval* relates it at large) they were divided at laſt, and overthrowne by the name of Rebels; Their Actions being ſo bad and dangerous, as their intentions could not excuſe them. Howſoever, *Francis* thought fit to make uſe of this occaſion, and therefore, before their defeat, he levyed Forces; and, not long after, ſent *Andre de Foix*, *Seigneur de Aſperrant*, and Brother of the famous *Lautrech*, to *Navarre*. Where a war began, that, in divers places, laſted 38 yeares following (as *Sandoval* obſerves it) and coſt the lives of above five hundred thouſand men; the French ſpeake of a far greater number. Their firſt Progreſſe was happy; for, in leſſe then 15 dayes, they tooke *Navarre*. But as they would goe further to *Catalunna*, and beſiege *Logronno* (or *Groyne*,) The Spaniſh Commanders, attended now with many of the Communidadoes, gave Battaile and overthrew; them taking *de Foix* Priſoner: whereupon alſo *Navarre* was regained in leſſe time then it was loſt, and *Pamplona* thenceforth better fortified. But not on this part only did the French ſhew their *Mal-Talent*, but diſcover'd it on this occaſion alſo towards another Coaſt. The Prince of *Chimay* conteſting in Law with the *Seigneur d' Aymeries* concerning a Caſtle or Town in the Forreſt of *Ardennes*, and County of *Luxemburg*, call'd *Hierge*, gain'd his cauſe by the judgement of the Peeres of the Dutchy of *Boüillon*, who determin'd buſineſſes in chiefe; and accordingly enjoyed poſſeſſion thereof, for many yeares. Howbeit *Aymeries* (being not contented herewith) appealed to the Chancellor of *Brabant*, and prevail'd ſo far, that the heires of *Chimay* were ſummon'd to give accompt of their title unto

1521

1516.

March.

1521. to the Emperour. But, becauſe the Soveraignty of *Robert de la Mark Dnc de Boüillon* was moſt concern'd herein, they, for their beſt refuge, made complaint to him; he again addreſſeth himſelfe to the Emperor, and remonſtrates his right: yet, finding the cauſe of *Aymeries* likely to prevaile, ſecretly Treats with *Francis*, for aſſiſtance and protection. Being aſſur'd hereof, he (though a ſmall Prince) ſends a publique Defie to *Charles*, being then at the Diet in *Wormes*. The Emperour, judging quickly from whence this audaciouſneſſe proceeded, prepares for warre. Neither wanted hee a ſeeming occaſion. For though he ever ſuſpected that *Robert de la Mark*, (as one who had ſerv'd heretofore the French in *Italy*, had his chiefe dependance on *Francis*) yet now being inform'd that *Fleuranges* (ſon unto the ſaid *Robert de la Mark*) having rais'd in *France* about three thouſand foot and foure hundred horſe, (all Voluntiers) had beſieged *Vireton*, a little place in *Luxemburg*, appertaining to the Emperor; he nothing doubted, but that the French had aſſiſted him herein. Howbeit, *Francis*, conſidering it was not convenient to begin a war ſo neer home, & beſides, being adviſed by our King to keep the Peace, ſignifies his diſlike to *Fleuranges*, who thereupon * licens'd his Forces. Notwithſtanding which, *Charles* commands *Henry* Count of *Naſſaw* to goe with an Army againſt *Robert de la Marke*, not omitting withall to diſpatch an Ambaſſador to *Francis*, with Inſtructions, to proteſt, that *Francis* had firſt broken the Treaty of 1518, by ayding *Robert de la Mark*. He ſent word to our King alſo of this proceeding. Who taking the matter into conſideration, pronounced ſentence againſt *Francis*, as the firſt Infractor of their Tripartite League: which being maturely pondered by *Francis*, (who knew well, how much it concern'd him not to provoke our King, who (by an expreſſe Article of the ſaid Treaty) was to fall on the firſt that contraven'd) made him afterwards excuſe the matter, and undertake that *Robert* ſhould deſiſt from hoſtility. This was not yet ſo accepted by *Charles*, as to delay the ſending of his Army, under *Henry de Naſſaw* (and not *Franceſco Sichino* as *Iovius* hath it) to ſeize on the Dominions of *Robert*, who accordingly tooke divers places. But *Robert* going to the Emperor hereupon, obtained a Truce for ſix weekes, *Henry* of *Naſſaw* in the meane time putting Garriſons in the places he had wonne. The Emperour yet, not diſmiſſing his Forces, but proceeding hoſtilly, our King takes notice hereof, and offers *Woolſey*, as his Lieutenant, to Compoſe their differences. For *Francis* had now Arm'd; as finding that, under colour of Private quarrells, *Tournaiſis* was invaded; howbeit *Wolſey* was not thought by *Francis* a competent Judge: both as ſome jealouſies had paſt formerly betwixt our King and him (as is above related) and that he knew *Wolſey* depended wholly upon *Charles* for the Papacy. Therefore he not only declin'd (as much as he could) the Arbitrement of *Wolſey*, but ſhortly after diſpatch'd the Duke of *Albany*

Belay.
* March. 22.

Oct. 2. 1518.

Record.

de Serres.

bany into *Scotland*. How ſoever, *Woolſey* came 2 *Auguſt* 1521 to *Calais*, and treated of an accommodation; not neglecting together to write to *Charles*, to make no Peace with *Francis* during the treaty. And I doubt not but our King did gladly arbitrate this buſineſſe; both as it argued his authority, and gave him meanes to chooſe his friend, when otherwiſe he could not reconcile them. Upon the part of *Francis* came the Chancellor of *France* (*Antoine du Prat*) *Iohn de Selve*, & *Monſieur de Paliſſe Mareſchall* of *France*, with foure hundred Horſe. The Emperor not failing on his part likewiſe to ſend Condigne Agents, being *Mercurinus Conde de Gattinara* his Chancellor, and *Monſieur de Berghes*, and others. The Pope had likewiſe a particular and conceal'd Nuntio, there being *Hieronymo de Ghinnuciis* Biſhop of *Aſcoli*; though, as he pretended to be without Authority, his buſineſſe it ſeem'd was for the preſent rather to eſpy and obſerve the proceedings there, then to advance the Peace, as did appeare afterwards. Many things were repreſented to the Cardinall on both ſides. The Emperor demanded, among other things, Reſtitution of the Dutchy of *Burgundy* and abolition of the homage he owed to the Crowne of *France* for the *Low-Countries*. *Francis* again not only refuſed this, but requir'd that *Navarre* might bee reſtor'd to *Henry* Sonne of King *John*; and a Penſion of one hundred thouſand Ducats paid him for the Kingdom of *Naples*, according to the former Contract at *Noyon*. But to this againe *Charles* his minority was alleaged as an excuſe; though a weak one in Princes; they being not conſidered under the notion of their Age but Dignity. Furthermore, *Charles* grounded his Title to *Naples* by his Mother Queene *Ioane*, Daughter and Heyre of *Ferdinand*, ſo that to have paid this money would have weak'ned his Claime; and for *Navarre*, it was too commodious for him to leave it; eſpecially when he thought *Francis* did no leſſe in with-holding *Burgundy*. Howſoever, that *Francis* himſelfe had firſt broken the ſaid Treaty of *Noyon*, by protecting the Duke of *Gueldres*, an Antient enemy of the houſe of *Flanders*. And for the abolition of homage, the French Chancellor on the other ſide, particularly ſaid, it was not the work of a Treaty, but a Petition, and therefore not to be handled at this time, when there was queſtion of right only. Beſides this, the Dutchy of *Milan* bred no little altercation among them. In concluſion, their demands were ſo obſtinate, and minds ſo averſe from Peace on either ſide, that the Cardinall could or would do no good. Hereunto, alſo, did concurre a cloſe and private convention betwixt *Leo* and *Charles*, mediated by the Nuntio; and a confidence that *Charles* had, (by the Cardinal's mean's) that, in caſe of rupture our (King would incline to him, as having more pretence to his antient Dominions of *France* then to any thing in the *Low-Countries*. Again, *Charles* renew'd his promiſe to give him his beſt aſſiſtance to be elected Pope, when *Leo* ſhould dye; which prevailed more then any other gift. Although (to

1521.

Aug. 2.

Dupleix.

1521 uſe *Polydore's* words) ſpeaking of both Princes, at this time, *Uterque ejus favorem certatim largitionibus quæritabat.* This hope of the Papacie therefore comforted our Cardinall, now it was likely he ſhould looſe one of his cuſtomers. ¶ The King of *Hungary* at this time, finding that *Solyman* (who inherited his Father's malice) did much gain upon Chriſtendome (as having lately gotten *Belgrade* in *Hungary*) and knowing there was no way to defend himſelfe, without an Union betwixt Chriſtian Princes, ſends an Ambaſſadour, ſo opportunely, as to find our Cardinall at *Calais*, Treating of this univerſall Peace. But ſuch was the animoſity of theſe two great Princes, that the pious conſideration of repelling the Turke could not prevaile with them. So that the Cardinall, by this time, finding ſmall hope of reconciliation, advertis'd our King thereof, and crav'd his reſolution; unto which he much prepar'd him by giving intelligence of what had paſt. To gaine this ſpace alſo, he told the French, he would goe in Perſon to *Bruges*, and negotiate by word of mouth with the Emperour. Our Cardinall departing hereupon, the Emperor met him by the way, (a Aug. mile out of Town,) accompanying this honour with all other demonſtrations of affection to him & our Nation. After thirteen dayes Treaty, and agreement what was to be done in caſe of Rupture, (which our Cardinall perceived now could not be avoyded,) hee returnes to *Calais*, where the French Ambaſſadours impatiently attended him, he doth not yet diſcover his diſpair of ſucceſſe to them, and much leſſe diſcloſeth his private Treaty with the Emperor, but mediates ſtill a Peace, yet ſo, as to promiſe leſſe hope of it then before, ſince matters were come to ſuch extremities on both ſides. For not only *le Seigneur de Liques*, a Subject of the Emperors, upon private quarrell with the Cardinall of *Bourbon*, had now ſurpriſed Sept. *Amand* and *Mortagne* in *Picardie*, and the *Bourgonians Ardres*, (which they Raſed,) But the *Count de Naſſaw* taken *Monzon*, and beſieged *Mezieres*; which yet *Anne de Montmorency*, and *Pierce de Ter-* Octob. *rail*, commonly call'd *le Chevalier Bayard*, defended, untill *Francis* coming with a great Army, the Imperialiſts retired, and *Monzon* was retaken, while the Emperor, who was at *Valenciennes* kept himſelf more Covert then was expected; ſince *Francis* proceeded ſtill: Though as he diſcontented *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, who in the quality of *Counſtable de France*, thought to have the leading of the Avantguard (rather then the Duke *de Alanzon*, brother in Law to the King) an error was committed which coſt him dear, as ſhall be told in its place. Notwithſtanding which, *Wolſey*, that he might leave nothing unattempted, ſends to the Emperor, the Lord of Saint *Johns*, and Sir *Tho. Bullen*, and to the French King (lying then with a great *Bellay.* Army neer *Cambray*) the E. of *Worceſter*, and Biſhop of *Ely*; By whom he obtained that the Emperor ſhould raiſe the ſiege of *Tournay*, before which his forces now were, and that he ſhould recall his Army in the *Milaneſſe*, and that *Francis* ſhould likewiſe retire his, and the

reſt

reſt ſhould be referr'd to our King. But the taking of *Fuentarabie* by *Bonnivet* intervening, *Francis* refuſed to render it, and ſo the Treaty brake off. Whereupon our Cardinall (who now had heard from our King) gives a kind of ſentence, in the buſineſſe. The effect hereof was; that the French King being guilty of the firſt breach, our King was bound by the Common Treaty to aſſiſt the Emperor; to which alſo he was the more diſpoſed that the ſecret practices of the French in *Scotland* had diſobliged him, ſome hopes of Accomodation yet were repreſented, in caſe the Emperor and *Francis* might be reconciled; but ſmall appearance hereof being given, the Cardinall concluded a Treaty with the Emperor and Pope againſt the French, the Pope entring it on condition that the Emperor ſhould reſtore to him *Parma* and *Piacenza*, and ayd him, afterwards, againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*. The effect of the Treaty was this. 1521. Nov. 24. Records. Novemb. 24.

Becauſe the expedition againſt the Turk cannot be undertaken, untill the Pride and Injury of the French be ſuppreſſed; Therefore between the Pope, Emperor, and King of *England*, by their ſeverall Ambaſſadors, theſe following Articles are concluded.

I. This Treaty ſhall not derogate from any former, and it ſhall extend not only to the preſent poſſeſſions of the Contrahents, but their future Acquiſitions.

II. That, when the Emperor ſhall paſſe over into *Spaine* to provide himſelfe of men and money, and quiet his people (which ſhall be the next Spring) the King of *England* (upon a moneth's warning) ſhall give him a Convoy of Ships through the Channell, with at leaſt three thouſand fighting-men, with Artillery, &c. together with leave to land at *Dover*, or *Sandwich*; And after honourable entertainment, ſhall conduct him himſelfe to *Falmouth*, or ſome other ſuch place. In regard whereof, if the King of *England* ſhall have occaſion to paſſe over to *France*, the Emperor ſhall doe the like for him, till the Charge be equall on both ſides.

III. The Contrahents ſhall declare themſelves enemies to the French, in *March* 1523, and by *May* ſhall be in Armes, (*viz.*) The Pope in *Italy*, with a ſtrong Army; without *Italy*, *Cenſuris Eccleſiaſticis*. Secondly, the Emperor with ten thouſand horſe, & thirty thouſand Foot, or more, on the Confines of *Spaine*; at which time the *Low-Countries* and other Dominions of the Emperor, ſhall declare themſelves enemies to the French, and Commerce ceaſe. Thirdly, the King of *England* ſhall paſſe the Sea, with ten thouſand Horſe, and thirty thouſand Foot or more, to invade *France* on the Coaſts next to him. And he hath liberty given to hire Horſe-men out of *Germany*, and Foot (if he will) of the Emperor's Subjects. And, if the King of *England*, upon a Battaile to be fought, ſhall ſtand in need of ayd, the Emperors Lieutenant, being inform'd of it, ſhall (if it be poſſible) help him.

IIII. That, before the Moneth of *March* abovefaid, the King of *England*, and the Emperor ſhall by Sea infeſt the French, each with

1521. three thouſand fighting-men, and other Proviſions proportionable; joyning their Forces upon occaſion, and not recalling their Fleet's, but by common conſent; which if they chance to be impaired by fight, or fowle weather, they are to repaire within a moneth. Neither ſhall one make any appointment, or Treaty, or Truce, with the Common enemy, but by the conſent of the other.

V. That, if, by the end of this preſent *November*, there be no Peace made, betweene the Pope, Emperor and King of *France*, or that the French King ſhall a freſh begin the war: Then the King of *England* ſhall, at the coming of the Emperor into *England*, declare himſelfe enemy to the French, and within a moneth after certifie it to the French King. In which caſe the Fleet prepared by the King of *England*, for the Convoy of the Emperor, after his landing in *Spaine*, ſhall, together with the Emperor's Fleet, turne themſelves againſt the French, ſo infeſting him by Sea. Alſo by Land each Prince ſhall have Forces againſt all Invaſion both of the French, and other Princes; wherein they ſhall ayd one another.

VI. To facilitate theſe deſignes, as ſoone as ever the war ſhall be begun againſt the French, the Pope ſhall ſend out his Cenſures againſt him, ſubjecting all his Dominions to the Interdict; and calling the Secular Arme againſt him, ſhall warne the Emperor (as the Protector and Advocate of the Church,) and alſo the King of *England* to war againſt him, as enemy of the Church.

VII. That the Emperor and King of *England* take on them the Protection of the Pope, and Family of *Medices*, againſt all whatſoever. And, on the other ſide, that the Pope undertake the Protection of them with their confederates. So that it be not permitted that one of them ſhall name for his confederates the enemy of the other.

VIII. The Suiſſe are named confederates on all ſides, and are to be diſpoſed either to enter this League, or hold themſelves Neutrall.

IX. That the Emperor and King of *England* ſhall in their Dominions, as they have begun, proceed againſt thoſe, *qui de fide Catholica male ſentire videntur*, or that ſeeke to wrong the Authority of the Apoſtolique See. And that, in the Lands and Poſſeſſions which the Emperor, and King of *England* ſhall gaine from the French, the Pope ſhall enjoy all Priviledges, Rights, and Authority, due to the See Apoſtolique.

X. That, after the war with the French they ſhall Invade the Turk.

XI. They ſhall not Treat from this time apart with any Prince in prejudice of this League.

XII. That, notwithſtanding the Emperor hath agreed Marriage with the King of *France* his daughter; and the Dolphin with the King of *England*'s, yet, for the publique good of Chriſtendom, the Emperor may Marry the Princeſſe *Mary*; To which end the Pope ſhall diſpence; ſeeing they are Couſin-Germans, their Mothers being two Siſters.

That

That this Convention ſhall be kept moſt ſecret, untill it be publiſhed by common conſent. 1521. XIII.

That Contractors are to give their Letters Patents in confirmation of this Treaty, within three Moneths. XIV.

That this Agreement ſhall not derogate from any Treaty that hath been between the King of *England* and the Emperour; So they be not contrary to this Treaty. XV.

Thus was warre reſolved againſt *France*, to begin at the appointed time. In the mean while, fiſhing in the narrow Seas, and uſe of Engliſh Ports was allowed the French till *February* following. While theſe great affaires were in agitation, our Chroniclers obſerve, that the Great Seale of *England* being with the Cardinall at *Calais*, many Engliſh repaired to him to receive their Diſpatches, and at home the conſtituting of Sheriffes was ſuſpended, &c. which I remember the rather, that it was afterwards urg'd againſt him. *Hall.* And now all forraigne buſineſſes being done, the Cardinall * returnes to *England*. Where, to magnifie his Negotiation, he preſents our King with the Bull of his Title of *Defenſor Fidei*, which the Pope had put into his hands, together with a *continuation of his Legantine power, onely to gratifie him for his aſſiſtance againſt *Francis*; the King on the other ſide * beſtowing on him the Abbacy of Saint *Albans*, towards his charges in this journey. *Novem. 27. *Aug. *Novem. 13. The warre thus continued the *Emperour* tooke *Tournay*, to the no little ſcandall of *Francis*, who was yet obliged to continue his payments for it to our King. Decemb. 19. On the other ſide, *Francis* prepares an Army for *Italy*; for though the Mareſchall *Thomas de Foix* (*Seigneur de Leſcun*, and brother to *Odet de Foix Seigneur de Lautrech*) had now for ſome time commanded *Milan*; yet as he grew odious, through his manifold oppreſſions, the people ſought occaſion to revolt. Which the Imperialiſts under *Ferdinand d' Avalos* Marqueſſe of *Peſcara* underſtanding, requir'd the Popes aſſiſtance; who, in conformity to his league, ſent forces, whereof *Proſpero Colonna* was chiefe. His firſt action was the beſieging of *Parma*, which *Leſcun* defended, untill his brother *Lautrech* comming with an Army of twenty thouſand Suiſſe, ſeven or eight thouſand Venetians, beſides French, to relieve him; the Army of the League roſe, and retired. But *Lautrech* afterwards remaining idle for ſome few daies, ſixteen hundred of the Suiſſe being not well payd; and for the reſt gained by the Cardinall *de Medicis* to the contrary party forſook him and ſerv'd *Colonna* (who thereupon marching to *Milan* (whether *Lautrech* had retired himſelfe) tooke it eaſily, the Caſtle yet holding out; howbeit *Lautrech* eſcaping to *Como* with foure thouſand Suiſſe, and ſome Venetians, and from thence to the Territories of the Republica; whereupon *Pavia* and *Parma* yeelded, and *Cremona*, all ſave the Caſtle. When the Venetians, fearing the ſtorme might fall on themſelves, deſired *Lautrech* to depart; who being alſo forſaken of his foure thouſand Suiſſe, got Octob. Novem. 23.

1521. got into the Caſtle of *Cremona*, and ſent his King word of the ill ſucceſſe. Which the Pope alſo hearing, and being aſſured toge-
*Decemb. 1. ther that *Sforza* ſhould be reſtored to *Milan*, was ſo overjoyed, that he * died thereof: (ſo can every Paſſion in his turn kill) though ſome ſuſpected he might die of poyſon.

I will conclude this yeere with the invention of Muskets; which *Bellay* ſaith were firſt uſed in this warre.

1522. The Cardinall of *Yorke* finding occaſion now faire, ſends Doctor *Richard Pace*, Deane of Saint *Pauls* to *Rome*, to eſſay if by any meanes it were poſſible to make him Pope. He writes alſo to *Charles*, remembring him firſt of his promiſe; next it was repreſented how unjuſt it would be in him, openly to have a Pope of his own nominating; there being ſo many buſineſſes of his to be determined in the Conſiſtory; that the particular utility which would redownd to him thereby, ought not to be layd in ballance againſt the Univerſall diſhonour that both he and the whole Chriſtian Church would ſuffer in ſuch a factious and ſcandalous Election: eſpecially, when his buſineſſe might be done in a more decent and ſafe way. For if the Papacy were conferred on him, his Imperiall Majeſty might be confident he ſhould finde the ſame faithfulneſſe he had experience of in the laſt Treaty. Since therefore this was the beſt expedient for giving himſelfe Reputation, and ſecuring his affaires, that he ſhould not faile herein. For as it was the place of *Henry* the eighth to be Arbiter of Chriſtendome, it would be his to be the chiefe Inſtrument thereof. For which purpoſe alſo, he ſhould be ready ever to diſpoſe King *Henry* to hold good correſpondence with his Imperiall Majeſty. Neither muſt he thinke that being Pope, he would alter this language; it being manifeſt, that the keeping up of the Authority of *Charles* in *Italy*, was the onely way to conſerve peace in it, which our King deſired. Some of theſe reaſons alſo *Pace* was deſired to ſcatter amongſt the Cardinals at *Rome*, to whom he was charg'd to repreſent how much occaſion of Calumny, the Lutherans and other Enemies of their Religion would finde, if an unfitting choyce were made at this time. That this muſt follow if any belonging either to *Charles* or *Francis* were elected; beſides that it would make their differences irreconcileable. Or when otherwiſe the Papacy fell into the hands of one who could not uphold and maintaine the Authority of the See, as an Italian or ſome other not ſtrongly ſupported perſon; that then it muſt become a prey to the ſtrongeſt. That the ſole way to remedy theſe inconveniencies was to chooſe him, who had a King able and well affected to maintaine Religion and Peace in theſe dangerous times. Our Cardinall alſo did not forget *Francis*; to whom, if not favour, yet at leaſt indifferency was promiſed, in caſe he were Pope; and that this was more then he could hope for any other way. But before *Pace* could come to *Rome* *Adrian* Cardinall of *Tortoſa*, heretofore Tutor to *Charles*,

and

and for the preſent reſiding in *Spaine*, (where he had the quality of *Governador de Caſtilla*) was * choſen Pope, though not with ſuch an Univerſall conſent; but that (as I finde by our Records) our Cardinall had ſometimes nine, and ſometimes twelve, and ſometimes nineteen voyces. *Guiccardine* ſeems much to wonder at this election, ſcurrilouſly terming him not onely *Pontifice Barbaro*, becauſe he was a Flemming, but alledging divers other incapacities in him for that place. But the wiſer ſort did not thinke ſo; *Charles* having given thoſe teſtimonies of his good affection to the peace of *Italy* (eſpecially by his generous reſtoring of *Milan* to *Franceſco Sforza*) that they nothing doubted but he would prove their beſt Patron and helpe for the expulſion of all ſtrangers. Howſoever, that *Adrian*, being of a moderate and calme diſpoſition, would prove no Incendiary. *Pace*, though he heard by the way that *Adrian* was choſen, yet holds on his journey, as having ſecond inſtructions to countenance his imployment, when the firſt ſucceeded not; Therefore, departing from *Rome* to *Venice* about *July* this yeere, he mediated a peace betwixt *Charles* and the Venetians, (who had hitherto held with the French,) remonſtrating to them the many reaſons which they had to joyne with the Emperor and King of *England* againſt *Francis*, who had firſt broken the common Peace made 1518, wherein the ſaid State of *Venice* was compriſed, and thereby bound to fall on the Infractor thereof, &c. But the Venetians, being engaged to *Francis*, took time onely to adviſe thereof.

1522 Jan. 9.

July.

Adrian being thus choſen, *Julio Cardinal de Medicis*, who aſpired to the Papacy, was highly diſcontented; Inſomuch that forſaking the Imperiall party, he joyned himſelfe with three thouſand Foot and two hundred Horſe, to the French. *Franciſco Matia* alſo, who (upon *Leo's* death) had recovered *Urbin*, adhering to them; ſo that, with the addition of ſixteen thouſand Suiſſe newly leavyed, and ſome Troops *Lautrech* the *Mareſchall de Foix* brought, the French had a conſiderable Army, with which he beſieged *Pavia*. But *Proſpero Colonna* comming with the Imperiall Forces to relieve it, *Lautrech* raiſing the ſiege offered battell; which yet the Imperialiſts would not accept. This while *Montmorency* having taken *Novara*, returned; ſo that the French now purſuing their point, the Imperialiſts were forced to get themſelves within a ſtrong Retrenchment at *Bicocca*. And here either ſide attended their advantage; the French hoping to drive the Imperialiſts away by famine, and they againe, that the Suiſſe for want of pay would deſert the French. That of the Suiſſe ſucceeded firſt; for demanding either to have their pay, or leave to depart, or at leaſt order to fight, the French, who wanted money, choſe this latter, as the leſſe inconvenience, and ſo gave * on. But being repulſed with great loſſe, the next day the Suiſſe returned, and the reſt of the Army retired towards *Lodi* and *Cremona*, and laſtly to the Venetian Territories; while

*April 27.

1522. while the Imperialiſts, making uſe of their victory, got both theſe places, the Caſtle of *Cremona* onely excepted, which held out for the ſpace of one whole yeere, though the Caſtle of *Milan* yeelded preſently. *Lantrech* thus finding all things deſperate, retires to *France*, laying the fault upon his not receiving pay for his Souldiers; which yet, the French ſay, was not for want of order from the King, but through the covetouſneſſe of his Mother *Loüiſſe*, or the default of ſome Officers. And now the Imperialiſts, looſing no time, marched to *Genoüa*; in which were two factions, thoſe of the family of the *Fieſchi*, *Adorni*, and *Spinola*, being Imperialiſts, and thoſe of the *Fregoſi* and *Doria*, French. That of the *Fregoſi* govern'd now. Howſoever the Imperialiſts* entred and ſack'd that rich City; which yet they quitted, when they had depoſed the *Fregoſi*, and ſet up the *Adorni*. *Franceſco Sforza* was reſtored alſo to that of *Milan*, the Emperour not reſerving to himſelfe ſo much as one place in that Countrey. And ſo *Colonna* concluded the war for this yeere of 1522. Nevertheleſſe the Treaties with the Venetians proceeded, which at laſt took effect, as ſhall be more particularly related.

*May 30.

The proceedings betwixt our King and *Charles* were not kept ſo ſecret but that they became ſufficiently known to *Francis*, who would not yet inſtantly take notice of them, as being more unprovided then ſuddenly to bring matters to extremity. Therefore he continued awhile his ſmooth Letters to the Cardinall. At laſt, betwixt impatience, and the order he hoped to give in *Scotland* and *Ireland* to finde our King enough to doe, he began to declare himſelfe. Therefore, his Subjects having made ſome depredations on the Engliſh Merchants, and ſatisfaction thereupon being requir'd, he delayd if not denied reparation. Theſe particular offences were accompanied with a maine breach of Treaty, as our King conceiv'd. For the Duke of *Albany*, who ſhould have continued in *France*, was now after five yeeres abſence, returned to his charge of *Scotland*, as ſhall be told more largely hereafter. Our Engliſh foreſeeing thus a ſtorme likely to enſue, retire themſelves betimes from *France*; the Merchants withdrawing their goods from the Port-Townes, and the Schollers their perſons and Studies from *Paris*. *Anne Bolen* alſo (who is ſaid by the French* writers to have lived in that Court ever ſince ſhe* came over with our Kings ſiſter untill this time) quitted it now, and returned to *England*; where ſhe did partake afterwards more good and ill fortune then ſhe could reaſonably imagine. Our King alſo writ to *Francis* ſharply, telling him that howſoever he excuſed himſelfe for ſending over the Duke of *Albany*; yet that he knew well, nothing was done therein without his direction; and that it was the manner of his Countrey, *aliud clàm moliri, aliud ſpecie ſimulationis oſtentare* (as *Polydore* hath it,) reproaching him alſo with breach of his Oath. *Francis* much moved with this rough expoſtulation, objecteth

*Tillet, Recueil. Scip. Dupleix. Tom. 3.

* 1514.

jecteth to King *Henry* the ſecret Treaty at *Bruges* with the Emperour 1521, requiring King *Henry* to declare himſelfe. Beſides, he cauſed all the Engliſhmens goods that remained to be ſeized on, through hi Kingdome, and eſpecially thoſe at *Bourdeaux*; which ſeemed ſo much the unjuſter, that divers of our Merchants had not onely bought Wines there with ready money, but payd Cuſtome for it. Our King hearing this, commands the French Ambaſſador to his houſe, ſeiſeth on all other French and Scottiſh here, and commits the better Perſons for a time, or untill they had payd a pecuniary mulct, the poorer ſort being exempt yet upon ten daies impriſonment. The Vice-Admirall Sir *Williams Fitz-williams* (being in *January* laſt recalled from his Ambaſſage in *France*, and Sir *Thomas Cheney* ſent in his place) alſo was commanded to Sea with a ſtrong Fleet, to ſecure our Merchants and take what French he could. Moreover, becauſe the French denied the reſt of the money due, and detained the French Queens Dower, our King cauſed the French Hoſtages to be kept under an honourable yet ſomewhat ſtricter Guard then before, without uſing further rigour. And, whereas *Francis* had deſired him to declare himſelfe, King *Henry* ſent over *Clarenceaux* his Herald, in the end of *March*, with his declaration; whereby it was ſhewed, that becaſe *Francis* was the Infractor of the Common peace, the King of *England* muſt take the Emperors part againſt him. Upon this, Ambaſſadors were recalled on both ſides, and warre expected. Howbeit, as the Lord *Brooke*, Sir *Edward Poynings*, Sir *John Peachy*, and Sir *Edward Belknap*, all brave Captaines dyed about this time, (not of Poyſon given at * *Ardres* (when the Interview was) as ſome would have it; but of a Peſtilentiall Ayre, as *Hall* relates;) ſo our King left thoſe whoſe ſervice he now moſt needed.

1522

March 6.

April.

March.

May.

* 1520.

And becauſe King *Henry* meant to ſet to Sea a Royall Fleet, the Earle of *Surrey* (as being Admirall of *England*) was recalled from his charge in *Ireland*; where having. among other ſervices repreſſed the irruptions of the *O-Neales* and *O-Carrols*, he ſo govern'd the Land, that he both did his Prince an acceptable ſervice, and gain'd the love of the Civill people of that Countrey, leaving (after a Parliament he held there from *June* 1521, to the end of *March* 1522,) *Pierce Butler* Lord Debuty, who yet kept not long poſſeſſion of this Honour, as ſhall be ſhewed in its due place

Jan

The Cardinall, about this time, whether for oſtentation of his power, or redeeming the peoples favour, cauſed the preachers at St. *Pauls* Croſſe in *London* to publiſh, that all thoſe who would eate white-meats that Lent enſuing, ſhould without paying any thing, be exempt from puniſhment and ſinne. But the people unwilling to be caught by thoſe baits, ſo contemptuouſly rejected this offer, that the Cardinall might eaſily judge how ungracious he was with them. But as the manner of the moſt ſubtile ſort of

1522. Favourites hath been not to ſtudy ſo much good as great Actions, as hoping thereby to amuſe and entertaine their Princes; ſo this Cardinall, by the perpetuall variation (he ſeem'd to cauſe) in the affaires of Chriſtendome, held not onely the minds of the people in attention and ſuſpence, but made his councels more conſiderable to the King, then if he had purſued any one way. The laſt change, whereof he was Authour, had its chiefe overture at *Bruges*, where, among other things, the Emperour reſolved to repaire to *England* to ſpeake with our King more particularly, concerning the generall affaires of Chriſtendome, and to treat a match betwixt himſelfe and the Princeſſe *Mary*, daughter to our King. And finally (which our King tooke for a ſingular honour) to be inſtalled perſonally of the Order of the Garter at *Windſor*, while himſelfe ſate there as chiefe. For after his * retayning *Maximilian* the Emperour in pay, the next great teſtimony of reſpect this world could give him (he thought) was, that ſo brave and great an Emperour as *Charles*, ſhould, in ſo buſie and difficult times undertake a voyage, to be admitted into that moſt Noble Fellowſhip. Into which alſo *Ferdinand* his brother, afterwards Emperour, was elected the laſt Saint *Georges* day (*viz.*) *April* 23. 1522, and had the Order and habits ſent him to *Noremberg*, where, being the Emperours Lieutenant, he held a Diet that yeere. And now, for the more magnificent reception of the Emperor, the Marqueſſe *Dorſet* was ſent to *Calais*, and the Cardinall to *Dover*: whither, upon the 26 of *May* 1522 (being about the time his forces entred and ſacked *Genoüa*) the Emperour arrived. The Cardinall firſt aſſured him of his welcome; which our King, following * preſently afterwards, confirmed. From hence the King conducted him to * *Greenwich*, where the Queen (his Aunt) with much joy attended him. Hence againe the King, riding in great pompe through *London*, conducted him to his lodging in *Black-Fryers*, : his Traine being placed in the * new beautified Palace at *Bridewell*. To relate the Juſts and other ſolemnities on this occaſion, or to tell how often Dukes, Earles, and Lords gave water to the Cardinall at an High-Maſſe in *Pauls*, (where the Princes were on Whitſunday) is not my intention. Onely for the rarity I cannot omit that on *June* 19. the Emperor wearing the Robes of the Order, and ſitting in his Stall at *Windſor*, accompanied the other Knights in all his Ceremonies and Rites uſuall at that time. Which being done, both he and our King received the Sacrament together, and ſwore upon the holy Evangeliſts to obſerve the League concluded betwixt them, which was to this effect, as appeares by an Originall, ſubſcribed and ſealed by *Charles*.

* 1513.

Hall.

May 26.

*May 28.

* June 3.

Jun. 6.

* *L. Speed* in *Edw.* VI.

June 8.

Jun. 19

Record.

Treaty of *Windſor.* 1518.

Whereas there was lately warre begun betwixt us *Charles*, and the King of *France*, and (by vertue of a League concluded betweene us and King *Henry*, and the ſaid King of *France*) both we and *Francis*, by our Letters, required Ayde of the ſaid King *Henry*:

one

one against the other; and the said King of *England* in the beginning of this warre, to compose these differences, sent to *Calais* the most Reverend Father in God *Thomas* Cardinall of *Yorke*, as his Lieutenant; before whom when many disputes had been on both sides, who first began the warre, and it was found that the fault was in the French King, and that he first began with us, not in *Luxemburgh* onely, by *Robert de la March* suborned by him, but by his Captaines also in *Navarre*, and hired forraigne Souldiers which were not his Subjects to breake the publique Peace, contrary to the Treaty of *London*; wherefore, when the most Revenred Father aforesaid could not effect at *Calais* either Peace or Truce under any honourable conditions, the said King of *England* understanding, as well by the relation of the said most Reverend Father, as by the Letter of *Francis* King of *France*, written to his Orators and Captaines (which were shewed to the said King of *England*,) that the said *Francis* had broken both the Treaty of *London*, and all other Treaties and Agreements of affinity concluded between them; Not onely by sending the Duke of *Albany* into *Scotland* (which was against his Oath given) but also denying the King of *England* his Pensions, and violating his Subjects against the League: The said King of *England* hath resolved hereupon to lend us ayd against him, according as he is bound by the Treaty of *London*. And therefore upon Treaty of a perpetuall and stricter Confederacy between us and the said King *Henry*, as also of a marriage with the Princesse *Mary*, (we being on both sides free from all agreement made heretofore in this kind with the French) have concluded both League and Allyance in manner following: 1522.

The Treaty of Matrimony.

The said Emperor shall not contract any marriage with any woman, while the said Princesse *Mary* is under age, but shall tarry for her, and when she is ripe marry her; As soon as she is twelve yeeres old, he shall send a Proxy to contract with her a marriage *per verba de præsenti*, and she shall send a Proxy to him to the same purpose. I.

The king of *England* during this time shal not give her to any else. II.

As soon as this League is published, both Princes shall (at common costs) send Orators to the Pope, and obtaine of him a dispensation sufficient for the performance of the said marriage in its due time; notwithstanding that they are in the second degree of Consanguinity and Affinity; so that the issue may be legitimate. III.

The Princesse shall be transported at the king of *Englands* charge, with all Equipage and Furniture fitting her Dignity, within foure Moneths next following the Contract *per verba de præsenti* abovesaid. And she shall be transported to *Bruges*, if *Charles* be in the *Low-countries*; If in *Spaine*, then to the Towne of *Bilbao*; whom within foure daies next ensuing, *Charles* shall marry publiquely in the face of the Church; and, till that time, she shall remaine in the hands of the Commissioners of King *Henry*, who transport her. IIII.

1522. V. Her Dowry which King *Henry* ſhall give with her, ſhall be 400000 Crownes; whereof ſhall be paid the firſt halfe the day of marriage, or within eight daies after; and the other halfe within a yeere following, *Charles* giving Acquittances. Yet, if the ſaid Princeſſe (for want of iſſue male left by King *Henry*) ſhall ſucceed in the kingdome of *England*, then nothing ſhall be payd for Dowry with her; and whatſoever ſhall have been payd, ſhall be reſtored to the Executors of the king of *England*. It is alſo agreed, that out of the ſecond payment of the latter moyety (as aboveſaid) of the Dowry, the king of *England* may deduct all moneys which are due to him, and formerly borrowed of him by the ſaid now-Emperor or his Grandfather *Maximilian*, if they ſhall not be payd before. And the ſaid king of *England* ſhall reſtore to the ſaid Emperor the deeds of Obligation, and the Pledges for the ſame. But if the king of *England* have a ſonne, then the whole Dowry (above aſſign'd) ſhall be paid, and ſhall be increaſed to a Million of Crowns, by the addition of 600000; which 600000 ſhall be paid (after the 400000 are paid) yeerly by 200000 Crowns *per annum*. For her Joynture, the Emperor ſhall aſſigne her in Lands and Cities 50000 Crowns of yeerly Rent cleare; and particularly for a part thereof, ſuch Towns as the late Lady *Margaret* of *England* had for Joynture in the *Low-countries*; the reſt in *Spaine*; to enjoy as long as ſhe lives. If ſhe die before the Emperor her Huſband without Children, then all her Jewels, &c. ſhall remaine to the Emperor.

VI. The Emperor binds Himſelfe, his Heires, and his Dominions, unto the king of *England*, his Heires and Succeſſors, under the pain of 400000 Crowns, that this Treaty of Marriage ſhall not be hindred on his part. In like manner the king of *England* binds himſelfe.

The Treaty of Peace and Confederation.

That this Matrimony may be more firme and certain, a Treaty of League is renewed.

I. That all former Treaties ſhall remaine in force.

II. They ſhall be Confederate ſtrictly for the conſervation of all their Dignities, Titles, Rights, &c. howſoever, and by whomſoever impeached; To have the ſame friends and enemies, &c. And, when one is invaded, the other ſhall ayd him *totis viribus*, as he would defend himſelfe.

III. And becauſe the king of *England* hath entertained the Emperor, and given him leave to paſſe through his Countrey into *Spaine*, to provide the better for recovery of his Rights againſt *Francis*, and hath tranſported him over into *England* by a Fleet of 3000 men: Therefore, in requitall, the Emperour, when King *Henry* ſhall paſſe over to *Calais*, or any other Port, in expedition againſt the French, will provide and lend him at his own coſt a number of Ships or Veſſels to tranſport his Souldiers, Horſe, and Munition, till the Charge equall the Coſts which king *Henry* beſtowed on the Emperor in this kind.

To

To recover ſuch Lands as the French King detaines from both, each Prince, before the end of *May* 1524. or ſooner, ſhall leavy Armies, thus; (*viz.*) the Emperor in Perſon with ten thouſand Horſe, and thirty thouſand Foot or more, with competent Ammunition, ſhall invade *France* on the Coaſt of *Spaine*. And, at the ſame time, all the Dominions of the Emperor ſhall declare and wage warre againſt *Francis*. Alſo, the King of *England* by the ſame time (*May* 1524.) ſhall paſſe the Sea in Perſon; and, with tenne thouſand Horſe and thirty thouſand Foot, or more, and Ammunition, &c. ſhall fall on *France*, on what part he ſhall ſee moſt convenient. And becauſe the King of *England* hath not of his own ſo many Horſe, the Emperor will provide him Horſe (ſo hee pay them) and Foot (if he need.) If the King of *England* be coming to a Battaile with the enemy, and ſend to the Emperors Forces, being neere at hand, to aſſiſt him, they ſhall come and ayd him, unleſſe there be a juſt impediment. 1522. IIII.

Warre ſhall be made by Sea, (*viz.*) the Emperor in his Navy ſhall furniſh three thouſand fighting men, The King of *England* ſo many likewiſe to infeſt *Francis* his Dominions ſeverally, or joyntly. They ſhall not revoke or diminiſh their Fleet without conſent but reinforce it, if impaired. V.

Neither ſhall deſiſt from Hoſtility without conſent of the other. VI.

Each ſhall give the other free paſſage through his Country.

The King of *England* ſhall maintaine and keep two thouſand ſouldiers in the borders of *Calais*, and the Emperor as many in *Artois*, which ſhall make Roades into *France*, and repell the Invaſions of the *French*, either ſingly or joyntly. VII. VIII.

Becauſe the French uſe much the German Souldiers, therefore each Prince, to divert them from the French, ſhall entertaine as many German foot as he can; and within two moneths next following the Emperor ſhall renew and publiſh the Imperiall Edicts, whereby all Germans are (under pain of being accompted Rebels, and confiſcation of their goods) forbidden to ſerve under the French. And the Duke of *Lorraine* ſhall be admoniſhed not to ſuffer any Germans to paſſe through his Country to ayde the King of *France*; If he doe, then theſe two Princes will account him their enemy. IX.

If either of the two, recover from *France* places belonging to the other, he ſhall, upon requiſition, reſtore them, within a moneth; And, to prevent ambiguities and quarrels, each Prince before *May* 1524. ſhall declare his pretences. X.

Alſo, if either Prince have an intention to recover any other Rights, againſt other with-holders; As if the King of *England* will ſubject *Scotland* unto the Kingdome of *England*, or reduce *Ireland* to due obedience; or the Emperor recover *Gueldres* or *Friſe*, or puniſh any Rebell; or, if either the Scots trouble and invade *England*, or the *Gueldres* the Dominions of *Charles*; each ſhall give ayde to other. XI.

To

1522. To confirme this Treaty; It is agreed, there shall be mutuall In-
XII. telligence between the two Princes, and all things done by common consent; So that neither shall Treat with *Francis* or any other Prince, without the knowledge and consent of the other, to the prejudice of this Treaty. And, if any former Treaty made, be prejudiciall to this, they shall be counted of lesse value and force then this.

XIII. Both Princes, appearing before the Cardinall of *Yorke* as Judge, in what place he shall choose, shall voluntarily submit to his jurisdiction as Legat, and confessing themselves to be bound to observe this Treaty, shall require the said Legat to pronounce the sentence of Excommunication against them, if they violate the Articles thereof.

XIIII. If the Princesse *Mary* dye, and so this marriage take no effect, and it happen that the King of *England* have a sonne, and the Emperor by some other wife have a daughter, *vel è Converso*; Then Affinity shall be contracted by means of those two.

XV. This Treaty, till it take its effect, and be put in execution, shall be kept secret from the French.

It was agreed also, that this Treaty shall be signified to the Pope *Adrian* the sixt, and he be intreated to enter into it, and held as a
1518. principall Contrahent, if he accept it within three moneths. The Venetians, if they will accept this Treaty within three Moneths, so, as (according as they ought by the Treaty of *London*) they will forsake the French, and declare themselves against him, shall be comprehended. The Suisse shall have this Treaty signified to them, and be practised to renounce the French, or, at least, to be Newtrall. None shall be compriſed in this Treaty, which is enemy to either of the two principall Contrahents: for the rest, each may name his friends.

The same day that this Treaty was sworne, *Charles* gave his oath
June 19. also to another agreement, call'd the Indemnity; which was an Obligation, whereby he bound himselfe to save King *Henry* harmlesse for all the sums of money and Pensions, which were or should be due to King *Henry* from *Francis*, (upon former agreements betwixt them,) and now were or should be with held by the said *Francis*, upon denunciation of warre against him.

This was sworne in the presence of, *Thomas Cardinalis Eborac.* Legat and Chancellor of *England*. *Mercurinus Comes Gattinacie. Baro Ozane & Terrugie. Petrus de Moca Episcopus Palentin.* Johannes Aleman. *Thomas* Bishop of *Duresme*. Lord Privy-Seale. *Cuthbert Tonstall* Doctor of Both Lawes, Elect Bishop of *London*, Vice-Chancellor of *England*.

Lastly, *Charles* wanting money for his present occasions, our King supplyed him abundantly upon assurance given him of repay-

ment.

ment. *Charles* having diſpatched his affaires here, and commanded his fleet, conſiſting of 180 ſayle, to meet him at *Southhampton* is * accompanyed by our King to *Winchester*. Before, yet, they departed, it was reſolved betwixt them, to make uſe of ſome Venetian Galleys (then Riding in our Ports,) upon pretence of conveying the Emperor to Spaine. Which proceeding yet, leaſt it ſhould be thought abrupt, and prejudiciall to our League with that State, was by Inſtructions from hence to Pace (his Majeſties Ambaſſadour reſident there) excuſed in great part, by alleadging, that if they would make good the confederacy entred into, 1518. they muſt not take it ill, that their Galleys were imployed againſt the French, as the firſt violaters and diſturbers of the publique Peace. And when they would not joyne, it was but a juſt puniſhment for their falling off. Which yet was not to be underſtood in that Rigour, but they ſhould be reſtor'd in due time; as in effect I find they were ſhortly after. This being done, *Charles* having taken * leave of our King, goes to *Southhampton*, and attends a winde and the Convoy of our Admirall, who for better complying with the common cauſe, according to the League 1518. was likewiſe conſtituted his; the Pattent whereof for the rareneſſe as well as Honour of the Perſon, I have cauſed to be ſet down.

1522.

* June 22.

* July 1.

CAROLUS Quintus, Divina favente Clementia electus Romanorum Imperator, ſemper Auguſtus, ac Germaniæ, Hiſpaniarum, Utriuſque Siciliæ, Jeruſalem, Hungariæ, Dalmatiæ, Croatiæ &c. Rex, Archidux Auſtriæ, Dux Burgundiæ, Brabantiæ, Comes Habſpurgi, Flandriæ, Tirolis &c. Cum ita ſit quod Sereniſſimus & potentiſſimus Princeps Henricus Octavus Angliæ & Franciæ Rex, Frater, Avunculus, & Confœderatus noſter chariſſimus, pro ejus Jure Fœderis quod cum eo nobis inter-cedebat, nuper Franciſco Francorum Regi, tanquam Fœderum quæ cum nobis ambobus habebat violatori, Bellum juſtè indixerit, cauſamque ſuam cum noſtrâ, qui ab eodem Rege Gallo invaſi fuimus, conjunxerit, Claſſemque ob id maritimam inter cæteros Belli apparatus inſtruxerit, cui præfecit Illuſtriſſimũ Conſanguineum noſtrum chariſſimum Thomam Comitem Surrium, Ordinis ſui Garterii Militem, Admiraldum Angliæ, Walliæ, Hiberniæ, Normaniæ, Vaſconiæ, & Aquitaniæ; noſque pariter eundem communem hoſtem Gallium armis etiam

1522 tiam maritimis urgere (ut par eſt) decreverimus, juncta ipſa noſtra cum præfati Sereniſſimi Avunculi noſtri Claſſe, reputanteſque tum jam dicti ejus Admiraldi inſignem Bello peritiam, fortitudinem, atque alias ſingulares virtutes, cui merito multa majora onera committi poſſent, tum quæ Conjunctis viribus armiſque geruntur multo meliùs uno duce, uno Capite regi quàm pluribus: Eapropter non abs re duximus, ſi & noſtræ ipſius Claſſis onus, Bellique maritimi provinciam eidem Angliæ Admiraldo deſtinaremus. Itaque in vim præſentium Literarum noſtrarũ, prædicto Illuſtriſſimo Thomæ Comiti & Admiraldo, ac Claſſis prædicti Regis Avunculi noſtri Capitaneo Generali eandem damus & concedimus authoritatem, plenamque & omnimodam poteſtatem ſuper Claſſem noſtram maritimam, omneſque ejus Capitaneos, Milites, & Claſſiarios, cujuſcunque Tituli ſunt graduſve & conditionis, quam ipſe Admiraldus ſuper Regis ſui Claſſem habet, tam in honorandis Militibus, Equeſtrique dignitate quos dignos cenſuerit inſigniendis, è contra verò malefactoribus puniendis, quas eis voluerit legibus ſtatuendis, eorumque Cauſis cognoſcendis, quàm in cæteris omnibus & ſingulis faciendis & executioni mandandis, juxta authoritatem eidem à prædicto Rege ſuo conceſſam, ac quemadmodum aliàs ſpectat ad officium unius maritimæ Claſſis Capitanei ſeu Generalis præfecti, ipſiúſve prædicti Admiraldi ſingulari prudentiæ convenire in omnibus viſum fuerit, atque expedire. Mandantes ob id, atque expreſſe committentes univerſis & ſingulis Capitaneis, Vice-Capitaneis, Locumtenentibus, Baronibus, Nobilibus, Militibus, Magiſtris, Naviculatoribus, Claſſiariis, cæteriſque Militibus omnibus tam equitibus quàm peditibus, in Claſſe ipſa noſtra exiſtentibus, aut futuris, quòd eidem Comiti Admiraldo & Capitaneo generali ac ejus in hac parte ſufficienter Deputato intendentes, auxiliantes, & obedientes ſint, in omnibus prout decet, contrafacientibus debitâ pœnâ non carituris. Harum Teſtimonio Literarum manu noſtrâ ſubſcriptarum, noſtrique Sigilli

Sigilli appenſione munitarum. Dat. in Urbe Londinenſi. Die VIII. Menſis Junii, Anno Domini Milleſimo Quingenteſimo Viceſimo Secundo, Regnorum noſtrorum, Romani tertio, Cæterorum verò omnium Septimo. 1522.

Per Imperatorem CHARLES.

I. ALEMAND.

The Earle, having accepted hereof by our King's conſent, did, upon *June* 13. land his men in *Normandy* neere *Cherbourg*, and after having deſtroyed the adjoyning Country, (ſparing only Religious houſes,) he returnd to *Portland*; whence ſetting Sayle againe, hee lands, *July* 1. at a place neare *Morlais* in *Bretaigne*, and with ſeven thouſand men marcheth thither; where our Maſter-gunner having diſcharg'd a Peece ſo fortunately, that he broke the wicket, ſome of our men enter'd in the ſmoake and open'd the Gate; whereupon the reſt following, the Town was quickly ſack'd, and burnt, and a rich Booty carryed to our Navy. After which the Earle commanded ſixteen or ſeventeen French Ships (he found on that Coaſt) to be burnt: And ſo, leaving his Vice-Admirall to ſcowre the Seas, he made certain Knights for their good ſervice, and return'd to *Southampton* whence he conducted the Emperor to *Spain* who taking Ship *July* 6. arrived *July* 16. at *Sant-Ander*. ¶ The Engliſh Garriſon, this while, in *Calais* and *Guiſnes*, and the French in *Ardres* and *Boulongne* were not idle, but took many occaſions of invading each others Frontiers, among which one, related by *Hall* and *Hollinſhead*, ſeemes ſo memorable, that I have thought fit to inſert it. Three hundred French horſe lying in Ambuſcado neere *Guiſnes*, and ſending ſome horſe before to draw out the Engliſh: a little band of eight Archers iſſued forth, and maintained a skirmiſh; at laſt twelve Demy-Lances (which *Hall* ſaith were all Welch-men,) came to their reſcue; the French perceiving this, iſſue forth with all their Horſe; but our Demy-Lances charged them with that courage, that, killing and hurting divers, they opened their way to the Town: ¶ Theſe ſo many occaſions of making warre, enforced the King to make uſe of his ſubjects affections; whereof that he might take the better notice, he cauſed a Generall Muſter or deſcription to be made (this ſummer) of all his Kingdome, commanding (as *Stow* hath it out of a * warrant directed to a Conſtable of a hundred) that they ſhould certifie the names of all above ſixteen yeares old; and that they ſhould repaire to a certain place aſſigned, with their Armes, and declare what their names are, and to whom they belong, and who is Lord of every Towne or Hamlet, and who be Stewards, as alſo who be Parſons of the

June 13.

July 1.

July 16.

March. 27.

1522 Towne, and what their Benefice is worth, and who be owners of every Parcell of Land within the ſaid Precincts, and what is the yearly value of every man's Land, as alſo the Stocke on the Lands, and who is owner thereof; alſo, what ſtrangers dwell there, and of what occupation they are; alſo the value and ſubſtance of every perſon being above ſixteene yeares old, as well ſpirituall as temporall; alſo, what Penſions goe thence to Religious or Spirituall men. Which being certified againe, the King (as *Polydore* ſaith) rejoyced, as finding his Kingdome ſo wealthy. Howbeit, as he was not ready yet for a Parliament, he *borrowed of the Citi-
May zens of *London* twenty thouſand pound, and ſent Privy Seales to divers other rich perſons of the Kingdome; In ſequence where-of, he demanded a Loane (as I take it) of the tenth of the Temporalty, according to the true value of their Eſtates, to be em-
Hall. ployed in the Warres, and a fourth of the Spiritualty. But as
Aug. 20. this cauſed much grudging, ſo the Londoners (particularly) *alleaged ſo many reaſons why they could not, upon Oath, give account of their goods, and wealth, eſpecially as long as ſo much of their Stock was in other mens hands, that the Cardinall at laſt accepted their valuation of themſelves, upon their ſimple honeſties. All which extraordinary wayes of furniſhing the preſent neceſſities yet ended in a Parliament the next yeare, as ſhall be told in it's place. The King having thus yet gotten ſome Money, denounced open warre to *Francis*, unleſſe hee made Peace with the Pope and Emperor. In ſequence thereof Commanding the Earle of *Surrey* (and not the Duke of *Suffolke*, (as the French have it) after his attempts by Sea, to goe over to *Calais* and with convenient Forces to joyne with *Horence d' Egmond*, *Count de Bure*, Generall of the Emperors Troopes. Theſe meeting together betwixt *Ardres* (lately demoliſh'd) and Saint *Omar*, ſpoyl'd and burnt all the villages
Aug. in their way till they came to *Heſdin*, in which *Odoart Seigneur de Biez*, with a ſtrong Garriſon, Commanded. But Autumne being now farre come on, and the weather very unſeaſonable, they could onely take the Towne, the Caſtle being ſtronger, then that it was thought fit to attempt it. They marched therefore towards *Dourlans*, which they tooke, and burnt, with all the adjoyning Villages. The ſeaſon continuing ſtill very fowle, and our men falling generally ſick, the Army diſſolv'd, and the rather, that the two Generalls could not agree about their deſignes. Before yet the Earle of *Surrey* departed, he burnt *Marquiſe*, and ſome other places neare the Engliſh Pale: which being done, he came home, and gave our King account of his journey. Whereupon alſo Sir *Thomas Bolen*, and *Richard Sampſon* Doctor of Law were ſent to *Charles* in *Spaine*, to adviſe what further was to be done.

The Duke of *Albany*, whom wee left in *France*, was now recall'd

recall'd by more then one voyce. For he was not onely ſent for by the vote of the Nobility and People of *Scotland*, but Queene *Margaret* her ſelfe invited him. Beſides, it is probable, that *Francis* did not unwillingly connive at his departure, as hoping he would find our King enough to doe at home. The cauſe why the State deſired his return was, that their King was ſo young and ſome of their affaires were diſcompoſed. But Queene *Margaret* had alſo her reaſon. For, being offended with the Earle of *Anguis* for forſaking her at *Harbottle* 1516, and ſcandaliz'd much at the love he now bore to a certaine Scottiſh Lady, ſhe had endevoured, by the Duke of *Albany's* meanes, to procure a Divorce at *Rome*, alleadging, among other cauſes, that ſhe heard, her Husband *James* the fourth was living three years after *Floddenfield*, and therefore not dead when ſhe marryed him, (ſo much did that bruit prevaile.) But becauſe our King againe oppoſed this, (as I find by our Records, whence I have the whole paſſage) nothing was preſently done, though afterwards, new motives appearing, ſhe was divorced from him, as will appear in it's place. The Duke, being now generally * welcom'd, baniſhed the Earle of *Anguis* with his brother *George* into *France*, and cauſed his unckle *Gawin* the Learned Biſhop of *Dunkelden* to be cited to *Rome*, for the reſt ſummoning a Parliament to begin 1522. whether our King ſent *Clarenceaux* Herald, to require and command the Duke to avoyd the Realme, and if hee would not, to defie him. And that hee might have juſt cauſe to uſe this language, he was to alleadge unto the Duke, that hee had broken an expreſſe Article of the Treaty in comming over; Neither could hee pretend to have any Commiſſion from *Francis*; who, in a Letter to our King, had diſavowed this Action ſo farre, as hee profeſſed to bee neither privy nor conſenting to his journey. Beſides, that there was danger of his aſpiring to the Crowne, and that the Divorce hee procured for Queene *Margaret*, was not without deſigne to obtaine her for himſelfe. And this is the ſubſtance of that wherewith *Clarenceaux* was to charge him (as I gather out of ſeverall Collections;) howſoever, our Records tell us, that the Duke of *Albany* replyed, That, ſince his recall came from the Nobility and State of the Land, he would retaine it againſt all Kings. As for his being ſuſpected of Ambition to the Crowne, he anſwered, that he had rather enjoy his meanes in *France*, then pretend to that regality. And for Queen *Margaret*, he ſaid he had indeed negotiated a divorce in *Rome*, but with no intention to marry her himſelfe, when he could; as having a wife of his own. Letters alſo were ſent by our King to the Parliament, whereby he perſwaded them to reject the Duke. But they anſwer'd that they would defend him againſt all. Laſtly I find, by an originall of Queen *Margaret*, that our King writ to her alſo; For ſhe there expoſtulates ſharply with him, for beleeving thoſe reports con-

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1522. cerning the Duke of *Albany* and her; defending nevertheleſſe the ſaid Duke's being in *Scotland*; adding, that, if he had not been an unkind brother, ſhe ſhould not have needed to provide for her ſelfe, by the Duke of *Albany's* aſſiſtance.

Feb.. Our King finding this took no effect, in *February* ſent the Lord *Dacres*, Warden of the Weſt-Marches, into *Scotland*, with about five hundred men, to Proclaime that the Scottiſh ſhould come in to the King's Peace by the firſt of *March* following, or to ſtand to their perils, which the Duke of *Albany* ſuſpecting would prove a Warre, had provided by this time a great Army in the Borders; unwilling yet to doe more then to ſhew his power to offend. For, beſides that many of the better ſort judged wiſely, that if matters ſucceeded ill, they might be called in queſtion, when their King came to full age; they were not ignorant, how puiſſant an enemy they provoked; eſpecially, at a time, when their Confederats the French had ſo much to doe elſewhere. Therefore, although the Lord *Dacres* made ſome Inrodes into *Scotland*, and burnt di-

* July 30. vers villages, joyning himſelf with the Earle of *Shrewſbury*, * Conſtitute Lieutenant Generall for the North Parts; And that the Duke of *Albany* himſelfe was advanced as farre as *Carlile*, yet he retir'd; the interceſſion of Queen *Margaret* prevailing for a conference to be had betwixt the Duke and the Lord *Dacres*, wherein, all for the preſent was quieted, whereof the Lord *Dacres* was glad, as being ſomewhat ſurpriſed at that time. This conference yet

* Sept. 11. brought forth a * Truce only, for a few dayes, upon condition that the Scottiſh ſhould ſend Ambaſſadors into *England*, to deſire a Peace. But when they required the French might be comprehended, King *Henry* would not conſent, howbeit, the Truce was prorogued: whereupon the Governour, as finding the Scottiſh

Octob. Nobility unwilling to invade *England* on thoſe termes, in *October* departs to *France*, to crave ayd of *Francis*; the event whereof wee ſhall ſee the next yeare.

But while theſe Chriſtian Princes were in warre thus one againſt the other, the Turk who had now long experience what harme the Knights of Saint *John* of *Ieruſalem* had done him in the *Archipelago*, thought fit to invade the Iſle of *Rhodes*, (their chiefe ſtrength and fortreſſe at that time.) Hereunto concurr'd a requeſt which *Selim* upon his deathbed made unto his ſonne *Solyman*, wherein he not only exhorted him to revenge the affront his Grandfather *Machomet* ſuffered, when hee was repulſed thence, but even as a pious and devout Act recommended this enterpriſe to him. Such miſchiefes hath religion (which ſhould be a new bond of Peace) authoriſed unto mankind, in more then one age or Country. It was not yet without much danger that *Solyman* made this attempt. For as he brought neare two hundred thouſand men into a little and barren Iſland, ſo, if ever his Shiping had through firing or ill weather been caſt away or deſtroyed, he muſt have periſh'd there before

fore the Town could be forc'd. But such was the disunion of the Christian Princes that they lost their faire occasion; Thus, upon Saint *John Baptists* * day (the more to despight the Knights) this great Army entered the Island, (the *Turke* himselfe following in person a moneth after) and continuing the siege till Christmas, upon which day *Soliman* with great pompe entred *Rhodes*, being yeelded upon composition by *Phillip de Villiers* a French-man, Great Master of that Religion. Shortly after which, he, together with those Knights that remained, sailed towards *Rome*, and other parts of *Italy*, where comfortlesse and Errant they continued, till by the intercession of *Clement* the seventh (sometimes Knight of that Order) and the favour of *Charles*, they * obtained *Malta*, where they now reside. 1522. *June 24. Decem. 25. * 1525.

In *November* this yeere, a Diet being held at *Noremberg*, *Adrian* sends to the Princes of *Germany*, requiring them passionately to suppresse *Luther*, according to the decree at *Wormbs*; confessing nevertheless many abuses in Eccleasticall Government, insomuch, that he doubted not to give *Cheregat* his Nuncio Instructions to say, *In hac sancta sede aliquot jam Annis multa abominanda fuisse*, which he therefore promised, by degrees to redresse. But the message pleased neither side: the Cardinals at *Rome* disliking *Adrians* free declaration; and the Princes there, as little approving the slow and indirect courses taken for reforming the many enormities then used in the Roman Church, as may appeare by their *Centum Gravamina*; the particulars whereof I have thought fit to insert, not with desire to affront any, but onely that, pursuing my intentions, the Reader may finde briefly a true History of the times. Novemb. 1521.

The substance of the *Centum Gravamina*, offered to Pope *Adrian* by the Germans, was to this effect:

That the Church hath both commanded and forbidden divers things the Scripture did not: As certaine Obstacles of marriage, differences of meat, &c. all yet to be redeemed for money. I.

That people, who otherwise might justly marry, were yet forbidden it at certaine times, when yet both Ecclesiasticks and Laicks tooke then their Carnall liberty. Nevertheless that for money this restraint might be dispenced with. II.

That Indulgences (called there *Impostur*æ) and pardon for sins, not onely past but future, did cause all Impiety and wickednesse, while men believed, *Modò tinniat dextra*, they should have perfect freedome from all. III.

That the money for Indulgences, &c. was not employed the way it was promised, that is to say against the Turke, but towards their friends and kindreds expence and luxury. IIII.

That yet the Pope, Bishops, and other principall persons of the Clergy reserved some cases to themselves, which none other can dispence with, and that this againe cost them much. V.

That

1522. That the pardon of ſinnes for future times, brought in all miſchiefe, as Perjury, Homicide, Adultery, and the like.

VI.

VII. That certaine Preachers (called *Stationarii*) went up and down the Countrey, preaching the lives of ſome holy men or Saints, as *Valentine, Hubert, &c.* promiſing the ſimple people, that if they vowed themſelves to thoſe Saints, and payd ſuch an yeerly Tribute, they ſhould be free from ſuch diſeaſes, as they named.

VIII. That the *Fratres Mendicantes*, called *Terminarii*, conſumed the Almes that the poore ſhould have.

IX. That, at the inſtance of Eccleſiaſticall Perſons, divers Layicks were cited to *Rome*, to anſwer concerning buſineſſes not belonging to that Court, as namely matters of Inheritance, Gages, and Pawnes, &c.

X. That even Layicks, upon their Oath that they cannot hope for Juſtice in *Germany* before their ordinary Judge, might bring their cauſe to *Rome*, though otherwiſe it were proved that Juſtice were done, and the party perjured.

XI. That certaine Judges called *Conſervatores*, which were appointed by the Pope to determine the cauſes of certaine Eccleſiaſticks, did under colour thereof trouble all other places of Judicature, and derogate from the Temporall Authority, excommunicating all that would not obey them.

XII. That certaine Delegates and Commiſſaries of the Pope were often appointed to determine the ſecular cauſes of any perſon whatſoever, and to denounce Excommunication if they diſobeyed.

XIII. That the Pope, by exempting certaine Monaſteries from the juriſdiction of their Biſhops and Ordinaries, went about to draw an immediate dependance upon the Church of *Rome*, to the diminution of the Imperiall power.

XIV. That the right of Patronage belonging to divers Layick and Eccleſiaſticall perſons was (under colour of prevention) uſurped by the Pope and his Legats, when Benefices were vacant, and that they did conferre them uſually upon Courtiers and their Favourites.

XV. That theſe men either dying at *Rome*, or in their way thither, their Offices and Benefices were conferred uſually by the Pope, to the detriment of the true Patrons.

XIV. That divers undue means were practiſed to prove men amply-Beneficed to be Courtiers, and dependants on Cardinals.

XVII. That great Benefices or Eccleſiaſticall promotions could not be conferd on able perſons, unleſſe Penſions were firſt given out of them to the Courtiers and Officers of the Pope.

XVIII. That, under pretences of making Benefices litigious, the ſaid Courtiers and Officers drew thence great Penſions; and if the ordinary Statutes of Chancery ſerved not, they formed and reformed them as they pleaſed; alſo the Incumbent dying during

this

this pretended controverſie, the ſaid Pretenders invaded the Bene- 1522
fice, to the wrong of the Patron.

That the Collation of Deaneries, and other Eccleſiaſticall pro- XIX.
motions was often taken from the right Patrons by the Pope, eſpecially if the former poſſeſſors were Courtiers.

That in granting Benefices they uſed many Arts to get money, XX.
under the names of Reſervations, Permutations, Surrogations, &c. to the dammage of the Patron.

That Courtiers often having Benefices in *Germany* confer'd on XXI.
them, farmed them out to ſtrangers who cannot ſpeake the Language.

That Archbiſhops and Biſhops were bound by their Chapters XXII.
to beſtow the beſt vacant Benefices, with Cure or without it, among themſelves onely, to the fruſtrating of many able Perſons.

That the houſes belonging to ſuch Benefices were ſuffered to XXIII.
fall, and the people untaught, and the Statutes of Founders not obſerved.

That divers Abbeys, and Religious houſes, being delivered in XXIV.
commendam to Cardinals, and Biſhops, did not feed now above five or ſix perſons, whereas heretofore they nouriſhed forty or fifty.

That, whereas there were divers Collegiate Churches in *Ger-* XXV.
many, into which none but Princes, Earls, Barons, or at leaſt Gentlemen ought to be admitted; that now Courtiers, though inferiour perſons, were received into them for money.

That, whereas in the beſtowing of Benefices divers ancient Pri- XXVI.
viledges and Immunities belonged both to Eccleſiaſticall and Layick perſons, they were now by the policy of the Roman See, eluded or infringed.

That, whereas Annats were payd to the Pope by Eccleſiaſticks, XXVII.
and whereas the Princes of *Germany* did alſo pay them for divers yeeres, upon condition the money might be imployed in warre againſt the Turke; Now becauſe they underſtood the money was otherwiſe diſpoſed of, they deſired henceforth to be eaſed of this great burden.

That Eccleſiaſticks doe not pay their due parts, either for a war XXVIII.
againſt the Turke, or other publique affaires; whereas having XXIX.
ſo great a portion of Revenue in *Germany*, they ſhould furniſh their XXX.
reaſonable ſhare; And in this caſe the Church-Ornaments and Treaſure are not to be ſpared, leaſt they come all together into the hands of the Turke.

That, whereas Eccleſiaſticall perſons, being by taking Orders XXXI.
exempt from ſecular juſtice; doe thereupon take more freedome to commit Adultery, Murders, Rapine, and even Coyning moneys, to the no little ſcandall of Religion, and derogation of the ſecular Authority; and that their Superiours likewiſe never puniſh them, but being firſt degraded, (to which yet much ceremony and time

is

1522. is required,) and that the ſaid Superiours by their Chapters, are bound not to puniſh them otherwiſe.

XXXII. And whereas the leaving theſe crimes unpuniſhed may cauſe ſedition and tumult in the Layity, as finding the Eccleſiaſticks have not parity of puniſhment with them:

XXXIII. Therefore, they deſired that Eccleſiaſticks and Layicks may equally ſuffer for crimes of the ſame nature; And that no Order may priviledge them from the Magiſtrate.

XXXIV. That whereas Banns and Excommunications ought to be uſed onely when men are convicted of Hereſie; that yet Laicks incurred this puniſhment for ſmall faults, and ſo were driven to deſperation, and excluded from Divine ſervice.

XXXV. That divers alſo, who were not properly intereſſed in the crime of the Excommunicated perſon, did yet ſuffer as Complices; and all this onely that more money might be gotten.

XXXVI. That when the Prieſt or Eccleſiaſticall perſon was killed by chance, the whole Town or Village was interdicted, till compenſation were made, and no regard taken of the occaſion given.

XXXVII. That Holidaies were in ſuch number in Harveſt time, that people could not get in their Corne in due ſeaſon; whereas, yet innumerable miſchiefes were then done, rather then Gods ſervice frequented according to the firſt Inſtitution.

XXXVIII. That the Revenues of the Knights of the Teutonicke Order, deſtin'd for war againſt the Turke, were applied to Cardinals, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, which were neither Germans, nor of the ſaid Order, contrary to the firſt Inſtitution.

XXXIX. That Arch Biſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates obtained from *Rome* Conſervators and Delegates, whence ſo many grievances follow to the Layicks.

XL. That Layicks Goods and Inheritance might come to Eccleſiaſticall hands by purchaſe, or otherwiſe; but that Eccleſiaſticall Goods and Inheritance might never returne to the Layicks.

XLI. That when Eccleſiaſticall perſons, having Inheritance deſcending upon them, did die inteſtate, divers Biſhops did claime that Inheritance themſelves, to the prejudice of the next right heires.

XLII. That, whereas the profits of certaine Lands and Poſſeſſions temporall, were ſometimes caſually transferred by Layicks to Eccleſiaſticall perſons, they laboured to retaine the ſaid Lands as their owne for ever, by ſubmitting them to Eccleſiaſticall Juriſdiction.

XLIII. That Biſhops would not confirme the Foundations of Eccleſiaſticall Benefices, unleſſe the Founders gave them the firſt beſtowing thereof.

XLIV. That they were forced to purchaſe the confirmation of them for great ſums of money.

XLV. That, when by a Lay perſon any man were preſented to a Benefice, he could not be inveſted therein, till he had paid as much

much as a yeeres profit, or two, to the Biſhop and his Officers. 1522.

That Biſhops raiſe extraordinary Subſidies on the Prieſts under them, ſo that they cannot live unleſſe they get money againe from the People. Inſomuch that they will adminiſter no Sacrament unleſſe ſome money be given. XLVI.

That many are made Prieſts who have not meanes to maintaine the charge, to the derogation of their Dignity, while they exerciſe ſome ſordid Trades; And that they who can get ſix voyces, for a Certificate obtaine Orders, when yet thoſe Atteſtations were corruptly gotten. XLVII.

That more is exacted from the People for the Conſecration of Churches then is needfull; And that, though Layicks beſtow divers, gifts on the Church, as Altar-pieces &c. yet money is required for their conſecration. XLVIII. XLIX.

That if two or more fight in the Church-yard with their fiſts, to the drawing of never ſo little blood, the Town muſt pay for the new conſecrating thereof. L.

That Suffragans uſed to baptize Bels, under pretence of driving away Divels and Tempeſts; And, for this purpoſe, did invite many rich Godfathers, who were to touch the Rope while the Bell was exerciſed, and its name invoked, (unto which all the people muſt anſwer.) And that a Banquet was uſed to be made hereupon, at the coſt of the Layicks, amounting in little Towns to a hundred Florens, whither the Godfathers were to come and bring great Gifts, &c. whereas they deſired that the ſaid Bels might be baptized not onely by Suffragans, but by any Prieſt, with Holy-water, Salt, and Herbs, without ſuch Coſts. LI.

That, if in any Dioceſſe a ſolemnity for a new Saint were frequented, the Biſhop uſed to take to himſelfe a third or fourth part of the offering, which yet ought to have beene employed in warre againſt the Turke. LII.

That, whereas ſome Nunneries were governed by Provoſts, the Biſhops refuſed to accept the ſaid Provoſts till the Nuns had given them money. LIII.

That when any Abbot or Abbeſſe was choſen, they muſt be conſecrated anew by the Suffragans, (though otherwiſe they were capable of the charge) and feaſts made, and great ſummes paid. That alſo many Offices were invented in the Court of *Rome*, ſo that Biſhops could not enter their charge without paying great Fees, which againe they were forced to get of the people as they could. LIV.

That Eccleſiaſticall Judges commonly were Perſons of an idle life, and intentive wholly to gaine. LV.

That though the Plantiffe be Eccleſiaſticke, and the Defendant Layick, and that by the Law, *Actor Rei Forum ſequi* LVI.

1522. *debet*, yet the cauſe was revoked ſtill to the Eccleſiaſticall Court.

LVII. That though Juſtice be neither delayed nor denied in Civill Courts, yet the Eccleſiaſticall perſons drew matters of debt into their Courts, and oppreſſed men by their rigid cenſures.

LVIII. That, whereas Citations and Monitories are granted againſt Layicks in many caſes, which are known not to belong to Eccleſiaſticall Juriſdiction, yet that the Perſons ſo cited, either can get no remedy herein, or that, before the Civill Magiſtrate can avoke the cauſe, ſo much time and money is ſpent, as is intolerable to the poore ſuitor.

LIX. That Eccleſiaſticall Judges drew many cauſes to their Court, which belonged not to it, As Raviſhments of Virgins, ſome caſes concerning Baſtardy, &c. which yet they could not be drawn to remit to the ordinary juriſdiction.

LX. That, when a man were wrongfully called before Eccleſiaſticall Judges, and at laſt, after much charges diſmiſſed, yet unleſſe his adverſaries Proctor were ſatisfied to the full, he ran the danger of Excommunication.

LXI. That Layiks, though by long preſcription they payd neither great nor ſmall Tenths, out of certaine of their Lands, yet received Citations from Eccleſiaſticall Judges, and were conſtrained to pay, under the penalty of Excommunication; not daring to appeale to *Rome*, for feare of more exceſſive charges.

LXII. That all belonging to Eccleſiaſticall perſons laboured alſo to take the advantage of the Eccleſiaſticall Courts, when they had any ſuite againſt Layiks.

LXIII. That, on occaſion of injurious words onely, Eccleſiaſticall perſons drew the ſuit to their Courts, and ſuffered not the lawfull Judge to determine it.

LXIV. That, in all cauſes where Oathes are interpoſed, Eccleſiaſticall Iudges uſed to avoke them, upon pretence that matter of Oathes were not otherwiſe to be decided: which at laſt yet would wholly fruſtrate Secular Courts; there being ſo many caſes wherein Oathes intervene.

LXV. That, when their judgements concern'd their Eccleſiaſticall ſuperiors, they dare not exerciſe it, but onely let them run againſt the poorer ſort.

LXVI. That they have invented many Reformations, Ordinances, Laws, and Statutes wholly differing from the uſuall and Common Law; which yet tend not ſo much to the good of the People, as their own private gaine.

LXVII. That, it being agreed by the Canons of the Fathers, that Spirituall puniſhments ſhould be inflicted for Spirituall and manifeſt ſinnes, Eccleſiaſticall Judges and Officers yet did extend and aggravate

vate theſe puniſhments ſo far that Layicks were forced to redeeme them with money. 1522

That men and women, being falſely accuſed, yet upon their purgation, they were ſo farre from receiving ſatisfaction, that they were forced to pay for Letters of Abſolution; And Oaths, beſides, taken of malicious and wicked women, upon words ſpoken when they revile each other; which made them often incur perjury, and occaſioned much offence. LXVIII.

That, when buſineſſe of Matrimony hath proceeded ſo farre, that one of the parties pretended a Contract, which the other denied, and that ſome Guifts as Earneſts of Marriage had paſſed betwixt them, the Eccleſiaſticall Judges yet ſeparating the parties, keepe the Guifts for themſelves, as forfeit or eſcheated. LXIX.

That, whereas there are certaine cauſes ſo belonging to both juriſdictions, as they are determinable by that Court which firſt queſtions them (as manifeſt Perjuries, Adulteries, &c.) yet the Eccleſiaſticall Judges forbad the Civill to meddle herein. LXX.

That, upon pretences of Layicks, that they cannot obtaine of the Secular Magiſtrate execution of Juſtice, Citations were uſually granted from the Eccleſiaſticall Court, or Breves to the Secular Judges, warning them in the ſpace of a moneth to end the ſaid cauſe, or otherwiſe that they would take order; when, yet, the cauſe being brought before them, depended often the ſpace of three yeeres without that they would grant the like power to Secular Judges. LXXI.

That Eccleſiaſticall Judges, under colour of preſcription, arrogated much to themſelves, when as yet no preſcription can availe againſt the Pope and Emperor. LXXII.

That offenders, after private confeſſion, being required to doe publique Pennance before all the people, are compelled alſo to pay money to Eccleſiaſticall Officers. LXXIII.

That, inſtead of forbidding Uſury, they permit it for money given them; and that for an Annuall Revenue paid, they permit Clerks, Religious and Secular perſons to live publiquely with their Harlots and get children. LXXIV.

That, if one of the marryed couple take a journey either to the warres, or to performe a Vow, to a farre Countrey, they permit the party remaining at home, if the other ſtay long away, upon a ſumme of money payd, to cohabite with another, not examining ſufficiently whether the abſent party were dead. LXXV.

That Synodall Judges, going to poore Towns and Villages everywhere, draw Annuall Tribute thence, or Excommunicate them, when they cannot pay: And that they draw money weekly in many places, from Bakers, Brokers, Butchers, &c. under the ſame penalty. LXXVI.

1522.
LXXIX. That they ſend Inhibitory Letters to Layicks, forbidding them to proceed in their ſuit, before the Secular Judge; whereby they are forced to ſubmit to the Eccleſiaſticall Court, or otherwiſe to appeale to *Rome*.

LXXX. That many, not being able to endure the charges of Law in theſe kinds, are forced to make ſome bad bargaine and compoſition, being not able to ſtand out.

LXXXI. That whereas Eccleſiaſticall Judges, by giving Oathes to the Advocats and Proctors attending in their Courts, did make them obnoxious, it was manifeſt their Clients could have little hope of aſſiſtance, when the cauſe any way concern'd the ſaid Judges or their Superiors. Neither was there any remedy for this, but by their admiſſion of forraigne Advocates, to whom yet ſo ſhort a time was allowed for bringing them to the Barr as they could not eaſily come.

LXXXII. That the poorer ſort, being not able to pay their Duties to the Parſon, were often denied the Communion.

LXXXIII. That Labourers in time of Vintage were Excommunicated, unleſſe they tooke ſuch Seaſons as the Eccleſiaſticks preſcribed, upon pretence that their Tenths might ſuffer dammage thereby.

LXXXIV. That Synodall Judges, going Progreſſe yeerly under pretext of Viſitation, and inflicting puniſhment on offenders, tooke onely occaſion to exact money.

LXXXV. That the Canons of Cathedrall and Collegiate Churches, who had power to chooſe a Prelate or Superiour, would not elect him, untill he firſt promiſed and bound himſelfe not to contradict them in any buſineſſe, (how fowle ſoever, and diſhoneſt) and that if they offended, he ſhould not puniſh them.

LXXXVI. That Livings belonging to Biſhops, Monaſteries, &c. were ſet forth to Vicars, at ſo deare Rates, that they were forced to get money againe from the poore for Confeſſions, Anniverſaries, Obits, &c.

LXXXVII. That, though Prieſts by their Foundation ought to ſing ſuch a Maſſe on ſuch a day, yet they will have money therefore. Beſides, with one Maſſe they thinke to ſerve divers Benefices.

LXXXVIII. That if any of their Pariſhioners, for marriage or other occaſion quitted his houſe or dwelling, he muſt pay ſo much to the Prieſt for Teſtimonials, or be Excommunicated.

LXXXIX. That whereas, by the Popes Canons, they onely are denied Chriſtian buriall, who without taking the Communion, died in any notorious and mortall ſinne, yet their Eccleſiaſticks extended the Law further, and denyed buriall to men deceaſed by chance, as drownd or killd, untill ſuch money were payd.

XC. That many Prieſts, and other Eccleſiaſticall Perſons mixt themſelves with the multitude, dancing and diſguiſing themſelves, wearing

wearing Swords, with which they made affrays, and hurt people, and yet conſtrained them to pay. 1522

That in moſt places, Biſhops, and their Officials not onely tolerated Concubinage, upon paying money in the more diſſolute ſort of Monkes, but exacted it alſo in the more continent; ſaying, it was now at their choice whether they would have Concubines or no. XCXI.

That at the Dedications of Churches, permiſſion was given to the Chaplaines and Prieſts to ſet up Taverns, Dice, Cards, &c XCXII.

That, at the point of death, they perſwaded men by flattery and fictions, to give their Goods from their Children unto them. XCXIII.

That Mendicant Friers drew many Cauſes to *Rome* unjuſtly, to the grievance of the Layicks, getting alſo ſo mueh money, that they had lately bought three Cardinals Hatts for their Generals at a huge Rate, and that they much moleſted Nunneries. XCXIV.

That the Legats and Orators of Popes made Baſtards and others borne *ex damnata coito* to be legitimate, to the no little wrong of the right heires. XCXV.

And that they made alſo certaine Viſcount Palatines as their Subſtitutes, having power alſo to legitimate and admit Baſtards to ſucceſſion; And to make Notaries, when yet ſome of them are ſo ignorant, as they know not what belongs to a Notaries place. XCXVI.

Beſides, the ſaid Legats goe about to abſolve men from their Oathes, Pacts, and Obligations, with permiſſion to treat *de novo*; then which nothing yet repugned more to equity and juſtice. Beſides, that they endeavoured to take Livings from the true Patrons, and beſtow them as they pleaſed. XCXVII.

That, becauſe Religious perſons ſucceeded Secular men in their Inheritance, and not *vice verſa*; there could be no equality, unleſſe that before any entered into a Religious life, they renounced their ſucceſſion in Temporall eſtates. XCXVIII.

That the chiefe part of theſe grievances having been repreſented in the late Diet at *Wormbs* to the Emperor by the Lay-States, againſt Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, and other Eccleſiaſticall perſons, that yet no remedy enſued. And that therefore all the Secular States of the Roman Empire renewed now their Petition to the Pope that his Holineſſe would reforme theſe abuſes. XCIX.

That there are many Grievances more intolerable then theſe, which the ſaid Secular Eſtates of the Roman Empire could ſhew, but (for brevity) did forbeare, as hoping that when thoſe were taken away, the reſt would follow. C.

Wherefore, by way of finall Petition the ſaid Secular Eſtates of the Roman Empire, both of the higher and lower ſort, did beſeech his Holineſſe to take away, amend and abrogate the ſaid Grievances; or otherwiſe that themſelves would take ſuch courſe as ſhould be expedient for the remedy thereof.

1522. While, that his Holineſſe might take the better notice thereof, they thought fit to digeſt their grievances into theſe Heads, and ſend them to his Holineſſe.

Theſe Abuſes and Grievances (which, as much as through the obſcurity of ſome termes uſed there, was poſſible, I have endeavoured faithfully to abbreviate) being publiſhed, *Luther* became more obſtinate, repenting now his ſubmiſſion at *Wormbes*; Inſomuch that at *Wittenberg*, he doubted not to aboliſh the old Maſſe, and to frame a new Liturgy, &c. Of which more hereafter.

1523. April 15. Regn. 14. Our King finding now his extraordinary waies for levying money to faile, or at leaſt having reſolved to determine them in a Parliament, ſummon'd it to be held in the *Black-friars* in *London* upon the fifteenth of *April*, in the fourteenth yeere of his Raigne. And here the Cardinall tooke order that the Spiritualty ſhould lead. The buſineſſe of Subſidy, therefore, being brought into the Convocation-Houſe, found a faire way for the moſt part. Yet *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and one *Philips* oppoſed it. But the Cardinall, ſilencing ſome, and cauſing others to abſent themſelves, prevailed at laſt. Inſomuch that one halfe of the Revenues ſpirituall for one yeere, was granted payable in five yeers following. Hence the Cardinall went to the houſe of Commons, where in an elegant Oration, breach of Faith was layd to the charge of *Francis* the firſt, upon the League ſworne for the generall Peace of Chriſtendome. Beſides, default of payment for *Tournay*, and other things were objected; ſo that the King could doe no leſſe in this publique cauſe, then joyne in war with *Charles* the Emperor againſt him. And becauſe the charge thereof was caſt up to DCCC thouſand pounds, it was required, that the aforeſaid ſumme might be raiſed out of the fifth part of every mans Goods and Lands to be payd in foure yeeres.

April 29. This being ſaid, the Cardinall departed. The next day Sir *Thomas More*, (Speaker of the Houſe) inforced this demand, demonſtrating how it was not much on this occaſion, to pay foure ſhillings in the pound. But the Houſe of Commons anſwered, that though ſome were well moneyed, yet in generall the fifth part of mens Goods was not in Plate or Money, but in ſtocke or Cattell. And that to pay away all their Coyne would alter the whole frame, and intercourſe of things. For, if Tenants came to pay their Land-lords in Corne and Cattell onely; and the Land-lord againe could not put them off for thoſe things he had need of, there would be a ſtop in all Traffique and Merchandize, and conſequently the ſhipping of the Kingdom muſt decay: And the Nation it ſelfe for want of money, grow in a ſort barbarous and ignoble. To this was anſwered.

That the Money demanded ought not to be accounted as loſt:

or

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or taken away, but onely to be transferr'd into others hands of their kindred or Nation; Herein therefore, that no more was done, then that we ſee ordinarily in Markets; where, though the Money change Maſters, yet every one is accommodated. Howſoever, that no man ought to refuſe unto him that fighteth for the honour and ſafety of his Countrey, ſo much as will maintaine him; ſince he denies it not even to his labourer. That thoſe who are imploy'd, muſt have been fed when they ſtaid idle at home, and yet that they ask'd no more now, to give the uttermoſt proofe of well-deſerving Patriots. Howbeit, you may reply, this will exhauſt the Coine from the poorer ſort; but, to avoid this objection, let the richer go themſelves. Let them ſhew, in defending their Country, that they merit the better and greater parts thereof. Our King will not deny them this Honour. Or, when they would deſire to be exempt, and lay the burthen and hazard upon others, let them not grudge yet the giving ſo poore a ſtipend, as ſome of their ſervants, at home, would ſcarcely take to ſtand bare-headed to them. Neither are they to value themſelves more then others, becauſe they have larger Poſſeſſions, unleſſe they imploy it to the publique good; ſince, in ancient times, and even true Reaſon of State, they deſerved not ſo much, who till'd and manur'd a Country, as they who defended it. Nor is it well ſaid of you, when you object that this will carry the Money out of *England*, and leave it in *France*; for doth it not carry the men too, and ſo in effect prove but the ſame expence? Notwithſtanding, if you be ſo obſtinate, as to beleeve that making warre in a Country brings money to it, doe but conceive a while, that the French had invaded us. Would the money they brought over, thinke you, enrich our Country? ſhould any of us be the better for it? Let us therefore lay aſide thoſe poore ſcruples, and doe what may be worthy the dignity and honour of our Nation. When you did conceive the worſt that can fall out, you ſhould yet eat your Beefe and Mutton here, and weare your Country Cloth; while others, upon a ſhort allowance, fought, only that you might enjoy your families and liberty. But I ſay confidently you need not feare this penury or ſcarceneſſe of Money; the intercourſe of things being ſo eſtabliſh'd throughout the whole world, that there is a perpetuall derivation of all that can be neceſſary to mankind. Thus your Commodities will ever find out Money; while, not to goe farre, I ſhall produce our own Merchants onely, who, (let me aſſure you,) will be alwayes as glad of your Corne and Cattell, as you can bee of any thing they bring you. Let us therefore (in Gods name) do what becomes us, and for the reſt, entertaine ſo good an opinion of our Souldiers, as to beleeve, that in ſtead of leaving our Country bare, they will adde new Provinces to it, or, at leaſt, bring rich ſpoiles and Triumphes home.

At laſt, after ſome debate and contention, it was agreed by the Commons

1523 Commons, that every man of Eſtate of twenty pound yearly and upwards, ſhould pay two ſhillings in the pound; and from twenty pound a yeare downward to fourty ſhillings, one ſhilling in the pound; and under fourty ſhillings every head of ſixteene yeares old or more ſhould pay foure pence in two years. The Cardinall hearing no more intended, ſeem'd much troubled, and therefore, coming to the Lower Houſe of Parliament, He told them, that he deſir'd to reaſon with thoſe who oppos'd his demands; but being anſwer'd, that it was the order of that Houſe to heare, and not to reaſon, but among themſelves, the Cardinall departed. Yet by the liberall Motion of ſome of the Lower Houſe, thoſe of fifty pound Land and upwards, were induced to give one ſhilling more, (being three ſhillings in the pound) for three yeares to come, which at length being continued to the fourth yeare, and extended to thoſe who were worth five pound in goods, was all that could be obtained.

The more famous Statutes enacted this Parliament, fourteene, and fifteene *Reg. Henry* the eighth, were theſe.

That our Merchants might have eight dayes preferrence before ſtrangers, for buying of broad white-wollen Clothes, brought to *Blackwell*-Hall in *London*; unleſſe in Faires, Ports, Creekes, &c. That ſtrangers uſing a handy Craft, ſhould take no Apprentiſes, nor above two Journey-men, unleſſe they were the King's Subjects. That they ſhould be under the ſearch and reformation of the Wardens and Fellowſhip of Handy-Crafts, and one ſubſtantiall Stranger, to be choſen by the ſaid Wardens. That they ſhould cauſe a Marke to be put on the Wares, and workman-ſhip, to be knowne thereby. That, if they were falſely and deceitfully made, they ſhould be forfeit. That this Proviſion ſhould extend to ſtrangers, living in other Townes than *London*. That, if ſtrangers were wrong'd, they might ſeek their remedy from the Lord Chancellor and Treaſurer of *England*, or the Juſtices of Aſſize in the Counties where they liv'd. That, during this Parliament, their Apprentiſes or Journey-men might continue as before, and ſo to endure till the laſt day of the next Parliament. This Act yet was not to extend to ſtrangers of *Oxford*, *Cambridge*, and the Sanctuary of Saint *Martins le Grand* in *London*. That, if the Officers refuſed to put a Mark on the Wares, or workmanſhip of Joyners, Black-Smiths, &c. being ſtrangers; That then it was lawfull for the ſtrangers to ſell them without the ſaid Marke. That Lords and others the Kings Subjects of an hundred pounds yearly might take and retaine ſtrangers. being Joyners, and Glaſiers, for their private ſervice, this Act notwithſtanding. That Engliſh men living under forraigne Princes, and being ſworn to them, ſhould pay ſuch Cuſtome to our King, Subſidy and Toll, as other ſtrangers of thoſe parts doe. And that the Governour of the Merchant Adventurers, or the King's Ambaſſadors in Forraigne Countreys, ſhall certifie

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certifie their names to the Chancery, to the intent that order may be given therein to the Kings Officers in Havens, Ports, and Creeks. Yet if any ſuch Engliſh-man, did returne to inhabite here, that then he ſhould be reſtored to all Liberties of a Subject.

A Colledge of Phyſicians (among whom was that famous and learned *Linaker*, chiefe Phyſician to the King) was erected, and certaine authorities and Priviledges granted to them.

Moreover the Statute of V I. *Hen.* VIII. XIII. for ſhooting in Croſſe-Bowes, or Hand-Guns was diſpenſed with in men of one hundred pound *per annum.* That Coyners who make Money in any Mint in *England*, ſhould Coyne of every hundred pounds of Gold, twenty pound into halfe Angels or peeces of xl. pence, and of every hundred pounds worth of Bullion, Plate or Silver, a certaine portion into Groats, Two-pences, Pence, Halfe-pence, and Farthings (the Farthings to have a Marke different from the Halfpence.) That they who bring leſſe then 100 pounds in Bullion or Plate to the Mint, ſhall have the tenth part thereof in Half-pence and Farthings. That this yet ſhall not extend to the Mint-maſters of York, *Durham*, or *Canterbury*. Concerning which Law, it is worth the noting, that though it was for the benefit of the Subjects, to have ſo much of the ſmalleſt ſort of Coine, yet by reaſon of their littleneſſe, it is all worne out.

That they which be in the Kings ſervice in warres may aliene their Lands, for performance of their wills, without any fine for Alienation. And, if any of them dye in the Kings ſervice in War his Feof-fees or Executors ſhall have the wardſhip of his Heire and Lands.

I find alſo in this Parliament, an Act for Attainder of the Duke of *Buckingham*. And an other for the reſtitution of *Henry* Lord *Stafford*, ſonne to the ſaid Duke. *M. S.*

Alſo an Act paſs'd that the King ſhall, for his life have Authority by his Letters Pattents at his pleaſure to Reverſe, Repeale, and Annull, all attaindors of high Treaſon, and to reſtore their Heires, &c. *M. S.*

While theſe affaires at home were in agitation, the Cardinall * ſending *Thomas Anniball* Doctor of Law) to Pope *Adrian* then in *Spaine*, * obtained the continuance of his Legantine Power for five yeares more, which yet (ſaith *Polydore*) he made ſo veniall, as if, to recompence the heavy Loanes and payments he had impos'd on the people, he would take order to diſcharge them of their ſinnes at an eaſie rate. March. 9. March. 22. *Pol. virg.*

The King having ſent divers times into *Scotland*, to require that his Nephew *Iames*, might have exerciſe of that Regall Authority which was due unto him, and the Duke of *Albany* diſchar'd from his place of *Vice-Roy*, receiv'd ſo uncertaine and dilatory Anſwers, that he thought fit to deſiſt a while from his deſignes in *France*, and to purſue this. Therefore he makes a particular diſpatch to Sir *Thomas*

1523 *Thomas Bolen*, Treaſurer of his houſhold, and Mr. *Richard Sampſon* Deane of his Chappell, reſident then in *Spaine*, requiring them to excuſe him, if he did not proceed ſo roundly to the execution of the Treaty at *Windſor*, (formerly mention'd) ſince, for defence of his Nephew, he was conſtrain'd to take in hand the buſineſſe of *Scotland*; yet that he would, in good time, performe all that could be required on his part. Together with which they were charged, to intimate ſome jealouſies he had of a neare Alliance propos'd betwixt *Charles* and *Francis*; whereof he would gladly be clear'd. Preſently after which, he ſent the Duke of *Surry* (Lieutenant of
March. the Borders) commanding him to joyne with Marqueſſe *Dorſet*,
(Warden of the Eaſt and middle Marches) and Lord *Dacres* War-
Aprill. den of the Weſt Borders of *Scotland*. Theſe Lords, having gathered together convenient forces, took *Iedworth*; and, making frequent incurſions, did great harm to that Country; without other intention yet (as the Scottiſh have it,) then to reduce that Nation to a better intelligence with *England*. Hereupon, the Duke of *Albany*, who was in *France*, prepares to return to *Scotland*. Our King, advertis'd hereof, ſends out his Navy to intercept him. Sir *William Fitzwilliams* with 36 great Ships, coaſting *France*, and *Anthony Pointz* with a convenient Navy, guarding the Weſtern Seas. While *Fitzwilliams* attended this occaſion, he diſcover'd twelve French Ships, in which the Arch-Biſhop of *Glaſco* and divers others of quality were, whom the Duke of *Albany* had ſent before him into *Scotland*. Giving Chaſe to theſe, two of them were caſt away neere the Havens of *Diepe* and *Boulogne*. After which, *Fitzwilliams*, leaving part of his Fleet to ſhut up the *French* Ships, (which were fled into thoſe Havens) proceeded himſelf along the French Coaſts, Landing in divers places and waſting the Country; till at laſt hee
Aug. 10. came to *Treport*, a Town ſtrongly ſituated and Garriſon'd with three thouſand Men; which Fortifications our Men (though a far leſſe number) gain'd, together with divers peeces of Ordnance, chaſing the French that remain'd to the Town. yet finding it was not their buſineſſe to lay a ſiege at this time, they only burnt the ſuburbs, and the Ships they met in the Haven, and ſo return'd. The Duke of *Albany*, knowing how narrowly he was watch'd by the Engliſh, had caus'd all proviſion for his returne unto *Scotland* to be conceal'd, and made it to be voyced abroad, that he had no purpoſe to ſtir out of *France* this yeare: which our King underſtanding, call'd home his Fleet. But it was no ſooner in harbour, then *Albany* haſting together his Men and Ships, ſet ſaile at *Breſt*; and, paſſing along the Weſt Coaſt of *England*, landed in the Iſland of *Arraine*
Sept. 24. *Sept.* 24. to the great joy of the Scots, and with him came *Richard de-la-Pole* and three thouſand French. When *Albany* came, the minds of the Nobility were divided, ſome favour'd the Engliſh, ſome
Buck. the French: It being diſputed much before the comming of the Governor, to whether ſide it were beſt to adhere.

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The favourers of the Engliſh Party (which were many,) alleadg'd the conformity in Perſon, Manners, Language, and Lawes betwixt the two Nations; Their living and neighbour-hood within the ſame Iſland; the Power the Engliſh had, not only to doe more good or hurt, but ſooner then the French could prevent them: That the Engliſh were Maſters of the Seas, and thereby, able to ſtop, and interclude all ſuccour that could come to them from any other place. Laſtly, divers Letters were produc'd, written from our King to the Nobility of *Scotland*, wherein he did offer both to maintaine Peace there, and to confirme it, by giving the Princeſſe *Mary* his daughter in mariage unto *Iames* his Nephew, ſince he had vehement ſuſpitions that *Charles* intended a match elſewhere.

Thoſe who favoured the French (whereof many (ſaith the ſame Author) were gained with large gifts, and Penſions, or were ſuch, as, being of meane fortune, deſir'd to make their advantage in the publique troubles) replyed hereunto, That credit was not eaſily to be given to the ſpecious pretext of a new Allyance, the former having ſucceeded no better; eſpecially, when all things in *England* were ordered chiefely *Ex Arbitrio Thomæ Woolſei Cardinalis pravi & ambitioſi* (as *Buchanan* hath it.) That, the occaſions of falling out betwixt potent neighbours, being frequent; friends were to bee ſought out in any other place. Howſoever, their ancient Ally, (the French) was to be acquainted herewith, and no time to be loſt for preparations to defend themſelves. *Buch.* *Buch,*

Theſe, though but cavils of the more tumultuous ſort, being joyned to the rancor of others, prevail'd ſo with the heady multitude, that, in the Parliament which the Governor ſummon'd as ſoone as he came to *Scotland*, it was preſently reſolv'd, that he ſhould raiſe a puiſſant Army. Theſe being gathered, march to a Wooden Bridge over Twede, neare *Mul-Reſſe*, which leads to *England*; here the Duke paſs'd over the greateſt part of his forces, intending the reſt ſhould follow; but becauſe divers muttered againſt the cauſeleſneſſe and danger of this attempt, he thought it his beſt Courſe, preſently to bring them back againe. Paſſing thence, hee commanded Siege to be laid to the Caſtle of *Werke*, lately fortifiſed by the Earle of *Surry*. Some French here, that ſerved on the Scottiſh ſide, found meanes to enter the baſe Court, in which the Cattell and Corne of the neighbour-hood in dangerous times were uſually kept. But the Engliſh, for all other manner of repulſe, ſetting fire only to the hay and ſtraw there, ſmoked out the French: Hereupon a Battery was planted againſt the Walls, and a ſufficient breach made; wherewith an aſſault was given by the French and others, but being beaten back with the loſſe of many, and the Earl of *Surry* being with a great Army not farre of the Duke deſiſted and retir'd, doing no more with his Army for that yeare, ſhortly after which by the mediation of Queene *Margaret*, a Truce was concluded. Octob. 21. Novemb. 11.

1523. cluded. And thus our King quitted himſelfe of the troubles which *Francis* ſtirr'd againſt him, in *Scotland*. Let us now looke on *Ireland*, for there alſo *Francis* had his projects. And *Tillet* ſets down
Tillet. a Treaty between *Francis* and *James*, Earl of *Deſmond* in *June* 1523.
June. But, as it took no effect, by reaſon of *Francis* his buſineſſe in other parts, ſo it haſtned the ſecond troubles of the Earle of *Kildare*, who
Campion. Hiſt. Iſil. though he had freed himſelfe of his impriſonment in *England*, by the favour he got upon his match with *Elizabeth Gray*, Siſter to the Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, and ſo was remitted home to his former charge, (*Pierce Butler* being upon ſome Accuſations put out) yet, being Kinſman to *Deſmond*, he could not ſo behave himſelfe, but that his illwillers found Arguments to traduce him; But of this in its place.

Sleid. Com. While theſe things were doing, the Kingdome of *Denmarke* ſuf-
1514. fer'd a great change. For *Chriſterne* the ſecond ſucceeding his Father *John*, *Anno* 1514. the Swedes not long after rebell'd, making *Steno Stura* their Head, who yet being ſlaine in Battaile, and the
1520. Swedes overcome, *Chriſtierne* commands his body to be diſinterrd and burnt; which with other cruelties, made the Swedes take arms againe, under *Gaſtavus Erixon*, whom they made their King, and ſeparated themſelves wholy, from the Crown of *Denmarke*: *Chriſtierne* having thus loſt Sweden, and incurr'd the hate of the Danes by his Tyrannicall Government, fearing conſpiracy at home, and warre from abroad, left his Kingdome to be invaded and taken by his unckle *Frederick*, Duke of *Holſt*; (whom the *Lubeckers* ayded in the enterprize) and, flying together with *Iſabell*, ſiſter to *Charles* the Emperor and his three children, (one Sonne and two daughters) as voluntary Exiles from their own Country, went firſt to
*June 15 *Flanders*, and from *Flanders* with a * ſmall Traine came hither. Their misfortune yet did not hinder them to find a reception worthy their degree; our Queene, being Aunt to his, taking particular compaſſion on them. After all manner of Royall Entertainment, therefore, for the ſpace of about three weekes that they ſtay'd, and divers rich Preſents beſtowed upon them, they thought fit, upon ſome hopes given them of recovering their Kingdome, to depart hence againe into *Flanders*.

The Duke of *Suffolke*, being attended by the Lord *Montacute*, Lord *Herbert*, Lord *Ferrers*, Lord *Morney*, Lord *Sands*, Lord *Berkley*, Lord *Powys*, and divers other Knights and Gentlemen, and an Army of ſix hundred Demilances, two hundred Archers on Horſeback three thouſand Archers on Foot, and five thouſand Bill-men,
Aug. 24. beſides two thouſand & ſix hundred Priſoners came to *Calais*. To theſe again the Duke added one thouſand & ſeven hundred more, taken out of the Garriſons thereabouts. With this little Army he marched into the Enemies Countrey, taking all places that reſiſted
*Sept. 20. him by the way. At * laſt *Florence d' Egmond Count de Bure* Generall to the Emperor, joyn'd his Forces; ſo that in all they made about

about twenty thouſand men, yet as it was now about the latter end of *September*, and the weather prov'd very unſeaſonable, it was difficult to performe any great action. King *Henry* yet would have them begin with *Boulogne*; but the Imperials ſaid it was impregnable, and that for entring *France*, it were better to coaſt the River of *Some*, which they did, their deſigne being to come to a Battell, as being advertis'd that the French had long ſince attended their comming. But finding no Forces in the field, they beſieged *Bray* on the River *Some*. In this Towne, *Monſieur Ancoine de Crequi, Seigneur de Pont-Dormy* commanded, with a ſtrong Garriſon; But a breach being made by our Men, and violently aſſaulted, *Ancoine de Crequi*, having ſet fire on the Towne, fled over the Bridge, with the men that remain'd, drawing ſome Boards after him; but our men laying on other Planks, and geting over, chaſed him, and kill'd divers of his Men. When they return'd, they found little ſafe from the fire, but ſome Cellars of Wine, which in that Cold and wet time, was a great reliefe. From hence, paſſing over *Some*, they marched towards *Roye*, taking by the way ſome leſſer places. This Towne being ſummond, and promiſing to yeeld, Sir *Richard Cornwall* with foure hundred men was ſent to take poſſeſſion of it. Thence the Army marched towards *Montdidier*, where by the way *Monſieur de Pont-Dormy* meeting with ſome of our horſe ſcatter'd, put them to the worſt. But at laſt, more of our men comming, his horſe was kill'd under him, and he, mounting on an other, was conſtraind to flye. *Monſieur de Barnieulles* and *de-Canaples* yet ſtood the ſhock, to favour the retreat of the reſt; which part while they performed bravely, our men overthrew and took them priſoners, with ſome others of note. From hence then they went to *Montdidier*, in which *Monſieur de Roche-baron*, with about 1200 men commanded. But, after ſome foure houres battery of our Cannon, they capitulated and yeelded. The Duke with his Army had now paſs'd the River of *Oyſe*, and was come within eleven Leagues of *Paris*, without that he met with any notable encouter. The Pariſians hereupon were much troubled. Neither could the comming of *Monſieur de Vendoſme*, with ſome Forces, exempt them altogether from feare. But the time of yeare being far ſpent, and the weather falling out to be ſo extreme cold, that almoſt all the Corne in *France* was frozen and ſpoild that yeare, (as the French confeſſe,) our men were forc'd to returne. Beſides, the Lady Regent in the *Low-Countreys* withdrew pay from her Souldiers, and let all the charge fall upon King *Henry*.

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It was not therefore miſdoubt of any attempt of the French, (whatſoever they bragge,) they having no Army in the field, but onely the cauſe formerly alledg'd that made them retire. They took yet the Caſtle of *Bouchain* near the Emperor's Territories, before they departed, which yet together with the other places, was preſently recovered by the French. Our King, hearing now the Ar-

1523. mies were diſſolv'd, ſeem'd to be much incens'd: his intention being to keepe and fortifie the places that were taken. Therefore he had commanded the Lord *Montjoy* with ſix thouſand men to reinforce the Troupes. But, before the Kings pleaſure could be certified to *France*, The Duke (who by reaſon of the foule wayes left his great Ordnance in the Towne of *Valenciennes*) was come, with the reſt of his Army, to *Calais*; where he thought good to ſtay, till the Kings anger were appeas'd, by the repreſenting of thoſe important and neceſſary cauſes, that made him deſiſt from any other enterprize this yeare, wherewith therefore the King at laſt being intirely ſatisfied, he was received into his former grace and favour.

Francis finding now two of his Armies diſſolved and ruin'd, reſolves in Perſon to bring a third. For as he found his Auxiliaries more than the French forces could command, and that, together, they had not their pay in due time, he intended now to remedy theſe faults. But this voyage ſucceeded worſt of all. So little can intervening Accidents, but eſpecially thoſe of warre, be prevented by humane wiſdome. Being on his way now as farre as Lyons, he heares three Armies were preparing againſt him; one on the part of our King, for *Picardy*; an other on the Emperors part, for *Burgundy* and *Champaigne*; and a third on the Spaniſh ſide for *Fuentarabye*. That on the Engliſh ſide yet aſtoniſh'd him moſt, as ſuſpecting he had given our King enough to doe in *Scotland* and *Ireland*. Therefore, he ſtayes at *Lyons*, and ſends *Bonivet* before with the greateſt part of his forces, conſiſting of the flowre of the Nobility of *France*; In which alſo *Richard de la Pole* (return'd now from *Scotland*) was; and reſerves the reſt for the moſt urgent occaſions. Only, he wanted *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, whom I find ſo conſiderable a Perſon at this time, both with our King and the Emperor, as I have thought fit to ſpeake of him, with much particularity. The cauſes of his diſcontentment (as the French writers have it) were many.

Duplex. That, being of great bloud and excellent parts, he was excluded from the Kings ſecret Counſell.

That, having done ill Offices to *Francis* in the time of *Loüis* the twelfe, *Francis* challeng'd him to a Duell, (which unkindneſſe yet, *Francis* comming to the Crowne effaced by giving him the Place of Conſtable.)

That he was denyed to have *Renee*, Siſter to Queene *Claude*, when yet ſhe deſir'd to Marry him.

That (as is before mention'd) the King gave the Vantguard from him, being Conſtable, to the Duke of *Alancon*.

That having lay'd out much Money for the warres of *Italy* out of his purſe, the King not only refus'd to pay him, but detain'd ſome Penſions and Rents, which were due to him for divers yeares.

That a Proceſſe or Law-ſuite was brought againſt him, about the Duchy of *Bourbon*, being inheritance devolv'd to him, in right of *Suſan* his wife lately dead.

That

That *Loüiſe* the Kings Mother, perſecuted him, becauſe he refus'd to marry her, and was a Sutor to *Renee.* 1523.

That the Chancellor and others oppos'd him, for the ſake of *Loüiſe*, who was in greateſt authority.

Theſe again bing induſtriouſly fomented by *Adrian de Croy, Seigneur de Beaurain*, on the Emperors part, and *William Knight*, Doctor of the Law, Reſident for our King with the Lady *Margaret*, and laſtly by Sir *Iohn Ruſſell*, who in diſguiſed habit often Treated with him, (as I find by our Records) made him finally Revolt. Neither did our King make difficulty to appear herein. *Francis* having not onely ſupported *Richard de la Pole*, but Treated with *Deſmond*; ſo that finally, conditions were agreed on with *Bourbon*, to this effect; *Mary.*

That he ſhould marry *Leonóra*, Siſter to the Emperor, and wife to *Emanuell* King of *Portugall* lately dead.

That he ſhould be King of ſome part of *France*, aſſoone as *Francis* was outed.

That the Emperor ſhould have *Burgundy*, and *Artois*, and our King *Normandy* and *Guyenne*, and the Title of King of *France*; and that, beſides, he ſhould renounce all the claime the French pretend to *Italy*.

This yet was not kept ſo cloſe, but ſome notice of it came to *Francis*, who thereupon with a ſingular Franchiſe, did viſit him, at *Molins*, faining then to be ſick, and diſcover'd the intelligence given him; promiſing yet that all ſhould be forgotten upon his confeſſion, and aſſurance to ſerve him faithfully in his warres; giving furthermore his Royall word, that the inheritance now in queſtion ſhould be reſtored, when it were by Law evicted. *Bourbon* thus ſurpris'd, & counterfeiting his weakneſſe ſtill, confeſs'd he was indeed ſought to, but would never condeſcend to any diſloyalty. The King hereupon departed well ſatisfied in apparance; but as the Proceſſe or Law-ſuite went on, and ſome ſecret Guards were put on him; *Bourbon*, offended, eſcapes in a diſguiſed habit to *Genoüa*: Sept. whither the *Seigneur de Beaurain* came from the Emperor to offer Decemb. him his choice, whether he would command the Imperiall Army in *Italy*, or come to *Spaine* (where *Charles* had newly extinguiſhed a Rebellion in *Mallorca*, and given order to beſiege *Fuentarabie*.) But *Bourbon* choſe to command the Army, both as it was more generous, and as he did thereby comply beſt with both *Princes*; to whom he was oblig'd (as I find by our Records,) to furniſh five hundred men at Armes, and ten thouſand foot, for performing the Agreement betwixt them. But *Francis* had alſo other ſtrong oppoſitions; for though he labour'd to retaine the Venetians; yet as that State conſidered *Italy* would be quietter when *Franceſco Sforza* held *Milan*, then if it came under the domination of the French, they eaſily abandoned *Francis*.

Whereupon a League was entred into, betwixt the Pope, the Emperor, *Ferdinand*, *Franceſco Sforza*, *Iulio de Medicis*, the *Florentines*, Aug. 3.

1523. thoſe of *Siena*, *Lucca*, and *Genoua*; and the Venetians; place being left alſo for our King; By which it was concluded, among other things, that the Venetians ſhould furniſh ſix thouſand Foot, and one thouſand two hundred Horſe, when *Franceſco Sforza* in *Milan*, or the Emperor in *Naples*, were invaded.

That the Emperor ſhould doe as much for them, in the like caſe.

Aug. 11. All parts thus tending to warre, *Bonivet* uſing much dilligence, marched ſtraite to *Milan*, where *Colonna* had retir'd himſelfe; The Army of the League being not yet joyned. But *Galeazzo Viſcount* of *Milan*, meeting and deſiring him to ſtay, till hee had raiſed a Tumult in the City (whereof he aſſured him in two or three dayes) *Bonnivet* loſt his opportunity; *Colonna* uſing that ſpace to put the Towne in ſuch defence, as *Bonnivet* retir'd. Yet ſo, as hee forgot not to relieve the Caſtle of *Cremona*, the Garriſon whereof was reduced only to eight Perſons. Neither did he more of Importance (though *Colonna* now dyed) but attended ſix thouſand Griſons, and eight thouſand Swiſſes; But as the Griſons, finding their paſſage ſeiged on, returned; So the Swiſſes, becauſe they wanted only foure hundred Horſe to convoy them, (according to the Agreement made) refuſed to come to the French, when the Imperiall Army, now united, was approaching. This made the French wade through a water, to joyn with them. But *Bourbon*, and the Imperialiſts paſſing alſo, charg'd the *French* ſo, as *Bonivet* being hurt eſcaped, and the *Count de Saint Poll* & *Bayard* ſuſtaind the ſhocke. When *Bayard* having receiv'd a mortall hurt, (whereof he dyed, leaning on a Tree, with his face turn'd to the Enemy) all the Army was routed, and the Ordnance and Baggage taken. Whereupon alſo *Aleſſandria*, *Rhodes*, and other places were rendred. But at *Fuentarabie*, *Francis* had no better fortune. For *Franget* Governor thereof, being deſirous to ſave his goods, yeelded the place without much conſtraint, towards the end of *Sept.* 1523. for which he was degraded upon a Scaffold at *Lyons* publiquely.

Notwithſtanding all theſe oppoſitions, yet *Francis* loſt not his Native courage, but proceeded in his deſigne for *Italy*. For as hee knew the Army of the League had different deſignes, hee hoped ſome occaſion or other would diſunite them; neither did it trouble him that *Sforza* was put in the poſſeſſion of *Milan*: For he knew the Imperialiſts would hold a hand high and hard enough to diſoblidge him. Beſides, he found that a deſigne the Emperor had on *Burgundy*, failed, for want of money to pay certaine Lanſqueners, who thereupon were drawn to his ſervice.

Sept. 14. *Adrian's* death this while intervening, through poyſon, (as ſome have it,) Cardinall *Woolſey* hearing thereof, by a Letter dated 30.

Sept. 30. *Septemb.* 1523. advertiſeth the King hereof; adding further, that his not being at *Rome* was the only obſtacle that could hinder him from obtaining that dignity. Yet, that he thought none there preſent would be Elected, by reaſon of the Faction among them.

Therefore

Therefore hee humbly intreated his Highneſſe, that, ſince heretofore he thought him worthy of that Charge, hee would now aſſiſt him. This Letter alſo was ſeconded by an other, Dated *October* the firſt, deſiring the King to write with his own hand to the Emperor, to this purpoſe. Notwithſtanding all which endevours, He being, about two Monethes after, inform'd that *Iulio de Medici* was made Pope, by the name of *Clement* the ſeventh, thought fit, for juſtification of his Merit, to write again to our King, that the buſineſſe was not yet ſo clearly carryed, but that many of the Cardinals concurr'd on him; though, by reaſon of his abſence, and the dangerous ſtate of *Italy*, (which requir'd preſent remedies,) they inſiſted on the other. Whereupon it was thought fit by the King and Cardinall to ſend to *John Clerk* now Biſhop of *Bath*, Secretary *Pace*, and *Thomas Annibal*, Doctor of Law, and Maſter of the Rolles then reſident at *Rome*, a diſpatch, requiring them to congratulate his Election, and together intreat him, not only to continue the diſaffection he had ever ſhew'd to the French, but to give publique Teſtimonies thereof according to the greatneſſe of that power which now was in him. The Cardinall, alſo by a particular diſpatch, deſir'd *Richard Pace* to procure, that his Legantine power might be amplified; proteſting that, by reaſon of the Kings Prærogative, and other cauſes, it was not a thouſand Duckats yearely to him: yet, if that his authority and faculties might be enlarged, that it ſhould be thankfully acknowledged. All which *Clement* condiſcended unto, and the Legantine power, which *Adrian* granted only from five yeares to five years; was now (by a new example) given him for tearme of life, *Ian* 9. 1524.

1523

Octob. 1.

Novemb. 19.

Decemb.

March. 22. 1522.

Thus had *Woolſey* (to comfort him for his repulſe in *Rome*,) a kind of Papall authority in *England*; whereof, alſo, he made the uttermoſt uſe. Though, while amongſt other viſitations, Hee would needs viſit the *Freres Obſervanes*, he found himſelf reſiſted; which yet he could not take ill, the Pope having deſir'd him particularly to ſpare them.

Aug. 31.

While theſe greater exploites in *France* and *Scotland* paſs'd thus, many brave Actions with ſmall numbers were perform'd in the confines of the Engliſh and French Pale; inſomuch that a company of adventurers there, nick-named the Crakers, grew very famous thereby; till, being at laſt oppreſſed by the *Count Dan-martine*, who with one thouſand five hundred horſe and eight hundred Foot, aſſailed them, being onely one hundred ſeventy five Foot and twenty five Horſe, they tooke their end: which happen'd not yet till they had fought it out, to the laſt man. The like feats alſo were done betweene the Borders of *England* and *Scotland* on either ſide, ſome of which our Chroniclers particularly relate. But as theſe warres in ſeverall Countries, drave the King to an exceſſive charge: ſo, in *October* this yeare, it was required, from all men worth forty pound, that the whole ſubſidy, granted in Par-

Hall.

1524.

Decemb. 1514.

1523. liament, and payable in foure yeares, ſhould be anticipated, and brought to the King in one entire payment.

This the Commons imputed to the Cardinall, but he apprehended it not, as thinking his Eccleſiaſticall dignity would ever prove a ſufficient protection for him againſt the hate of the people. Therefore, he doubted not to be the author of many raſh Counſells, upon pretence onely of furniſhing the Kings neceſſities; neither did he beleeve, that, when he had precipitated the Royall Authority to violent and dangerous courſes, himſelfe ſhould fall: as thinking his place in the Church ſo high, as would give him leave ever to looke ſecurely upon any ruine, ſome arguments whereof appear'd in his deſigne to build two Colledges, ene at *Oxford*, the other at *Ipſwich* (where he was borne) at the price of throwing downe certaine Monaſteries, and appropriating the Revenues thereof to this uſe. The deſigne for the Colledge at *Ipſwich* was to erect onely a Grammer Schoole, to traine up the youth till they were ready for the Univerſity; but that in *Oxford* (call'd firſt Cardinal's', then King's Colledge, now Chriſt's Church) was nobler; for the buiding was intended moſt ample and magnificent, (as the foundations and firſt lines demonſtrate,) the number of Students, Profeſſors, &c. great; as appears by a Catalogue found among our Records, and inſerted here.

Decanus.
Subdecanus.
Sexaginta Canonici primi Ordinis. —— } *Omnes Studiis incu-*
Quadraginta Canonici ſecundi Ordinis --- } *bituri.*
Tresdecem Preſbyteri Conductitii }
Duodecem Clarici Conductitii — } *Omnes Divinorum Celebrationi*
Sexdecem Choriſtæ. —— } *quotidie inſervituri.*

Profeſſores Collegii & Academiæ publici.

Sacræ Theologiæ. —— *Medicinæ.*
Iuris Canonici. —— *Artium Liberalium.*
Iuris Civilis. —— *Humaniorum Literarum.*

Profeſſores Privati & Domeſtici.

Philoſophiæ. —— *Sophiſtriæ.*
Logices. —— *Humaniorum Literarum.*

Cenſores Morum & Eruditionis,	*Quatuor.*
Præfecti Ærarii,	*Tres.*
Vacantes colligendis Redditibus,	*Quatuor.*
Miniſtri Communes Collegii,	*Viginti, in re-*

Oeconomicâ prædictis ſubſervituri.

Summa totius numeri, CIↃXXXVI.

Aſſignantur item annuatim non mediocres pecuniarum Summæ, Partim in excipiendis Convivio extraneis inſumendæ; Partim in Eleemoſynas ſingulis anni quartis erogandæ. Præter ſumptus equitii, ac aliorum, quæ in tanta familia in-dies occurrunt, & ſunt neceſſaria.

I

I finde alſo, that about 1524, he ſought in *Italy* and elſewhere, for able men to be his Readers. Among whom at this time the Excellent *John Ludovicus Vives* (a Spaniard) was ſent to him to be Profeſſor of Eloquence in *Oxford*. And, for Books, he ſent to have the rarer ſort copied out of the Popes Library. 1523.

Theſe ſo great preparations made the Cardinall uſe many rigorous means of getting moneys, as by viſitation of Religious houſes, &c. and at laſt by the ruine of divers. To performe this yet, he was to obtaine the conſent of the Pope and his King. The reaſons repreſented to the Pope, were I ſuppoſe of this nature.

That his Holineſſe could not be ignorant what divers effects this new invention of Printing had produced. For as it had brought in and reſtored Books and Learning, ſo together it hath been the occaſion of thoſe Sects and Schiſmes which daily appeared in the World, but chiefly in *Germany*; where men begun now to call in queſtion the preſent Faith and Tenents of the Church, and to examine how farre Religion is departed from its Primitive Inſtitution. And, that which particularly was moſt to be lamented, they had exhorted Lay and Ordinary men to read the Scriptures, and to pray in their vulgar Tongue. That, if this were ſuffered, beſides all other dangers, the common people at laſt might come to believe that there was not ſo much uſe of the Clergy. For if men were perſwaded once they could make their own way to God, and that Prayers in their Native and Ordinary Language might peirce Heaven, as well as Latine; how much would the Authority of the Maſſe fall? how prejudiciall might this prove unto all our Eccleſiaſticall Orders?

That there were many things to be look'd too in theſe Innovators, but nothing ſo much as this; ſince it was cleare, that the keeping of the Myſteries of Religion in the hands of Prieſts, had been a principall means in all ages, of making the Prieſthood Sacred and Venerable. That theſe Myſteries and Rites therefore, as the greateſt ſecret and *Arcanum* of Church-government, ſhould be preſerved. Nay, that the Clergy ſhould rather fly to Tropes and Allegories, if not to Cabale it ſelfe, then permit that all the parts of Religious worſhip, though obvious, as to fall eaſily within common underſtandings, ſhould be without their Explication; ſince it might well be queſtioned whether the Eſſence of Religion (conſiſting in the Doctrine of good life and Repentance) might be held ſufficient alone to exerciſe even the moſt vulgar capacities; unleſſe frequent Traditions concerning former times, and ſuch obſcure paſſages as need interpretation, did concur. In which ſtate of things therefore, nothing remain'd ſo much to be done, as to prevent further Apoſtacy. For this purpoſe, ſince Printing could not be put down, it were beſt to ſet up Learning againſt Learning; and, by introducing able perſons to diſpute, to ſuſpend the Layity, betwixt feare and controverſies. This, at worſt

1523 worſt yet, would make them attentive to their Superiors and Teachers. All which being maturely weiged by his Holineſſe, it was not doubted but he would adviſe, and commend to all Chriſtian Princes, the erecting of new Colledges and Seminaries for the advancement of Learning; and here in *England* particularly, where many favourers of *Luthers* Sect, but eſpecially of *Zuinglius*, did appeare. Yet becauſe his Holineſſe by our Ambaſſadors at *Rome*, had divers times been informed of the great expences of his King in the warres he made with *France* and *Scotland*, he did not think it the beſt courſe to deſire any money out of his purſe. That therefore he had thought of another expedient; which he humbly offerd to his Holineſſe; which was, that in regard the number of Monaſteries was greater in this Kingdome, then that there could be found Learned men to ſupply them; That it were not amiſſe to diminiſh the one a little, to increaſe the other. That as this would take away the objection of ignorance, wherewith the new Sectaries in *Germany* had ſo much branded the Clergy, ſo it would furniſh able perſons to reſiſt their Doctrine, and uphold the Credit and Reputation of the Roman Church. Therefore he would be an humble ſuppliant to his Holineſſe to give him leave to throw downe a few ſuperfluous Monaſteries, and to imploy the Revenues of them to the building of two Colledges; One at *Oxford*, th'other at *Ipſwich*; and to believe, that all things being rightly conſidered, the fall of thoſe few, might be a meanes to keep up the reſt, eſpecially ſince, in this Kingdome the number of them was thought exceſſive.

To the King; As he needed not to uſe thoſe Motives, ſo he diſcreetly conceald ſuch as might diſcover the ſecrets of Eccleſiaſticall Government. For certainly, what fault ſoever might be objected to the Cardinall, he ſeem'd ſtill a devout ſervant to his Religion, as aſpiring thereby unto the Papacy. Therefore, he ſaid little more unto the King, then that it was fit ſo learned a Prince ſhould advance Learning, and maintaine that Faith, whereof the Pope had made him the Defender. For this purpoſe, he ſhould adviſe him to found more Colledges. Yet becauſe his warres and other Occaſions had ſo exhauſted his Treaſury, he would aske no more, then that the care thereof ſhould be committed to him; who, if his Highneſſe ſo thought fit, would onely ſuppreſſe ſome little and unneceſſary Monaſteries, and imploy the Revenues to this uſe. King *Henry* alſo conſidering, that if, for his urgent occaſions, he were neceſſitated at any time to ſeize on the other Religious Houſes, he might this way diſcover how the people would take it, grants his requeſt. Our King thus concurring with the Pope, who, in favour of the Cardinall gave way to this ſuppreſſion, that overture was firſt made, which being purſued afterwards by the Kings ſole Authority, became the finall Ruine of all Monaſteries.

Clement

Clement the ſeventh hearing of the preparations of theſe great Princes, had ſent in the beginning of this yeere an expreſſe Legat, which was the Archbiſhop of *Capua*, with inſtructions to procure an Union betwixt them againſt the Turke. He had already been with *Francis* and the Emperor, without effecting any thing; and was now come to our King; but finding the ſame difficulties, he was forced to returne, without other ſatisfaction, then a particular of the demands by our King made, and the reaſons of them; which our Cardinall promiſed alſo to certifie unto the Pope. Therefore, in a particular diſpatch to *Rome*, he wiſhed our Agents there, to ſhew an inclination to peace; reſerving, nevertheleſſe, one eare open to the exploits of *Bourbon*; whoſe proſperous ſucceſſe in *France* (he ſaid) might be ſuch as to alter the caſe. Howſoever, that the place of Treaty might be *Calais*, whither himſelfe offered to come in perſon. 1524.

March.

This while (in the beginning of this yeere) the Princes of *Germany* held a Diet at *Noremberg*, whither *Clement* (the new Pope) ſent as Legate Cardinall *Campegius*; much complaining of their *Poſtulata* or *Gravamina* the laſt yeere, ſince many points in it ſmelt of Hereſie. About *April* alſo the Emperor from *Spaine* ſends to the Princes at the Diet, deſiring them to ſee the Decree made at *Wormbs* againſt *Luther* (1521) to be obſerved. (Thus to comply with the Pope it ſeems, whom he deſired to retaine on his ſide againſt *Francis*.) The Princes nevertheleſſe at the concluſion of this Diet, made a Decree, that as ſoon as might be, the Pope by the conſent of the Emperour ſhould call a Councell in *Germany*; and, in the mean time, things to be ripened for a peace in Religion, &c. This ſecond urging of a Councell (for it was preſſed alſo the laſt yeere to *Adrian*) provoked much Pope *Clement*; who, knowing our Kings zeale to the Roman See, and particular hate of *Luther*, ſent a Letter to King *Henry*, complaining of this behaviour of the Princes of *Germany*; and to win our King the more, he ſent him a Roſe of Gold, (conſecrated and curiouſly wrought) by *Thomas Hanniball*, (who now returned) as alſo a Bull, ſealed with Gold (*Dat. tertio Non. Martii*) for Confirmation of his Title of *Defenſor Fidei*.

Jan.

April.

May 8. 1521.

April 18.

May 16.

May 19.

In the meane time, by often diſpatches, the Cardinall, in our Kings name, urged *Bourbon* to undertake his expedition into *France*; to which purpoſe our King was to allow him an hundred thouſand Crowns a Moneth. *Bourbon*, on the other ſide, required that our King, or his Lieutenant, ſhould at the ſame time enter *Picardy* with an Army; which was promiſed. When (having given Oath to acknowledge *Henry* the eighth King of *France*) He advanceth towards *Provence*, *June* 24 (on the Emperors part *Monſieur de Beaurain* attending him; and on our Kings, *Richard Pace*;) and in the beginning of *July* enters *France*; where, proclaiming liberty to the Common people who willingly came in, he tooke divers

June 24.

July 2.

1524. divers Townes. Nevertheleſſe, his courſe was ſtaid. For, whereas he had a Fleet of the Emperors to ſecond him, coaſting along the ſhore, to bring Victuals to the Army: Now the French Navy being too ſtrong, kept them off, and ſo intercepted their proviſion. The ſupplies alſo of money to be ſent him by the Emperor and King of *England* were ſlackned; for each of theſe Princes feared leaſt the other ſhould reap the fruit of this Expedition; And *Charles de Lanoy* the Viceroy of *Naples* was thought, beſides, to be willing that *Bourbon* ſhould be repulſed, as one whom he envied for being made Lieutenant in his place. Yet,

Aug. 19. for all this, *Bourbon* layes ſiege to *Marſeillis*; but in vaine; for it being ſtoutly defended by *Renzo de Ceri*, and *Philip Chabot*, *Francis* alſo with a great power comming to relieve it, at the ſame time *Bourbons* Souldiers mutined for want of pay; (although Sir *John Ruſſell* had newly brought twenty thouſand pound ſterling from

Sept. 27. our King;) the Seige broke up, and the Duke embarquing his Cannon, retired to *Genoüa* with ſome loſſe, the Prince of *Aurange* being taken priſoner there.

It was now mid-*October*, and a ſeaſon, in all probability, not to begin any great enterprize. Nevertheleſſe *Francis* who had left *Claude*

Octob. his wife in *July* laſt, and left *Loüiſe* his mother Regent of *France*

July. during his abſence, purſued his deſigne to conquer *Milan*; contrary to the advice of the Pope (who perſwaded peace) and of his Counſellors; (who at leaſt adviſed him not to goe in perſon.) *Charles de Lanoy* hearing this, puts *Antonio de Leyva* in *Pavia*, with twelve thouſand Spaniards, and ſix thouſand Lanſquets; and with the reſt of his Army haſtens to *Milan*. But as he found the Citizens there not much affectioned to him, and ſome of the French Vantguard was approached, he left the Town, and together with the Duke of *Bourbon* and *Ferdinand d' Avalos* Marqueſſe of *Peſcara*, with their forces, retired to *Lodi*. Whereupon *Michel Antoine* Marqueſſe of *Salaſſes*, and *Lewis Seigneur de Trimoüille* entered *Millan*. *Francis* being preſently informed hereof, advances his Army; yet ſo, as according to an ancient Military rule, he would not leave

Novem. ſo ſtrong a place as *Pavia* behind him. But the obſerving hereof coſt him deere. While he laid ſiege to *Pavia*: the Imperialiſts were but in an ill eſtate; the Pope at moſt ſtanding as Neuter; the Florentines friends but in appearance onely; the Venetians excuſing themſelves, as ſuſpecting the Emperour, in that he would not ſigne the Inveſtiture of *Millan* to *Franceſco Sforza*; and our King, inſtead of giving more Money, requiring that which was due to him, (being 133000 Crowns yeerely, in regard of the Penſion withheld by *Francis*,) which yet being refuſed by *Charles* made him averſe. Beſides, he conſidered the deſignes of the Emperor were onely on *Italy*. *Francis* on the other ſide had a flouriſhing Army, conſiſting of about thirty thouſand, whereof yet the moſt part were Mercenaries and Voluntiers; and therefore particularly

men

mentioned by me, as not remembring to have read in any Hiſtory, that ſo many of this kinde (being irregular and properly under no command) ſhould be admitted to the hazzard of diſordering a whole Army. And for the other part, being Mercenaries, he had found them ſlow, wilfull, of ſmall truſt, and oftentimes venall; though it cannot be denied, that thoſe whom *Francis* in particular now uſed, have been reputed in all times a valiant conſtant Nation. All which I have the rather obſerved, that the ſucceſſe which *Francis* had not long after, might ſeeme leſſe ſtrange unto the Reader. The Nobility that came with him were indeed principall perſons, *Henry d' Albert*, (the Titular King of *Navarre*) the Dukes of *Lorraine*, *Longue-ville*, *Alancon* and *Albanie*, (who, the Spring before had left *Scotland*, upon promiſe made him by the Nobility, that nothing ſhould be innovated there, till his returne) The Countes of St. *Paul*, *Vaudemont*, *L'aval*, the Marſhall of *Foix*, *Chabanes*, and *Mountmorancy*, the Admirall *de Bonivet* (chiefe Authour of this Counſell) *le Seigneur de Fleuranges*, *le Vidame de Chartres*, *Buiſſy d' Ambroiſe*, *Richard de la Pole*, and many other brave Gentlemen. 1524.

The manner which *Francis* uſed in beſieging *Pavir* ſeem'd to take up more time then ſtood wi h the ſeaſon, (being now Winter) and the advantage he had over the Imperialiſts, who were neither in number nor vertue ſufficient to repell him. This leaſure the Pope made uſe of to mediate a peace, by the means of the Biſhop of *Verona*, and (when that could not be done) to keep *Francis* yet in good terms with him, promiſing him, therefore indifferency at leaſt, both as he was *Communis Pater*, and as he conceiv'd him the ſtronger. But, finding that the Treaty of Accord took no effect, was perſwaded by the French Ambaſſadors (reſident with him) to make a League with *Francis*. The perſwaſions the French uſed, were promiſes, and certaine propoſitions of peace, upon ſuch conditions as ſhould be very advantagious to both. And thus at laſt the Pope by the ſecret intervention of *Io. Matthei* the Biſhop of *Verona*, made peace with the French, encouraging them together (ſaith *Bellay*) to attempt *Naples*, which yet the Pope diſſembled ſtrenuouſly, both with our Kings and the Emperors Agents; though, when he could hide it no longer, he pretended he was forced to it by the French. Yet, it may be the Pope was not a little inclin'd hereunto by a Meſſage which came from *England*; For I find in our Records, that not long after the time that *Francis* paſſed into *Italy*, there came from *France* into *England*, on *Loüis* the Regents part, one *John Joachin*, a Genoueſſe, whoſe comming (as things then ſtood) was much ſuſpected by the Imperials. And the more, that he kept himſelfe cloſe, and repaired every day to the Cardinall, and conſulted with him onely; but ſo much was diſcovered as the Popes Agent here, by a Letter, adviſed his Holineſſe to make Peace with *Francis* in time; which the Pope did (although to

Novem.

Bellay.

Decem.

Jan. 1525

Hall.

1524 to his losse, as will appeare in its place.) And now *Francis*, not fearing the Imperialists, sends the Duke of *Albany*, with *Renzo de Ceri*, and about twelve thousand men, against them of *Lucca* and *Siena*, for the Popes service; and after, to attempt *Naples*, where all the places were unprovided of sufficient Garrison. Besides, he had sent the Marquesse *de Saluces* with foure thousand men to *Savona*, from thence to attempt *Genoüa*. Again, three thousand Italians (their Commander *Genovanni de Medicis* being hurt) disbanded, and six thousand Grisons, hearing of some troubles in their Countrey, returned; so that his forces were much weakned. Which *Charles de Lanoy* understanding, took the lesse care to defend *Naples*; as believing the French unable to second the Duke of *Albany*. And, therefore, gave order onely to the Duke of *Trajetto* to defend the Countrey the best he could; while *Bourbon*, pawning his Jewels to the Duke of *Savoy*, went to *Germany*, and raised twelve thousand men.

During these passages in *Italy*, the affaires of *Scotland* seemed to change forme; for the Duke of *Albany* being now so far distant from them, the prime Nobility of *Scotland* (notwithstanding the promise exacted of them by the said Duke, when he departed, May. (which was in *May* 1524, promising to returne in *September* next) inclin'd to the Queens side. So that presently after they began to consult of making peace with *England*; which because they knew King *Henry* would never grant, as long as they acknowledged the Duke of *Albany* Governour, (for so he had lately intimated) they agreed to abbrogate his Authority, and to invest the young King in the exercise of his Regall power. To this purpose, the Queen of Scots wrote to her brother King *Henry* to assist his Nephew herein; who sent to the Borders his Lieutenant, *Thomas* late Earle of *Surrey*, May. now (since his fathers * death much lamented, for his *Stow.* great vertue) Duke of *Norfolke*, and Treasurer of *England*, to procure the liberty of the young King. Hereupon the Queen, assisted *Buch.* by the Earles of *Arrcn*, *Lenox*, and divers of the chiefe Nobility, brought the young King from *Sterling* (where the Governour had appointed him to reside till his returne) to *Edenburgh*, where July 29. he undertooke the Administration of the Kingdome, *July* 29. Aug. 20 whereupon Allegiance was sworne to him, and the Duke of *Albany* was exauctorate; yet not with so generall a Vote, but that the two Bishops of St. *Andrews* and *Aberdon* disliked it; alledging both the non-age of the King, and the promise of the Nobility to the Governour, of not Innovating till *September*. Upon this they *Bus.* are both confin'd, but shortly restor'd to their liberty. Our King Sept. soon after sent Ambassadors, *Thomas Magnus* (a Civill Lawyer and a Priest,) and *Rattcliffe* (a Gentleman) to reside in *Scotland*; commanding from thenceforth all hostility to cease. Whereupon a Truce was taken, during which the Scottish Ambassadors were to be sent into *England*, for the concluding of a firme peace. Also (for esta-

eſtabliſhing the young Kings power) he offered to maintin (a while) a Guard for him of two hundred perſons. But this good Correſpondence was a little clouded; for while theſe things were in hand the Earle of *Anguis* and his brother *George Douglas*, formerly baniſhed (as we have ſhewed) into *France*, found meanes to eſcape into *England*. The Earle defired ovr Kings ayd, for his reſtitution; but the Queen of Scots, who retained her old grudge to him, and (perchance) had newly caſt an eye on *Henry Stuart*, (whom afterward ſhe married) laboured the contrary; remonſtrating to our King, by divers Letters, that his comming to *Scotland* at this time would trouble the State. For the Earle of *Arrain*, whoſe power and reputation was great, being Enemy to the ſaid *Anguis*, ſhe ſaid would oppoſe him; but our King ſuſpecting by ſome actions that *Arrain* was French, ſuffered about *October* the Earle to enter *Scotland*, to counterpoiſe him; taking of him at his departure a promiſe or obligation, 1. To procure and maintaine the young Kings Authority, to the excluſion of the Duke of *Albany*. 2. To ſeek to be reconciled to the Queen with all humility. 3. To make friendſhip with *Arrain*, as long as he maintaines the young King, and averts him from *France*; whereupon alſo our King promiſed, that if he did the contrary, he would maintain *Anguis* againſt the ſaid *Arrain*, &c. Thus was *Anguis* reſtord to his Countrey for a while; but the Queen took it ill that he was come, and the Ambaſſadors appointed to be ſent to King *Henry* for peace; were in danger to be ſtaid; yet I finde that *December* 19. they came, being *Gilbert Kenid* Earle of *Caſſilis*, &c. and intreated peace, and the Princeſſe *Mary* as wife for their King. Our King gave hope of both; (for I finde that both the Emperor and *Francis* made overtures of matches for King *James* at this time.) Howbeit, when our Commiſſioners in private conference treated of peace, and the Princeſſe, it was upon theſe conditions, 1. That they ſhould renounce the League with *France*, and inſtead thereof make the like with *England*. 2. That the young King till he be ripe for marriage ſhall be brought up in *England*. It ſeems yet the Scottiſh Ambaſſadors Commiſſion was not large enough to treat theſe points; ſo, *Decemb.* 20. *Caſſilis* (leaving his fellows here) goes to *Scotland*, and ſhortly after (*March* 19.) returnes to King *Henry* with the reſolution of the Nobility, and Letters from Queen *Margaret*, ſhewing, that the Lords of *Scotland* will be content to relinquiſh the French, ſo that the match with the Princeſſe *Mary* may be made ſure; but they required that the promiſe, whereby ſhe was engaged to the Emperor, be firſt diſcharged. Our King hearing this, ſaid he would conferre with the Emperor about it; and ſo nothing being concluded, but a Truce for three yeeres and a halfe, the Scottiſh Ambaſſadors departed in *April*.

The Emperor hearing of this Treaty, diſpatched hither *Adolpho de Borgona, Senior de Beures* Adm. of *Flanders*, with the Preſid. of *Malmes*

1524

July.

Octob. 4.

Decem. 19.

Decem. 23.

Hall.
Leſle.

Decemb. 30.

March 19. 1525.

April.

March. 1525.

1525. to require that the Princeſſe *Mary* might be delivered to him, pro-
Hall. miſing hereupon to declare her Empreſſe, and make her Gover-
neſſe of the *Lowcountries*; her Dower alſo was required to be paid preſently, and that our King in perſon would the next yeere invade *France*. But before our King could give a perfect Anſwer to theſe particulars, newes was brought of the battell of *Pavia*, and the taking of *Francis* priſoner, the manner whereof was thus.

Pavia was a place eaſie enough to take, had either the French
Jan. preſſed it roundly, or a leſſe valiant Captaine then *Antonio de Leyva* defended it. But while *Francis*, as being confident he was Maſter of the field, drew the ſiege out in length, he gave not onely time to the Imperialiſts to joyne an Army, but at laſt failled miſerably in his enterpriſe. The adviſe he approv'd, after a breach and aſſault made in vaine, was to open a way to the Town, on the one ſide of the *Teſin*; for, as that River divided it ſelfe into two Channels, whereof one paſſed by the walls, (which had no defence on that part, but the River, being not fordable) his intention was to divert this current, and ſo to leave the walls bare. But one rainy night alone ſo ſweld the River, that all the Dammes and Workes which the French had raiſed were carried away by the violence of the ſtream. His ableſt Councellors hereupon wiſhd him to raiſe ſiege, and give place to the ſeaſon. Beſides, as the Imperialiſts, with a great Army, were now marching towards him, they thought it not fit he ſhould be incloſed betwixt the Town, (wherein was a ſtrong Garriſon,) and the Forces now approaching. It was the even of Saint *Mathias*
Feb. 24. in *February* 1525, (being the day of the Emperors Nativity) when the *Marquis de Guaſto* leading the Vantguard, the Marqueſſe of *Peſcara* the Battell, and *Charles de Lanoy* accompanied with *Bourbon*, the Rereward, came in good order neer the French Army. Their reſolution was to weary the French all night with Alarmes and Skirmiſhes, and towards morning to fall on them with the whole Army; ſo that nothing of importance was intended till full day light; when *Francis*, pointing his Ordnance againſt them, ſo pierced their Squadrons, that they were forced to retire to a more cover place. *Francis*, thinking this was a flight, draws his Army out of his ſtrong intrenchments into an open place, with intention to purſue them. The Commanders of the Imperialiſts having thus obtained what they deſired (for they wanted both money and victuals to ſubſiſt any long time) encourag'd their ſouldiers to fight, telling them, that though a King was preſent, there was not therefore more danger, but more honours and riches propoſed to them. That they
Bell. ſhould but follow their Commanders, who would lead them to an aſſured victory. The Souldiers hereupon (being not ignorant of the neceſſity they were in) reſolutely promiſed to go on. The Marquis of *Peſcara* having advanc'd a little to diſcover the enemy, return'd; and, with a cheerfull countenance, turning towards the Spaniards, told them that he muſt not conceale from them the cruell com-

mand

mand the French King had given, that no Spaniard ſhould be received into mercy. This being a meere invention of the Marqueſſe ſo kindled their courage that they required the Signall, promiſing for the reſt, to ſell their lives as deere as they could. Herewith then a furious battell began; in which yet becauſe the Mercenaries, and eſpecially the Suiſſe, did not ſhew their accuſtomed valour, all the charge fell on the few French that were preſent. None yet fought more bravely among them, than the King; inſomuch that with his own hand (as his enemies did afterwards confeſſe) he kill'd the Marqueſſe of *Crvita de St. Angilo*; which example ſo encouraged the reſt of his Nobility, as they omitted nothing that could be done in ſo little number. During this brunt, *Antonio de Leyva*, throwing down ſome part of the walls of *Pavia*, iſſued forth with the beſt of his Garriſon, and fell on the backs of the French then fighting. This wholly routed the Army, inſomuch that all now began to fly. The King had his horſe kill'd under him, whoſe fall ſo engag'd his leg, that he could not recover himſelfe. In this poſture one *Juan de Urbieta*, a *Guipuſcoan*, ſeazed on him. But the King declaring himſelfe, and ſaying he yeilded to the Emperor, *Urbieta* without offering any violence, received him as his priſoner. The Kings leg yet lay under his horſe; *Urbieta* thinking by this means he was ſure from eſcaping, runs to ſuccour his *Alferes*, who was then in danger of being killed, deſiring the King onely to take notice that he wanted two teeth before, and that he would remember it as a mark that he took him firſt. With that one *Diego de Avila* came, to whom the King alſo naming himſelfe, and ſaying he was already yeilded to the Emperor, *Diego* demanded, whether he had given any Gage thereof? The King ſaying. None was required, *Diego* laid hold on his Sword, (which was bloudy) and his Gauntlet, and therewithall delivered him from his Horſe, by the help of one *Pita*, who for his pains took his Order of St *Michael* from him. This ſo much troubled the King, that, not knowing how to help himſelfe, he offered a great reward to the Souldier to let it alone, which yet the Souldier denied, ſaying he would carry it to the Emperor. The King being now on foot, divers ſouldiers came in, and as they obſerved ſome contention among thoſe that took him, would without further enquiry who he was, have kill'd him. But one *Monſieur de la Motte* (or *Pomperante*, as the French have it, a French man,) comming by chance thither, kneeld to him, and kiſſing his hand with all reverence, made them know how rich a prize they had got amongſt them; The King yet caus'd him to riſe, ſaying onely, that he ſhould behave himſelfe like that man he had ever eſteemed him. Herewith, a great concourſe flocking in, the King was perſwaded to take off his Helmet, which was no ſooner done, but every one tooke a part of a great Pennache (or Feather) he wore thereon, others more preſumptuouſly, cut out pieces out of a Coat of Armes or *Sobraveſte* he wore over his Harneſſe. At all which this magnanimous

1525.

Sandv.

1525 King ſhewed no other countenance, then that of ſcorne, as knowing ſufficiently, that in deſpight of fortune, his valour had made him comply with his dignity. The chance of thoſe who deſerted the King was various; many were killed, others, thinking to paſſe the *Teſin* were drowned, among whom ſix thouſand Mercenaries, (the moſt part Suiſſe) are accounted. *Henry de Albert*, thinking to ſave himſelfe by flight, was taken. And now the bruit being generall that the King was made priſoner, divers French, who might have eſcaped, out of a ſingular piety to their King, returned, and yeelded themſelves, ſaying, they would not returne to *France* and leave their King behind them. The firſt of the chiefe Commanders that came in, was the Marqueſſe *de Peſcara*; after him *Guaſto*, and others; at laſt *Bourbon* being armed *Cap a Pee*, and with his Sword all bloudy in his hand, comes towards the King, who hereupon demanded his name: Being told, he ſtept (if one may believe the Spaniard my Author) a little behinde the Marqueſſe *de Peſcara*. He alſo perceiving the King troubled, goes to *Bourbon*, and (after he had told him that the King was there) demanded his Sword; which *Bourbon* without more adoe rendered, and thereupon, running to the King, and lifting up his Beaver, caſt himſelfe on his knees, and humbly demanded his Royall hand to kiſſe; which yet the King refuſed. Hereupon *Bourbon*, with teares in his eyes, ſaid, Sir, if you would have followed my counſell, you ſhould not have needed to be in this eſtate, nor ſo much bloud of the French Nobility ſhed as ſtains the fields of *Italy*. The King hereupon turning his eyes to heaven, now replied only, Pacience, ſince Fortune hath failed me. Further diſcourſe was hindred by the Marqueſſe of *Peſcara*, who, deſiring the King to mount on horſebacke, conducted him towards *Pavia*. But the King intreating he might not be kept priſoner in a Town before which he had lately ſo puiſſant an Army, they brought him to a Monaſtery adjoyning. *Henry de Albert* the Comte of St. *Paul*, and divers other priſoners being delivered to ſeverall Cuſtodies. From hence the King was remov'd to a ſtrong Caſtle called *Piciquiton*, and there kept with a great guard of Spaniards under *Hernando de Alancon*, till other order came from *Charles*; to whom, immediately after this victory, a Meſſenger was ſent, to acquaint him with the ſucceſſe. In the mean time *Francis* was uſed with all reſpect. For more oſtentation whereof, *Charles de Lanoy* brought (before Supper) the Baſon, the Marqueſſe of *Guaſto* the Ewer, and *Bourbon* the Towell; which courteſie he requited, by inviting them to ſit at the Table with him. After which, requiring ſome money might be furniſhed to him for play, he paſs'd away the time the moſt cheerfully he could.

Sandov.

March 10. *Charles* was at *Madrid* when this great news came to him. The ſence he ſhewed of it, was ſuch as became a wiſe Prince, and one that was not himſelfe exempted from a Quartan. He compared the afflictions of Fortune with thoſe of nature, and found the difference

rence ſo little, that he thought himſelfe to want even the advantages of Liberty as much as a priſoner. For, if he conſidered *Francis*, as in the cuſtody of his Guards, he lookt upon himſelfe as in the cuſtody of his Phyſitians, and confin'd to his Chamber by a ſtronger hand then that which held *Francis*. Moreover, he ſaid, it was not for Chriſtians to rejoyce for their Victories againſt each other, but onely againſt Infidels. 1525.

Our King was not advertiſed hereof ſooner then the ninth of *March*. When a Meſſenger from the Princeſſe *Marguerite*, Governeſſe of the *Low-countries*, informed him of all the particulars. *Charles de Lanoy* not omitting alſo to * write to him thereof (as I finde by our Records.) This being brought to Counſell, it was thought fit the King ſhould comply with his Confederate *Charles*, in giving ſome publique demonſtration of joy. Therefore the King going to St. *Pauls*, and cauſing a Maſſe to be ſung in a more ſolemne manner then ordinary, ſeem'd to celebrate the victory, though inwardly not ſo well ſatisfied thereof. For, as he conſidered *Charles* grown now to more greatneſſe then ſtood either with reaſon of State, or due terms of neighbourhood, He deliberated with his Councell what was next to be done. Whereupon it was thought fit to ſend immediately Ambaſſadors into *Spaine*, with charge to repreſent unto the Emperor, how that this warre being made at a common charge, it was reaſonable the fruit ſhould redound to both. That the part his Highneſſe pretended to, was Inheritance in *France*, which he deſired (upon ſome fitting Treaty with *Francis*) might be reſtored. To which his Highneſſe doubted not but the Emperor would afford his beſt aſſiſtance; as well becauſe it was juſt in it ſelfe, as that it was according to their late Treaty. Or, if this could not be attained by faire means, to require the Emperor, by vertue of the ſaid Treaty, to proceed in levying Forces to make war in *France*, wherein his Highneſſe would likewiſe concur. Neither could his Highneſſe doubt that the Emperor would refuſe to embrace this motion, ſince the benefit hereof would finally accrue to him; for as his Highneſſe was purpoſed to ratifie and make good the intended match betwixt the ſaid Emperor and the Princeſſe *Mary*, who was heire not onely to the Crown of *England*, but to his Titles in *France*, ſo all at laſt would devolve on him; which therefore might be thought ſo beneficiall and advantageous, as he ought not to thinke it much to deliver up *Francis* to his Highneſſe hands, upon conſigning of the ſaid Princeſſe to his. Eſpecially, ſince by an expreſſe Article of the foreſaid Treaty, they were bound mutually to deliver all uſurpers upon each others Right. All which being founded upon a ſolemn agreement, confirmed by Oath, could not ſeem inſolent, what indiſpoſition ſoever might be found in the Emperor to accompliſh it. Notwithſtanding which, if (as it was moſt likely) this propoſition ſhould take no effect, and that the Emperor would derive

March 9.

Feb. 24.

March 22.

* Records.

1525. March.

the totall benefit of his prize upon himſelfe; that his Highneſſe yet might make ſo much uſe thereof, as with more juſtification to take that order which pertain'd to his preſent occaſions, and the peace of Chriſtendome. This advice being approved by all, a Diſpatch was made, and given to *Cutbert Tonſtall* (Biſhop of *London*, and Lord Privy Seale) and Sir *Richard Wingfield* Knight, ſent then to Spaine; wherein alſo an Interview betwixt our King and the Emperor was propoſed. In which further it was offered, that the Princeſſe *Mary* ſhould be given into the Emperors hands upon fitting conditions. Many other particularities conducing to the ends above-mentioned were ſpecified therein; though for the reſt it ſeem'd not probable to ſome of our Counſellors, that the Emperor would accept them, as being reſolved (what promiſe or advantage ſoever was preſented to him) to ſuffer none elſe to partake of the profit or honour he had acquired in his Victory. This propoſition finding no reception in *Spaine*, but what was before imagined, Our King returns to that brave and wiſe reſolution he had formerly taken, to make himſelfe Arbiter of Chriſtendome, and to fall on him who interrupted the publique peace. Many reaſons alſo of great moment concurred to this Reſolution. For the Lady *Margarite* (Regent of *Flanders*) who ought by the late League to have raiſed forces againſt the French, began already to treat with them concerning an accomodation. Beſides, the Flemings being grown ſtrong by Sea, had not onely very inſolently treated divers of our Merchants, but, contrary to a Remonſtrance made in that behalfe, had inhanſed our Coyne, and thereby ſecretly deriv'd great ſummes into their Countrey. Againe, when demand was made onely for repayment of that money which was lent the Emperor in his greateſt neceſſity, nothing yet was returned but a dilatory and frivolous excuſe. Neither was our King ignorant of the Treaty which the Emperor had already begun for the ranſomming of *Francis*. Nor of a match purpoſed with *Donna Iſabella Infanta* of Portugall, which reflected on his daughters reputation. Laſtly, the Popes Breve, repreſenting the danger of Chriſtendome through the proſperity of the Turke, (who had now taken *Belgrade*, and *Rhodes*, and thereby opend ſeverall wayes to *Italy* and *Germany*) and, together, exhorting all Chriſtian Princes to joyne againſt the Common Enemy, had ſo prevaild with our King, that he thought fit to lay aſide all Ambition to recover his inheritance in *France*, and to indeavour an univerſall Peace. In the furtherance of which good deſire, as the remembrance of the kind interview betwixt him and *Francis* did operate not a little, ſo the reputation that *Francis* had gotten by his courage ſhewed in this late action, had kindled in the minde of our generous King a compaſſionate zeale for his delivery. Therefore, at the requeſt of the Kings mother of *France* (who by the mediation of *Giovanni Joakim* had much diſpos'd our King

to

to returne to his ancient friendſhip with *Francis*) He ſent to *Cutbert Tonſtall* Biſhop of *London*, and Sir *Richard Wingfield* Knight his Ambaſſadors in *Spaine*, to intercede for the delivery of *Francis*; who had begun the way already in a particular Letter to *Charles*; where, after an excuſe of his not ſooner writing, becauſe they who had charge of him would not permit it, he ſaid that the greateſt comfort he found in this his miſerable condition, was, that he had fallen into the hands of ſo generous a Prince, who therefore would not force him to any thing, which might bee unjuſt to require, or impoſſible to performe. That hee hoped therefore ſufficient ſecurity would bee accepted for his delivery, ſince thereby, inſtead of detaining an unuſefull Priſoner, hee ſhould make a King his ſlave. Howſoever, that it was more profit to have him a faithfull friend, then to ſuffer him to dye deſperate. None yet was ſo vigilant and intentive either for his delivery, or the Generall good of the Kingdome, as Madam *Loüiſe* his mother (Regent of *France*) who, by many forcible and reiterated Ambaſſades and Treaties, drew moſt of the Chriſtian Potentates and Republiques to favour the deliverance of her Sonne. Through her care alſo *Andrea Doria* (Generall of the French King's Galleys) reconducted the Duke of *Albany*, who, though farre ingaged in the Enemies Country did yet, without any conſiderable loſſe of his men, returne to *Marſeilles*, April 25. 1525. April. 25.

The Emperor now finding that all the chiefe Princes and Eſtates in Chriſtendome would puiſſantly labour for the delivery of *Francis*, ſent *Adrian de Croy Seigneur de Beaurain* with certain propoſitions dated *March* 25. 1525. unto him. Whereof this is the Summe. *Sandov.*

That an unverſall Peace and League ſhould be concluded betwixt all Chriſtian Princes, and ſecurity on every ſide be given, for the continuance thereof.

That either of them two, with twenty thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe ſhould invade the Turk.

That, for further ſecurity, the *Dolphin* ſhould marry with the Princeſſe *Maria* (daughter to the King of *Portugall*, and the Queene *Leonora*,) and the Dowry ſhould be a mutuall diſclaime in each others Inheritance.

That the King of *France* ſhould reſtore and leave the Dutchy of *Burgundy* in that eſtate and manner as it was in the time of *Charles* the laſt Duke thereof; And *Theroüenne*, *Heſdin*, and all that was uſurp'd in *Artois* ſhould be redeliver'd.

That *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon* ſhould reinjoy his former eſtate, and (particularly) have the County of *Provence* conferr'd upon him, which thereupon he ſhould hold under the Title of King thereof.

That the King of *England* ſhould have all reſtor'd that apper-tain'd to him, or otherwiſe was agreed upon.

That all the followers of the Duke of *Bourbon* ſhould be reintegrated in their former poſſeſſions. That

1525. That the Prince of *Aurange*, *Don Hugo de Moncada*, the *Seigneur* de *Bonze*, and *d' Antroy*, ſhould be ſet at liberty, and all reſtor'd to the Prince of *Aurange*, which was taken from him in the warres of *Brittany*.

That Madam *Margarite*, Aunt to the Emperor, and *La Reyna Germana*, ſecond wife to *Ferdinand* of *Spaine*, with divers other Princes and great perſons (particularly nominated in the ſaid Articles) ſhould be righted in their juſt demands, for reſtitution in all things taken ſince the warre.

That all Commerce betwixt the ſubjects ſhould be renewed hereupon.

That the chiefe Parliaments of *Paris* and elſewhere in *France*, ſhould ſatisfie the agreement.

That the King himſelfe, being at liberty, ſhould, with all due ſolemnity, confirme it, as alſo the *Dolphin* as ſoone as he came to the age of foureteene.

When theſe Articles were preſented to *Francis*, ſome of them ſo diſpleas'd him that he is ſaid in a fury to have drawne his dagger, and ſpoken thoſe words, It is better for a King of *France* to dye after this manner. Inſomuch that *Hernando de Alancon* who was preſent, haſtily took it from him. Yet, to gratifie the Emperor, hee gave order that the Prince of *Aurange*, and *Don Hugo de Moncada* ſhould be ſet at liberty. *Moncada* comming to Court, brought two Letters one from the King, the other from *Madame Loüis*, his Mother, by which (as alſo by the intervention of the Arch-Biſhop of *Ambrun*, and *Philip Chabot Seigneur de Brion*, (who were deputed Ambaſſadors upon this occaſion) theſe conditions following were offered.

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That *Dona Leonora* (Siſter to the Emperor, and Relict to the late King of *Portugall*) ſhould not be given in Marriage to *Bourbon*, (howſoever promiſed him) but to the King of *France*, and the *Infanta Dona Maria*, her daughter, unto the *Dolphin*.

That the Dukedom of *Burgundy* ſhould be held by *Francis*, as the Dowry to the Queene *Leonora*, and ſhould be left to the Heires-males betwixt them. If no ſuch iſſue yet ſhould happen, that the Dukedome ſhould then deſcend to the ſecond ſon of the ſaid Emperor; If the Emperor ſhould have no Sonnes, but daughters, that then the ſecond Sonne of the King of *France* ſhould marry one of the ſaid daughters, and have *Burgundy* for her Portion.

That *Francis* would renounce all the right and intereſt hee had in *Millan*, *Genoüa*, and *Naples*, together withall debts and Penſions that could be demanded on that occaſion.

That hee would releaſe the ſuperiority and dominion that hee pretended over *Flanders*, and *Artois*, and for this purpoſe would obtaine the conſent of all the Eſtates of *France*.

That he would reſtore *Hesdin* and *Tournay*.

That, for the Lands he held neare the River of *Some*, he would pay the Emperor a juſt price. That,

That, when the Emperor ſhould goe to his Coronation into *Italy*, or otherwiſe that if he or his brother *Ferdinad* ſhould make war, he would pay halfe the charges of his Army, and goe along in Perſon. 1525

That, if the Emperor would paſſe into *Italy* by Sea, he would command all his Galleys to attend him at *Barcellona*.

That, if the Emperor would make warre againſt the Infidels in *Afrique*, or *Greece*, he would pay halfe the charges of the Army, and attend the Emperor in Perſon.

That all the Emperor had Capitulated with the King of *England*, and all that was due by way of borrowing or Penſion to the ſaid King, ſhould be paid and accompliſhed, in ſuch manner that the Emperor might be altogether diſcharg'd, and free thereof.

That he would reſtore to the Duke of *Bourbon*, all his Eſtate, and pay him his Penſions, and moreover give his daughter in marriage to him, together with ſuch a Portion as was fitting her degree and quality, and that when any Army ſhould be rais'd by him for the Emperors ſervice, the ſaid Duke ſhould be Generall, in caſe the King went not himſelfe in Perſon, and that all former diſſervices, and unkindneſſes ſhould be forgotten.

That ſufficient ſecurity by the Parliament of *Paris* ſhould be given of theſe particularities.

Upon Mature deliberation taken concerning theſe propoſitions, The Emperor replyed, that the Dutchy of *Burgundy* was his Inheritance, and therefore not to be diſpos'd of, or alienated according to any mans fancy or arbitrement. Concerning the marriage propos'd between *Francis* and *Leonora* his Siſter; That he could reſolve nothing without the conſent of *Bourbon*, to whom he was promiſed. That for the buſineſſes of *Italy*, he would innovate nothing, but rather keep all quiet. As for *Naples*, ſince *Francis* had no right thereunto, there was no occaſion to make uſe of his diſclaime. That it would content him much to have *Burgundy* reſtor'd in the ſame manner that his great Grand Father *Charles* injoyed it. And that he accepted well of his Shipping, when he would thinke fit to goe and receive his Crown in *Italy*. The French on the other ſide inſtead of *Burgundy* offered great ſummes of money; but *Charles* inſiſting ſtill upon *Burgundy*, nothing was concluded. So that, leaving *Madrid*, the Emperor went to hold his Courts (or Parliament) at *Toledo*, where, among other things, it was Petitioned by the Eſtates aſſembled, that the Emperor, being now of age to marry, ſhould take to wife *Donna Iſabella Infanta* of *Portugall*, and not the Princeſſe *Mary* our Kings daughter.

While affaires paſſed thus betwixt *Charles* and *Francis*, Our King, who knew he might have uſe of money on theſe occaſions, and (howſoever) did well underſtand that the maintaining of a ſure Peace at home, was almoſt as coſtly, as the making of a warre abroad, adviſed with his Councell how to provide himſelfe. Yet March.

as

1525. as the Cardinall had undertaken the King ſhould never want, as long as he might mannage the publique affaires; So they gladly diſcharged themſelves on him. But Princes ought to take heed, into whoſe hands they commit their extraordinary power, leaſt it hazard their ordinary, it being the Clue of that Labyrinth of State, which ought not raſhly to be put into anothers hand. Neither ſhould they inforce any thus violently; when buſineſſe may be done in a calme and gentle manner. The Harmony of Government conſiſting in ſuch a delicate proportion, that no one part can ſafely be ſtrained higher, unleſſe the reſt may well be tuned and accorded thereunto. This appear'd in the Actions of this yeare, (being the ſeventeenth of the Reigne of our King,) when, Com-

A prill. miſſions being granted forth into all the Counties of *England*, for the levying the ſixth part of every lay-mans goods, and the fourth of the Clergies; The people, in generall took it ſo ill, that it was like to have grown to a Rebellion; alleadging, Firſt, That theſe Commiſſions were againſt the Law. Secondly, their own poverty, and that the King, ſince the foureteenth of his Reign, had of

Hall. them twenty fifteens. But as this ſeem'd to be done, without that the King was fully inform'd thereof, ſo when the ſequence appear'd, it was reſolved to diſavow the whole proceeding. Our King therefore, by Letters ſent through all the Counties of *England*, declar'd, he would have nothing of them but by way of benevolence: Thi got the Cardinall many a Curſe, and the King as many Bleſſings. Notwithſtanding, under this Title of Benevolence he required great ſummes of all his Subjects, and particularly of

May 8. the Citizens of *London*. But one of their Lawyers anſwered, that by the Statute, 1°. *Ri. tertii, Cap. ſecundo*, ſuch Benevolences were forbidden. But it was replied, That Lawes made by uſurpers oblige not Legitimate Princes. That *Richard* the third, was not only a Tyrant, but a Murtherer of his own Nephews, and therein more fit to ſuffer by the Law, then to make any. Therefore his intentions, were, only by popular and licentious wayes, to obtain the favour of the Commonalty, as having no other means to ſubſiſt. That our King, being the true and undoubted heire of the Crowne, could be tyed hereby no further then it pleas'd himſelfe; it being abſurd to think, that a Statute invented by a factious aſſembly, and approv'd no otherwiſe then by a Criminall in the higheſt degree, ſhould binde an abſolute and lawfull Monarch; wherefore if they had no better evaſion, it were not fit to maintain this. Thereupon the Cardinall purpoſing to examine them one by one, concerning what they would give, hee begins with the Lord Major: But the Major deſiring leave not to declare himſelfe fully, till he had ſpoken with the Common-Councell of the City, the Cardinall wiſht him and the reſt of the Aldermen to come to him privatly, and give what they would. In the Country yet, (where they ſeem'd more obſtinate,) ſome Ring-Leaders of the

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people (who had taken Armes) upon the perſwaſion of the Duke of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke* ſubmitted themſelves, and were brought to *London*, and there impriſoned. The King yet, perſiſting in his intention not to puniſh any on this occaſion, (as being advertis'd that the Common ſort of his ſubjects excuſed themſelves by their want of meanes, and not of affection to ſupply his Majeſties occaſions) brought the matter to the Counſell-Table, where the Cardinall, by way of Apologie, ſaid, that he had done nothing herein, without adviſing firſt with the Judges, who affirm'd poſitively, the King might lawfully demand any ſumme by Commiſſion, and that the Counſell of State confirm'd this courſe. But the King ſaying that he was made beleeve his Subjects were richer then indeed hee found them by this Commiſſion, all the fault was laid on the falſe informers, and Pardon given to all thoſe who had denyed the former Benevolence. Hereupon the offenders were brought to the Star-Chamber; where, after a ſharp charge laid againſt them by the Kings Counſell-Learned, the Cardinall ſaid, That, notwithſtanding their grievous offences, the King, in conſideration of their poverty, had granted them his gracious Pardon, upon Condition, that they would give in, ſureties for their good behaviour henceforth. But they replying, that they had none; The Cardinall firſt, and after him the Duke of *Norfolke* ſaid they would ſtand bound for them, wherewith they were diſcharged.

1525. *Hall.* *Hall.* *Hall.*

The Cardinall who, by a Concurrence of the Papall and Regall authority, had ſuppreſſed divers Monaſteries, and given that Terror to the reſt, that he drew large ſummes from them, would not yet deſiſt ſo, but continued ſtill his purpoſes of converting the profits of all theſe, which by any colour, might be reputed Supernumerary, unto other uſes, among which while he reduced the Monaſtery of *Beggam* in *Suſſex*, A diſguiſed company, in ſtrange viſors, taking the Channons along with them, reimplaced them, and ſo departed; promiſing, at the ringing of their Abbey-Bell, to come at all times to their ſuccours. But theſe Apparitions did not long haunt the houſe; for the King's Counſell, underſtanding hereof, ſo examined the Channons, that they at laſt confeſſed the Authors, who therefore were ſent for, and grievouſly puniſhed. The Cardinall thus every way eſtabliſhing his authority, was thought by this time, between viſitations, making of Abbots, Probats of Teſtaments, granting of Faculties, Licences, Diſpenſations, and many other wayes, beſides the great Penſions he had from Forraine Princes, to have made his Treaſury equall to the Kings (Notwithſtanding the ſummes he often tranſmitted to *Rome*;) in which way of inriching himſelfe, one *John Allen* Doctor of Law, his Chaplain, accompanyed with a great Traine, and riding from one Religious houſe to another, in a kind of perpetuall progreſſe, or viſitation, did the Cardinall no little ſervice. But as this at laſt became a publique grievance, ſo the King tooke notice of it, in ſo ſharp a manner,

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1525 ner, that the Cardinall was enforc'd, not only to excuſe himſelfe with much ſubmiſſion, but to promiſe never to do ſo any more; proteſting with all that he had made a Laſt Will or Teſtament, wherein he had left a great part of his Eſtate unto his Highneſſe. Upon which ſubmiſſion of the Cardinalls (as I take it) the King ſent him this Letter, written all with his own hand, as we find it in our Records.

As touching the matter of *Wilton*, ſeeing it is in no other ſtraine then you write of, and you being alſo ſo ſuddenly (with the falling ſick of your ſervants) afraid, and troubled, I marvaile not that it overſlipped you as it did. But it is no great matter, ſtanding the caſe as it doth; for it is yet in my hand, as I perceive by your Letter, and your default was not ſo great, ſeeing the Election was but conditionall. Wherefore, my Lord, ſeeing the humbleneſſe of your ſubmiſſion, and though the caſe were much more heynous, I can be content for to remit it, being right glad, that, according to mine intent, my monitions and warnings have been benignely and lovingly accepted on your behalfe, promiſing you, that the very affection I beare you caus'd me thus to doe. As touching the helpe of Religious Houſes to the building of your Colledge, I would it were more, ſo it be lawfully; for my intent is none, but that it ſhould ſo appeare to all the world, and the occaſion of all their numbling might be ſecluded and put away; for, ſurely, there is great murmuring of it, throughout all the Realme, both good and bad. They ſay not that all that is ill gotten is beſtow'd upon the Colledge, but that the Colledge is the cloake for covering all miſchiefes. This grieveth me, I aſſure you, to heare it ſpoken by him, which I ſo intirely love. Wherefore, me thought I could doe no leſſe, then thus friendly to admoniſh you. One thing more I perceive by your own Letter, which a little me thinketh toucheth Conſcience, and that is, that you have received money of the Exempts for having of their old Viſitors. Surely, this can hardly be with good Conſcience. For, and they were good, why ſhould you take money? and if they were ill, it were a ſinfull act. Howbe it your Legacy herein might, peradventure, *apud Homines* be a cloake, but not *apud Deum*. Wherefore, you, thus moniſhed by him who ſo intirely loveth you, I doubt not, will deſiſt, not onely from this, (if conſcience will not beare it) but from all other things, which ſhould tangle the ſame; and, in ſo doing, we will ſing, *Te Laudant Angeli atque Archangeli, Te Laudat Omnis Spiritus*. And thus an end I make of this, though rude, yet loving Letter, deſiring you as benevolently to take it, as I doe meane it, for I enſure you (and, I pray you thinke it ſo) that there remaineth, at this houre, no ſparke of diſpleaſure towards you in my heart. And thus fare you well, and be no more perplext. Written with the hand of your loving Soveraigne and Friend,

HENRY R.

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One of the liberties which our King took at his ſpare time was to love. For, as all recomendable parts concurr'd in his Perſon, and they, againe, were exalted in his high dignity and valour, ſo it muſt ſeeme leſſe ſtrange, if amid the many faire Ladies, which liv'd in his Court, He both gave and receiv'd temptation. Among whom, becauſe Miſtreſſe *Elizabeth Blunt*, daughter to Sir *Iohn Blunt* Knight, was thought, for her rare Ornaments of nature, and education, to be the beauty and Miſtreſſe-peece of her time, that entire affection paſt betwixt them, as at laſt ſhe bore him a Sonne. This Childe, proving ſo equally like to both his Parents, that hee became the beſt Embleme of their mutuall affection, was call'd *Henry Fitz-Roy* by the King, and ſo much avow'd by him, that having now attain'd the age of Six years, Hee was made Knight publiquely, and the ſame day created Earle of *Nottingham*, Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerſet*, and Lieutenant Generall beyond *Trent*, and Warden Generall of the borders of *Scotland*, and * ſhortly after Admirall of *England*. After which, hee was firſt bred up together with *Henry* Earle of *Surrey*, in the Caſtle of *Windſor* (which the Earle elegantly deſcribes in a Sonnet extant in his workes) from whence (*November* 1532.) they went both together to Study at *Paris*, which acquaintance and friendſhip was indear'd againe by a match of the ſaid Duke with *Mary* the Earles Siſter; by whom yet he had no iſſue. Howbeit, I find, hee was very perſonable and of great expectation, inſomuch that hee was thought, not only for hability of body, but mind to be one of the rareſt of his time, for which reaſon alſo he was much cheriſhed by our King, as alſo becauſe he had no iſſue Male by his Queene, nor did, perchance, expect any.

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The Cardinall had now built his faire Palace at *Hampton*-Court. But as hee wiſely conſidered, that it would but adde unto that envy for which hee had already ſuffered ſo much, He gave it the King, who, in exchange, permitted him to live in *Richmond* Houſe.

The Credit that *Luther*, at this time, had gotten among thoſe Germans, who were either weary of their obedience to the ſtricter parts of Eccleſiaſticall Government, or deſirous to reforme the errours and abuſes of it, (now ſo generall, as even Pope *Adrian* himſelfe confeſſed that many were crept into *Rome*) had prevailed farre. Yet as others examined which way hee tooke to make his Reformation, ſo they thought Religion yet not ſo exactly formed, but that it might bee caſt in a better Mold. Therefore not onely *Huldricus Zuinglius*, at *Zurich*, beganne a Reformation ſomewhat varying from that of *Luther*; but one *Muncer* in the confines of *Turingia*, having invented a Doctrine, oppoſite

1525. enough to the Church of *Rome*, yet differing from the other Reformers in many things, Publiſhed it with much applauſe of the inferior ſort. For, as he fain'd hee had power from God to depoſe Princes, and ſubſtitute others, and that, againe, Hee taught, All goods ſhould be Common, and divers other Articles tending to Popularity. He was followed by huge multitudes. To temper yet this licentious Doctrine, He Preached Auſterity of life; councelling Men to Prayers, Faſtings, and all other devotions; which might argue, His intention was not ſo much to invade other Men's poſſeſſions, as to eſtabliſh a Moderate Equality. Thus did hee ſeaſon falſehoods with Truths, and ill with good, while the vulgar ſort, who could not diſtinguiſh betwixt them, admired, and followed all. To remedy theſe ſo dangerous aſſemblies and opinions, the chiefe neighbouring Princes raiſed ſome Forces; and prevail'd ſo farre, that, at laſt, they diſſipated, and kill'd their whole Army. Neither was it difficult, they, for their beſt defence, ſinging onely a Pſalme, (whereby they invoked the Holy Ghoſt) while *Muncer* (who it ſeemes truſted leaſt to his own Doctrine) fled away; yet being purſued and taken, together with his Companion *Phifer*, they ſhortly after loſt their Heads. His Sect yet tooke not his end ſo; as being re-

1534. vived againe, in part, not many yeares after, by *John* of *Leyden* and *Knipper Doling*, who, to his other impieties added this, that in a throng of people, being borne upon mens Shoulders, he would breath on them, and bid them receive the Holy Ghoſt.

Such was the generous diſpoſition of our King, that not onely for *Francis* then a Priſoner, but the expulſed King of *Denmarke*, *Chriſtiern*, he interceded with his beſt Offices. Therefore, this yeare, he ſent *Henry Standiſh* Biſhop of Saint *Aſaph*, and Sir *Henry Baker* Knight to perſwade his Subjects to recall him home; whence yet nothing had chaſed him ſo much as the guilt and horror of ſhedding ſo much bloud there (ſo great a perſecuter is Cruelty of it ſelfe:) But the angry Danes obſtinately denyed. The next inſtance then was, that at leaſt his Sonne (who was Nephew to *Charles*) might ſucceed. But this alſo was refuſed; They alleadging they durſt not commit the ſupreame power over themſelves, into the hands of one, who, they thought would imitate and revenge his Father.

The French King being weary of his reſtraint in *Italy*, had deſired he might be removed into *Spaine*; both as he hoped the Emperor might be perſwaded to come to ſpeech with him there, as that he reputed change of Priſon to be a ſecond liberty. *Charles de Lanoy* alſo concurr'd in this requeſt, as fearing he might be taken out of his hand. Having obtained this favour, he found

June 7. not yet the Emperor ſufficiently diſpoſed to ſee him, though otherwiſe

wiſe he could not complaine of being either debar'd the pleaſure of hunting, or any other reaſonable exerciſe. Finding yet ſtill that the Emperor did eſtrange himſelfe ſo much, as not to vouchſafe him one viſit, he fell ſick; for he did not think that his misfortunes had made him forfeit his dignity; or that, for being a Priſoner of war, he had extinguiſhed his Title to be a King. *Charles* underſtanding this, whether out of compaſſion, or feare of looſing *Francis*, reſolves to goe to him at the *Alcazar de Madrid*, where, coming to his chamber he embrac'd *Francis*, who ſaid preſently *Mon-ſieur, veys aqui vueſtro eſclavo*; The Emperor anſwered again *No Sino, buen hermano, y amigo libre.* The King replied *No Sino, vuesfro eſclavo.* The Emperor anſwered againe, *No Sino, libre amigo, y buen hermano*; and thereupon wiſht him to have a care of his health, which he much deſired, and that his buſineſſes would ſucceed well. The Emperor not thinking this curteſie ſufficient, returnes to ſee him the next day again; which ſo comforted *Francis*, that he amended ſuddenly. Whereupon the Emperor reſolved to returne to his buſineſſes at *Toledo*. But Madame *Marquerite Ducheſſe de Alancon*, Sept. Siſter to *Francis*, hearing of his ſickneſſe, made haſte to ſee him. Whom therefore the Emperor courteouſly entertained, and accompanied to her brother's lodging; where, after many affectionate proteſtations, he left them together, and ſo held on his Journey to *Toledo*, whether *Madame de Alancon*, not many dayes after, followed him, mediating ſtill the delivery of her brother. To whom ſhe deſir'd the Emperour to give his Siſter *Leonóra*, upon the conditions above-mentioned; and that the King, her brother, would provide for *Bourbon* a match equall to this; wherein ſhe was thought to have *de Serr.* intimated her ſelf, as being newly made widow by the death of her husband, the Duke of *Alancon*. As for the right of *Burgundy*, ſhe deſired it might be determined by way of juſtice before the 12 Peers of *France*; but the Emperor diſliked this, ſaying, that he was contented that learned perſons in the Law on both ſides ſhould treat here of, and that the Pope ſhould be Umpire; but Madame alſo did not approve this. The French writers adde, that promiſe was made by *Francis* at this time alſo, that the King of *England* ſhould receive intire ſatisfaction. *Madame de Alancon*, finding at laſt how little her intreaties prevail'd, deſired leave to return, and by the way to ſee her brother, which was granted. Here then was propos'd how he might eſcape; which was at laſt reſolv'd, by changing cloathes with a *Sandoval.* *Negro*, who carried Wood and Coales to the King's chamber, and blacking his face with Cole-duſt. Which invention as it is like enough to be a Ladie's, and ſomewhat better then the lending him her Maske, I have thought fit to give her the honour of. This plot was kept ſecret, onely betwixt the King, his Siſter, one *Clement Chappion* his Chamberlaine, and an other Treaſurer. But *Monſieur de la Roche-pot* ſtriking this *Chappion* on ſome occaſion, he, as being diſcontented and without remedy,

1525. flyes to the Emperor, and diſcovers all. The Emperor yet would not ſuddenly beleeve it, nor without better inquiry into the buſineſſe; as not thinking (if one may beleeve the Spanyard my Author) that the King of *France* would, in ſuch an undecent and unworthy manner, procure his liberty. Therefore, in favour of this conceit of the Emperor's, hee ſo repreſents the crime, as it *Francis* ought to beleeve, that it was more Honorable for him to ſtay in priſon, then eſcape it; howſoever it ſeemes his ancient courage was ſo farre from being abated, as it increaſed rather by his cloſe keeping. Therefore he ſent *Monſieur de Montmorancy* to tell *Charles*, that he was reſolved to indure any thing ſooner than to reſtore *Burgundy*, or yeeld through conſtraint that which did not become him, ſo that he deſired onely to know the place of his Impriſonment, and number of his attendants. The Emperor anſwered, that he was content to appoint him a place, and to nominate thoſe that ſhould guard him; for the reſt, proteſting that it griev'd him much that *Francis* ſhould refuſe to doe that for the Ranſome of his perſon, which he was bound to doe, for the ſake of Juſtice only. But ample Commiſſion and conſent being come from Madame the Regent and Parliament of *Paris* to tranſact a further agreement, *Francis* demanded that he might have *Donna Leonóra*, and, for her Portion, the Counties of *Maſcon* and *Auxere*, promiſing, in conſideration thereof, to reſtore the reſt of *Burgundy*. But to this demand of *Leonóra*, *Charles* anſwered againe that being obliged to the Duke of *Bourbon*, he could do nothing therein without acquainting him firſt: yet, to ſatisfie the King, he ſent to *Bourbon*, to let him know how much it concerned him that *Francis* might have *Leonóra*. But *Bourbon* (it is doubtfull whether out of his former contumacy and ſtubbornneſſe, or out of a violent affection to the Lady) anſwered, that hee had loſt great poſſeſſions in *France*, only to have the Honor to match in that neereneſſe of bloud to the Emperour. This ſeem'd much to trouble *Charles*; at laſt, ſending for *Bourbon*, he offer'd him, in recompence of *Leonóra* the Inveſtiure, of *Milan*, which *Bourbon* accepted, the writings or Patent for which my Author ſayeth he ſaw in *Simanca*, not expreſſing in the meane while, how this concurr'd with the Inveſtiure, which, a little before, he ſaith, the Emperour gave to *Franceſco Sforza*. To reconcile which difficulty I ſhall produce (out of a diſpatch extant in our Records) the reaſon, as I conceive it; for though *Charles* had (together with the poſſeſſion) granted *Sforza* the Inveſtiture of *Milan*, yet it was upon condition, that *Sforza* ſhould pay him twelve hundred thouſand Crowns towards his charges, and that the ſaid Inveſtiture ſhould remaine in the hands of *Lanoy*, till the warre of *Italy* were ended. But *Sforza* finding this too hard, joyned with the adverſe Party, and gave occaſion to the Emperor to beſtow the Inveſtiture on *Bourbon*. And he had reaſon to be content therewith; For *Donna Leonóra*, hearing

Sandov.

of

of this competition about her, decided the controverſie in favour of *Francis*; ſending word to the Emperour, that ſhe had rather be a Queene of *France* then wife to *Bourbon.* 1525.

This while, the Pope, the Venetians, and Princes of *Italy* on the one ſide Leagued together for the defence of *Italy* againſt the Emperor inviting alſo our King into the treaty; our king on the other, mediated for *Francis*; neither did it diminiſh the ſuſpition entertained by them that *Charles* pretended to an univerſall Monarchy in Chriſtendom, becauſe, preſently upon the making of *Francis* Priſoner at *Pavia*, he had written to our King, as wel as to all other the ſaid principall Perſons, that he ſhould take it well if they did not meddle with the Dominions and Eſtates of *Francis*, ſince, being his priſoner, hee could doe no leſſe then protect him againſt all others. While theſe Treaties proceeded, *Henry de Albret*, King of *Navarre*, found a more compendious way to his Liberty, by corrupting his guards. The *Count de Saint Paul* alſo devis'd meanes to eſcape without paying any Ranſome.

Madame *Loüiſe* the French Regent continuing her Meſſages and Ambaſſades, ſollicites our Kings aſſiſtance for the redeeming of her Sonne. To which purpoſe a Treaty was concluded at *Moore*, Auguſt 30. 1525. in this manner, as our Records have it. Aug. 30.

That all injuries, done and received in the late warre betweene *England* and *France*, ſhall be forgotten.

That confederation for mutuall ayd and intercourſe of Merchandice ſhall be eſtabliſhed, together with free paſſage of ſubjects through each others Dominions, ſo that they exceed not a hundred armed men.

That all taxes and impoſitions laid by each of the Kings upon the Subjects or Merchants of the other, within theſe laſt 50 years, ſhall be extinct, and no new ones impoſed.

That one ſhall not protect the diſobedient Subject of the other, nor entertaine Rebells, Traytors, or Fugitives; but, within twenty dayes after due requiſition made, ſhall deliver them up.

That no Letters of Repriſalls (or Merk) ſhall be granted on either ſide, but only againſt the principall Delinquents, and that but in caſe of denyall of Juſtice.

That, if the Subjects of the one or the other offend againſt this Treaty, they ſhall be puniſh'd, without that the Treaty ſhall, any way therefore, be infringed.

That, preſently upon the ratification of this Treaty, the priſoners of warre on the one and the other ſide ſhall be releaſed, as alſo the French Hoſtages.

That, in this Treaty ſhall be comprehended the friends and allyes of each Prince. That is to ſay, on the King of *France* his part, the Pope, the Kings of *Scotland*, *Hungary*, *Navarre*, and *Portugall*; the State of Venice; the Dukes of *Savoy*, *Lorraine*, *Geldres*, *Ferrara*; the *Suiſſe*, the Marqueſſes of *Montferrat* and *Saluces*. On the

1525. King of *England's* part, the Pope, the Emperor *Charles*, the King of *Denmark*, of *Hungary*, of *Portugall*, Queen *Mary* Dowager of *France*, Lady *Margaret* Arch-Dutcheſſe of *Auſtria*, *Ferdinand* brother to the Emperor, Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*: the State of *Venice*; the B. P. of Liege; the Dukes of *Urbin*, *Cleve*, *Tuilliers*, the houſe of *Medici*, the *Florentines*, the Duke of *Ferrara*, the *Hanſiatique* Townes; Upon condition, that they accepted it within Six Moneths next enſuing. Whoſe violating of the League yet ſhould not be underſtood as a breach betwixt the principall contractors.

That yet this Treaty ſhall not extend to the maintaining of any receiv'd into it, ſo, as it ſhould hinder the principall contractors to recover their right and Lands whatſoever, with-held by any, ſince the Treaty of 1518.

The King of *England* ſhall doe his beſt endevour, to procure, as ſoone as may be, the Liberty of *Francis*, and to induce the Emperor to accept reaſonable conditions.

That this Treaty ſhall be ſign'd and ſworne to by *Francis*, within three Moneths, if he get his liberty ſo ſoone, or, otherwiſe, hee ſhall confirme it by his Letters, written with his own hand, and ſent to King *Henry* the eighth. And that Madame *La Regente* ſhall renounce all exceptions, which in Law as (by *Senatûs Conſultum Velleianum &c.*) may be taken againſt this Treaty.

That the Cardinall of *Bourbon*, Duke of *Vendoſme*, Duke of *Longueville*, *Comte Saint Paul*, Mr. *de Lantrech*, Mr. *de Montmorancy*, Mr. *de Preſſi*, *Comte de Maleuſe*, and *Comte de Bryan*, as alſo the principall Cities, *Paris*, *Lyons*, *Orleans*, *Ioloſa*, *Amiens*, *Roüen &c.* ſhall, under the Obligation and forfeit of all their goods, ſweare hereunto, to obſerve this Treaty, within three Monethes after the date hereof, (in which alſo their heires and ſucceſſors ſhall be comprehended) giving, for this purpoſe, a Bond with their Seale annexed, to be ſent to the King of *England*, within three Monethes. Moreover certaine Bonds were given for the debts and moneys hereafter ſpecified. *viz.* Two Millions of Crowns, at the payment of fifty thouſand Crownes at a time in *Calais*, The firſt payment to begin within fourty dayes after the Treaty. The ſecond the firſt of *November* next inſuing. The next the firſt of *May* following, and ſo from terme to terme, and yeare to yeare, till the whole be ſatisfied to King *Henry* or his ſucceſſors. After the payment of which, the ſaid King *Henry* ſhall, during his life (and no longer) receive yearely the ſumme of 100000 Crownes.

Aug. 30. This Treaty was concluded *Aug.* 30. by the Commiſſioners on both ſides; *viz.* for our King, *William* Arch Biſhop of *Cant.* *Thomas Carlis Ebor.* *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, *Henry* Marqueſſe of *Exon*, *Charles* Earle of *Worceſter*, *Nicholas* Biſhop of *Ely*, and Sir *Thomas Moore*. For the Regent of *France*, were *Iohn Brinon*, *Premier Preſident de Roüen*, and *Giovanni Ioachim Seigneur de Vanlx*, Mr. *de Hoſtel* to *Loüiſe*. And was * proclaim'd in *September*; and, in *October* *Iohn*

Sept. 8. Octob.

Taylor

Taylor Doctor of Law, and Sir *William Fitz-William* were ſent into *France*, to take the Regents Oath. By another Treaty this yeere at *Lyons*, I finde the Regent obliged herſelfe to pay all the Arrerages due to *Mary* our Kings ſiſter out of *France*, by reaſon of her marriage with *Loüis* the twelfth, as alſo to ſuffer her to enjoy the profits and rents of all the Lands left her in joynture, according to the Treaty *Octob.* 8. 1514. 1525. Octob. 8. 1514

Franceſco Sforza being informed now that a ſtrong League was intended by the Pope, Venetians, and divers others, againſt the Emperor, was perſwaded to enter into it, upon pretence that by their aſſiſtance he might ſufficiently defend his Countrey. But this was his ruine; for the Marqueſſe of *Peſcara* underſtanding hereof, or (as others ſay) ſuppoſing it onely, queſtions him; but *Sforza* denying conſtantly that ever he gave his conſent thereto, the Marqueſſe demanded the Caſtle of *Milan* and *Cremona* for ſecurity. But *Sforza* utterly refuſing this, the Marqueſſe of *Peſcara* tooke *Milan* and laid ſiege to the Caſtle (which onely remained to *Sforza*) and after *Peſcara's* death (which happened by ſickneſſe) the Duke of *Bourbon*. The concluſion hereof was, that *Sforza* (by conſtraint) yeelded the Caſtle upon conditions, and ſo retired at length to the Army, raiſed by the League againſt *Charles* the yeere following. July 24. 1526.

The Emperor who had now treated of marriage in many places, * concluded it at laſt with his Neece, *Donna Iſabella* the *Infanta* of *Portugall*, and daughter of *Mannell* and *Maria*, *Infanta* of *Caſtile*, whom yet he married not till *January* 2. 1526. Alleadging for his excuſe to our King, that at the requeſt and petition of his Courtes or States aſſembled at *Toledo*, he had preferred this Lady before our Princeſſe *Mary*, which therefore he deſired might be underſtood for no breach of friendſhip. Our King alſo conſidering the tender age of his daughter, not yet fit for marriage, and that it was an incongruity to ally himſelfe with a Prince againſt whom he might have ſo ſoon occaſion to draw his Sword, (as may appeare by the League above mentioned) ſeemed very well content to relinquiſh the Match, upon this mutuall conſent. After which time the friendſhip betwixt them grew ſo remiſſe, at laſt it diſſolved wholy, Inſomuch that the Ambaſſadors of both ſides were recalled home, and *Charles*, who before was accuſtomed to ſigne his Letters to King *Henry* alwaies *Tuus Filius & Cognatus*, from henceforth ſubſcribed onely *Carlos*. Novem. *Sandov.*

But I the leſſe wonder that the Emperor now began to take State upon him, ſince a richer booty then that of *Francis* fell into his hands, that is to ſay *Peru*, where the Mines of *Potoſi* (and many others which for want of Labourers remain to this day buried and unuſefull) were firſt diſcovered. Which began in this manner. *Sandov.*

Vlaſco Nunnez having firſt * diſcovered, from a hight Rock neere *Darien*, the *Mar del zur*, * *Hernando de Magellanes* (a *Portugues*, but ſet forth by *Charles* the fifth) afterwards found out the Straits that beare * 1513. * 1520.

1525.

beare his name, and paſſed through them with two ſhips to the Iſle of *Zebut*, and others in that Sea; but * dying in the voyage, his companions went on to *Borneo* and the * *Moluccaes*, and many other places, whence one of the ſhips * returned to *Spaine*, by *Capo de Buena Eſperanca*, and ſo firſt compaſſed the Globe, *Iuan Sebaſtian de Cano* a *Biskayan* being Pilot. The other ſhip was taken by the *Portuguez*. Yet, as the Continent towards that Sea was unknowne ſtill, *Franceſco Picarro* living at *Panamà* (being the furtheſt part of Land, where it is narroweſt, betwixt the North Ocean and the *Mar del Zur*) firſt attempted the * diſcovery of that Coaſt, bending at laſt to *Peru*, which afterwards he * Ranſackt; For landing his men at a time when there was diſſenſion betwixt *Guancar* the lawfull heire, and *Atabaliva* his younger brother, he made his advantage thereof, to the overthrow of both, and of *Atabaliva* firſt, in this pretext. *Picarro* having his Forces in a readineſſe, ſent a Dominican Frier, with a Croſſe in one hand, and a Breviary in another, who (as the Spaniſh writers have it) told *Atabaliva* (then in the head of his Army) that God was Three, and yet One, and that he made the World of nothing, and that he ſent his Sonne down to be born of a Virgin, and to die for our ſinnes upon a Croſſe, like that he bore; and that he roſe the third day; and left Saint *Peter* his Vicar, and the Pope his Succeſſor, who had given the Emperor that Countrey; if he would not belive this, commanding him alſo to make War, and deſtroy him & his Religion. *Atabaliva*, who though full of ſuperſtitious worſhip, did yet venerate a ſupreme Deity (confeſſed in theſe parts by the name of *Viracocha*, or *Baracocha*, as in *Mexico* by that of *Teuth*, and in *Guatimala* by that of *Cabovit*, in *Nueva Eſpanna* by that of *Yocahuvaguamaorocoti*,) and together acknowledged Vertue and Vice, Reward and Puniſhment, after this life, as believing the ſoule Immortall; found this Ambaſſage ſtrange, and ſaid, he believed no Power on earth was ſuperiour to himſelfe, yet that he would be glad to hold friendſhip with the Emperor; and for the Pope, he wondred at him, becauſe he gave that which was none of his. As for his Religion, he would not diſpute it, ſince it was ſo ancient, and received in his Countrey. And, for worſhipping of Chriſt that died, he ſaid, he thought he had done better in worſhipping the Sunne and Moon that never died, as believing (which I finde by the Hiſtory of the *Incas*, written by one of that Blood-Royall) that the Sunne did goe about the World on Gods errand. Laſtly, he demanded, who told him that God had made the World on that faſhion? To which the Dominican anſwering, the Breviary, and together putting it in his hands; *Atabaliva* turning over a few leaves (as if he expected ſome ſuch expreſſion from thence) but finding he underſtood nothing, threw it away, wherewith the Dominican exclaiming that the Goſpell was on the ground, and demanding vengeance, *Picarro* diſcharged ſome great Ordnance, and his ſmall ſhot againſt him, wherewith the terrified Indians

* 1521. April. Novem. 8.
* 1523. Sept. 6.
* 1525.
* 1533.
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Hiſtoria de los Incas by *Garci laſſo de Vega.*

Indians fled, and *Atabaliva* was taken priſoner. *Atabaliva* hereupon offers for his ranſome as much Gold and Silver as would fill a great Sala or Roome where they were, which being accorded and almoſt performed in effect, *Picarro* upon falſe pretences moſt cruelly put him to death, though Baptized; For which alſo the Conſpirators and *Picarro* himſelfe came at laſt to ill deaths, as the Spaniſh Writers obſerve. Howſoever for the preſent, the Spaniards proceeded in their Cruelty to others, of all ſorts, eſpecially of the Blood-Royall, and got infinite Treaſure, their Temples being planked with Gold, and their graves full of Treaſure and Riches, which were buried with them. But I doubt I have inſiſted too long upon theſe Barbariſmes. 1525. 1541.

The yeere of our Lord 1526 was now entered when *Charles* required his Councell to adviſe him whether it were beſt to deliver *Francis*; and if ſo, upon what terms? *Charles de Lanoy* Vice-Roy of *Naples* did not thinke fit the Emperor ſhould loſe the benefit of ſuch a prize; Therefore, though he perſwaded the delivery of *Francis*, yet he wiſht that the moſt advantageous conditions that could be made thereof ſhould be taken ſuddenly, and before the League, which was now forming againſt him, could be concluded. That, this being done, the Emperor was more free to provide for the buſineſſe of *Germany*, to reſiſt the Turke, and to ſuppreſſe *Barbaroxa* and other Pirats that infeſted his Seas. Others, and among them *Gattinara* the Chancellor, ſaid, that there was leſſe danger of *Francis* being in priſon then abroad; eſpecially, ſince it did not appeare ſufficiently, the new League would be broken off, when *Francis* had his liberty, but rather ſtrengthned and confirmed, as being not directed ſo much for the delivery of *Francis*, as oppoſed to the greatneſſe of *Charles*. That many things might be done while *Francis* was unſetled, which would take no effect when he were reſtored to his former eſtate. Therefore, his beſt courſe were to finde ſome meanes to reverſe the children of his Priſoner, and other affaires in *France*, within his power, that ſo nothing might interrupt his Deſignes elſewhere. And that himſelfe ſhould undertake his journey to *Italy*, before he let goe ſo dangerous an Enemy, who if once looſe, would rather make war for redeeming his loſſes, then improve them by ſtanding to any ſervile conditions. Laſtly, that his Imperiall Majeſty ought to believe, that if *Francis* being in priſon would not make reſtitution of *Burgundy*, he would muchleſſe doe it when he were free. *Hernando de Vega* ſaid, that *Francis* was very well in *Madrid*. To which, *Gattinara* replied reſolutely, there might be uſe both of detaining and letting him goe; onely, ſince he ſaw ſo little hope of performance (what ſecurity ſoever were given) he thought it beſt either to let him goe freely, and therein put a perpetuall Obligation upon him, or to keep him ſtill where he was. This was a wiſe adviſe. The Emperor yet choſe rather to adhere to them who 1526

coun-

1526 counſelled him to prevaile himſelfe of the occaſion. Therefore, conſidering *Francis* offered his two Sonnes for Hoſtages, while himſelfe going to *France*, mediated with the Eſtates for reſtoring *Burgundy*: and that, without this perſonall interceſſion there was little hope of any ſatisfaction or peace; he thought it beſt to deliver *Francis*, as that which at leaſt would declare to the Chriſtian World, that he deſired the quietneſſe thereof. So that upon the
Jan. 14. fourteenth of *January* a Treaty (called the Concord of *Madrid*) was concluded, the Tenor whereof according to the moſt ſubſtantiall Articles is here ſet down.

Charles the Emperor, and on his part *Charles de Lanoy* Vice-Roy of *Naples*, *Hugo de Moncada*, and *Juan Aleman*: And *Francis le Roy Tres-Chriſtien*, and on his part *Francis* Archbiſhop of *Ambrun*, and *Jean de Selue Primier Preſident du Parliament de Paris*, and *Philip Chabot*, having Commiſſion from *Madame Loüiſſe* Regent of *France*, in vertue of the power given her by *Francis*, before his impriſonment (thought therefore Authenticke) did upon the day and yeere above written Treat, Accord, and conclude theſe Articles following:

1. That there ſhall be a good and ſecure Peace and Confederation eſtabliſhed between the two Princes, ſo that they ſhall be Friends to the Friends, and Enemies to the Enemies of each other, for the mutuall defence of their Eſtates and Kingdoms.

2. That Traffique and Commerce ſhall be renewed betwixt their Subjects on either ſide, upon payment onely of their ancient Cuſtoms; and that the Sea ſhall be ſecured from Pirats.

3. That the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, together with all the rights, members and dependances, ſhall in the name of Him, his Heires, and Succeſſors, be reſtored within the ſpace of ſix weeks after the delivery of *Francis*, notwithſtanding any Decrees of Parliaments, pretence of the Salique Law, or other claime whatſoever.

4. Becauſe yet, for the better performance of theſe things which are required, the French King alleageth it is neceſſary that he ſhould preſently repaire home; it is therefore concluded, that upon the tenth of *March* next the ſaid French King ſhall be ſet free in that part of *France* which adjoyns to *Fuentarabie*; upon condition nevertheleſſe, that at the ſame houre and inſtant, (the number of Attendants on both ſides being equall) the Dolphin his eldeſt ſonne, and Duke of *Orleans* his ſecond ſonne, or (inſtead of the ſaid Duke) *Monſieur de Vendoſme*, *Iohn* Duke of *Albany*, *Monſieur de St. Pol*, *Monſieur de Guiſe*, *Monſieur de Lautrech*, *Monſieur de la Val*, the *Marquis de Saluces*, *Monſieur de Rieux*, the great *Seneſchall* of *Normandy*, the *Mareſchall de Montmorancy*, *Monſieur de Brion*, and *Monſieur de Aubigny*, ſhould be delivered to *Charles* as Hoſtages till all conditions were performed; which being done, that within the ſpace of foure weeks a Ratification by the Parliament of *Paris*, and all the other Parliaments of the ſaid Kingdome ſhall be delivered unto

1526.

unto *Charles*; whereupon the ſaid *Charles* doth ſweare and promiſe upon the Faith of a Prince to return the ſaid Hoſtages, upon condition yet that the third ſonne of *Francis*, being Duke *de Angouleſme*, ſhould at the ſame time be given to *Charles*, to be kept and bronght up in his Court, and with him. And the French King doth furthermore promiſe, in caſe theſe things were not performed, (that is to ſay, the reſtitution of *Burgundy*, and the reſt in ſix weeks, and the Ratification in foure more enſuing) to returne priſoner to *Charles*. And, for this purpoſe, as he had ſworne already, ſo when he is at liberty, he ſhall renew and confirme the ſaid Oath, before ſuch Commiſſioners as *Charles* ſhall appoint. And that upon his ſaid returne to *Charles*, his Hoſtages ſhould be delivered.

5. That *Francis*, for Himſelfe, his Heires, and Succeſſors, ſhall renounce his whole right, claime, and intereſt, in all the Kingdomes, Eſtates, Lands, and Seigneuries, which are now in the poſſeſſion of *Charles*, and eſpecially in the Kingdome of *Naples*, as well for all propriety therein, as any penſion or payment demanded for the ſame. And that the Inveſtiture thereof, given by the Apoſtolique See to his Anceſtors or him, as alſo all Capitulations made to this effect heretofore, ſhall not be available for the ſaid Kingdome of *Naples*, or for the Eſtates of *Milan*, *Genoua*, *Aſti*, and their dependencies. And that the Grants or Writings to this purpoſe, whether Pontificiall or Imperiall, or onely between him and *Francesco Sforza*, ſhould be delivered to *Charles*. And that *Francis* ſhall, for Him, his Heires, and Succeſſors, renounce all his demand or claime to *Flanders*, and all other places thereabouts, now in the poſſeſſion of *Charles*, together with all ſuperiority over them. In lieu whereof, the ſaid *Charles* promiſeth to relinquiſh his Title to *Perone*, *Montdidier*, the Counties of *Boulongne*, *Guines*, *Ponthieu*, as alſo all the Cities, Townes, Seigneuries on both ſides of the River of *Some*, now in the poſſeſſion of *Francis*, reſerving onely the Countries of *Maſconois*, *Auxerrois*, and *Bar ſur la Seine*, which ſhall be diſpoſed of particularly hereafter. And that all other Lands, Townes, and Seigneuries not mentioned in the preſents, ſhall be reſtored to the Eſtate in which they were before the Wars.

6. That, in performance of the League defenſive betwixt both Princes, they ſhall ſuffer no hoſtile Forces to paſſe through either of their Conntries, to the hurt or prejudice of the other, and that either Prince being invaded, may have of the other five hundred Horſe and ten thouſand Foot, with convenient Artillery (or any leſſe number) at the charges of the demandant; and, for the offenſive League, that it ſhall extend no further then to their joynt Enemies, and by the mutuall advice and conſent of both.

7. That a marriage ſhall be had and made betwixt *Francis* and *Leonora*, a diſpenſation for that purpoſe being firſt obtained, and that ſhe ſhall be delivered to *Francis* at the ſame time that the Hoſtages ſhall be reſtored by *Charles*.

8. That

1526. 8. That her Dowry ſhall be two hundred thouſand Crownes *de Solcil*, beſides her Arras (*i. a pledge given in Spaine where marriages are recorded*) which did appertaine to her upon her firſt marriage.

9. That, beſides the aforeſaid ſumme, the Emperour out of his abundant love to his ſiſter *Leonora*, ſhall beſtow the Counties of *Maſconois*, *Auxerrois*, and the Seigneury of *Bar ſur la Seine* on her, and her heires males onely.

10. That the Queene *Leonora* ſhall renounce all rights of Goods or Heritage that might deſcend to her from the part of her Grandfather *Maximilian*, her father King *Philip*, or Queen *Joane* her mother, ſave onely the collaterall ſucceſſion, in caſe the ſaid *Charles* or his brother *Ferdinand* ſhould die without iſſue.

11. That the ſaid Queene *Leonora* ſhall receive from *Francis* Jewels to the value of fifty thouſand Crownss to remaine to her, her heires and ſucceſſors.

12. That if the ſaid *Francis* and *Leonora* ſhall have iſſue male betwixt them, the eldeſt ſonne ſhall be Duke of *Alancon*, and have in poſſeſſion the Dutchy thereof, conferrd on him by *Francis*, and on his mothers part the above-mentioned Counties of *Maſconois*, *Auxerrois*, and *Bar ſur la Seine*, and that his other ſonnes ſhall be provided for according to the degree, reſerving ſtill the right belonging to the Dolphin. And that the daughters ſhall have ſuch portions as the Kings of *France* uſually give.

13. That, in caſe *Francis* die before *Leonora*, ſhe ſhall have for Arras ſixty thouſand Livres Tournois of Rent, yeerly to continue, during her life onely.

14. That, in caſe *Leonora* ſurvive *Francis*, it may be lawfull for her to returne to *Spaine*, *Flanders*, or *Burgundy*, and carry with her all her Goods and Jewels; and that before the ſolemnity of the ſaid Marriage, the ſeale of the ſaid King and Dolphin, and of the eſtates and principall places of the ſaid Kingdome of *France*, together with due acknowledgements and obligations ſhall be given, to the intent they may be forc'd to the accompliſhment thereof, both by way of Excommunication, and alſo by Arreſts, and detaining of all perſons of the ſaid Kingdome, of what quality ſoever.

15. That a marriage ſhall be ſolemnized between *Francis* the Dolphin, ſonne and heire to *Francis*, and *Donna Maria* daughter to *Leonora*, and her firſt husband *Manuell*, in words *de futuro*, when the ſaid Lady ſhall attaine to ſeven yeeres of age, and by words *de præſenti* when ſhe ſhall be twelve. And that her brother *Don Juan* King of *Portugall* ſhall give his conſent thereunto, with ſufficient proviſion for her Dowry.

16. That the ſaid Infanta *Maria* ſhall at twelve yeers of age be conducted to *France*, and conſigned to *Francis*.

17. That *Francis* ſhall uſe his beſt means to diſpoſe *Henry d' Albret*,

bret, together with his Brothers and Sisters to renounce their Title to *Navarre*, or when they could not procure any such disclaime, not to assist him or them in their pretences. That *Francis* likewise shall use his best meanes to dispose the Duke of *Gueldres* to leave (after his life) the Dutchy of *Gueldres* and County of *Zutphen* to *Charles*, or when he could not procure this, to assist *Charles* with three hundred Horse and foure thousand Foot to recover it. 1526.

18. That *Francis* shall not give assistance to Duke *Ubricke* of *Wirtenberge*, nor to *Robert de la Mark* or his sonnes, against the said *Charles*, but rather help him to represse them, nor interpose himselfe by way of Treaty in favour of any Potentate of *Italy*.

19. That when *Charles* shall passe in person to *Italy*, *Francis* shall lend to the said *Charles* his Fleet in the *Mediterranean* Sea, being well equipped, for the space of three Moneths, and no longer. And, whereas *Francis* promised to assist *Charles*, both with men and Artillery for his Voyage, he should in lieu thereof, pay in money two hundred thousand Crownes, giving him good security for it; yet, if the Emperour demanded five hundred great Horse, together with sufficient Artillery, *Francis* should furnish them at his own proper costs.

20. That because *Charles*, for the better drawing *Henry* King of *England* to his party against *Francis*, had promised to pay unto the said *Henry* the summe of one hundred thirty three thousand three hundred and five Crownes yeerely, in lieu of those Pensions and Rents which the said *Francis* was bound to pay to *Henry*, and during such termes as was agreed betwixt them; (as by a Treaty concluded at *Windsor June* 19. 1522, more at large appeareth,) and because, since that time untill a late League betwixt *Francis* and *Henry*, all the said money remaines in arreare; And because *Francis* saith, he hath taken order with *Henry* for the payment of the said intire summe; therefore it is agreed, that *Francis* shall save harmlesse the said *Charles* from all demands on the part of *Henry*; And, furthermore, shall give an Authentique Copy of the said late agreement betwixt him and *Henry*, sometime before the end of foure Moneths next ensuing the date hereof; as also of the Acquittances he shall receive from *Henry* upon payment of the said summes, which shall be such, as *Charles*, his Heires, and Successors may remaine indempnified and discharged thereof for ever. So that, if *Charles* should be called upon for satisfaction in these particulars, *Francis* shall take the businesse on himselfe, and defend it as his owne, without that *Charles* shall be any way molested therein. July 19. 1522.

21. That, because this particular Treaty is made in the way of a Generall League, intended to be agreed on and concluded hereafter against Turkes, Infidels, and Heretiques; therefore,

1526. that ſupplication ſhould be made in both their names unto his Holineſſe, that he would write unto all Chriſtian Princes and Eſtates to joyne herein; as alſo to Authorize a Cruzada for the ſaid Enterprize; to endure at leaſt for three yeeres next enſuing, not exempting Eccleſiaſticall perſons from it. And, if need be, that *Charles* and *Francis* ſhould go in perſon to this Holy warre by Sea, that then they ſhall joyne and unite their forces together with thoſe of the great Maſter of the Knights of Saint *John* of *Jeruſalem*, and the *Genoueſi*; or, if the danger appeare not ſo great, as to require their preſence in the ſaid Warre, that then a Generall for conducting the ſaid forces ſhall be appointed by *Charles*; or, if otherwiſe it ſhould be thought neceſſary themſelves ſhould goe in perſon, that then Ambaſſadors and Commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to reſide in each others Dominions for the determining of all differences that ſhould ariſe in their abſence.

22. That, becauſe *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, together with divers of his Friends, Allies, and Servants, did for a while abſent themſelves from *France*, and the ſervice of *Francis*, and that for this cauſe the Dutchies of *Bourbon*, *Auvergne*, *Chaſteleraut*, the Counties of *Clermont*, *&c.* had been taken away from them, it is agreed, that *Francis* preſently, or at furtheſt in ſix weeks after his delivery, ſhall reſtore unto the ſaid Duke of *Bourbon*, as well as to all the reſt of his Friends, Allies, and Servants, (whether Eccleſiaſticall or ſecular) their former poſſeſſions, together with the juſt value of all the Goods that have been taken from them, as alſo the Writings or Deeds by which the ſaid Poſſeſſions were formerly held, and alſo the true profit of the ſaid Lands and Poſſeſſions, during their abſence, and to ſtay all ſuits and proceedings againſt them on this occaſion. Furthermore, that the ſaid Duke ſhall not be conſtrained perſonally to appeare in the French Court, but that he may adminiſter, and diſpoſe of all his Eſtate and Poſſeſſions, by ſufficient Deputies and Officers appointed thereunto, and receive the Revenues thereof, in ſuch place as himſelfe ſhall chuſe, when it were out of *France*. And that the ſaid Officers ſhall not be moleſted in execution of their charge. And, as for the Right the ſaid Duke of *Bourbon* pretends to the County of *Provence*, and the Dependencies thereof, it is agreed that a juſt and equall hearing and deciſion thereof ſhall be permitted and given before competent Judges, whenſoever the ſaid Duke ſhall recommence his former ſuit therein; and that the ſaid Duke, his Friends, Allies, and Servants, may without prejudice to their Rights or Poſſeſſions ſtay or continue in the ſervice of the Emperor. And that, for performing of all theſe particulars abovementioned, *Francis* ſhall give good and ſufficient warrant and aſſurance, according to form of Law, and the terms uſuall in this caſe.

23. That

23. That, before the fifteenth of *February* next all priſoners on both ſides, and particularly *Philibert* Prince of *Aurange* ſhall (without paying any Ranſome) be ſet free and returne to their ſeverall Counties, unleſſe their Soveraignes by mutuall conſent doe otherwiſe determine. 1526

24. That all Rebels and Fugitives on either ſide ſhall be remanded, (onely thoſe in the Dutchy of *Milan*, *Genoua*, and County of *Aſti* excepted) who ſhall be freely pardoned, and within ſix Moneths reſtored to their former Eſtates. As for thoſe who are charged with heynous crimes of that nature, as they cannot be returned home, without ſcandall and inconvenience, it is agreed, that upon a Moneths warning they ſhall depart from thoſe places to which they are retired, upon the penalty of being apprehended, and ſent to their lawfull Soveraigne or Superior.

25. That all Prelates and Eccleſiaſticall perſons, as alſo all Subjects, of what condition ſoever, ſhall on either ſide returne to their former Places, Eſtates, and Poſſeſſions, notwithſtanding any Confiſcation, Guift, or Alienation thereof whatſoever.

26. That, becauſe in the Cortes of *Caſtilla*, the Conſuls and Univerſity of *Burgos* had complained of divers loſſes they had received, contrary to ſome ancient Priviledges, (both before and ſince theſe warres) which they pretend to hold from the Anceſtors of the moſt Chriſtian King as Duke of *Brittany*, it is therefore agreed, that upon verification of the particulars, the ſaid priviledges ſhall be confirmed, and a friendly end made, or otherwiſe Juſtice done on the offenders.

27. That, becauſe the Clothes made in *Catalunna*, *Roſellon*, *Cerdenna*, and other places of the Crowne of *Arragon*, are not permitted to be carried through the Territories of *France* into other Countries without danger of Confiſcation; it is therefore agreed, that paying their ancient Cuſtomes, they ſhall have a free way and paſſage, both by Sea and Land, along all the French Dominions.

28. Becauſe *Madame Margarete*, Aunt to *Charles*, hath much mediated this peace; and becauſe a certaine Neutrality, by the conſent of *Charles*, was accorded betwixt her and *Francis*, for the Countries in her poſſeſſions, during their late warres, according to which ſhe ought to enjoy the County of *Carlois*, and certaine Granaries of Salt, &c. notwithſtanding which, they have by force been taken from her; It is agreed therefore, that they, together with the profits in arreare, ſhall be reſtored to her, during her life onely. And, that afterwards they ſhall deſcend on *Charles*, and his heires.

29. That, becauſe the Queene *Donna Germana de Foix*, widdow

1526. dow of *Arragon*, ſaith, ſhe had received a definitive ſentence in the Parliament of *Paris*, by which the Townes and Lands of *Marceni*, *Turſen*, *Gavierdey*, and *Gavaret* are adjudged to her; It is agreed that *Francis* ſhall ſee the ſaid ſentence executed by ſtrong hand, if need be.

20. *Item*, Becauſe *Philibert de Chaalon*, Prince of *Aurange*, ſince his ſervice of the Emperor, hath had divers places and rights in *Dauphine* and *Bretagne* taken from him by *Francis*, and ſome moneys detained; It is agreed, that he ſhall be reſtored to his former poſſeſſions, and the ſaid moneys paid, and good and ſpeedy juſtice done him in his other demands.

21. *Item*, becauſe *Philip de Croy* Marquis of *Arſcon*, pretends to divers Lands, and other Rights in *France*, which ſince theſe Warres have been taken from him; it is agreed he ſhall be reſtored to them, and juſtice done him in his other demands.

22. *Item*, becauſe the Princeſſe of *Chimay* pretends to certaine Goods and Inheritance deſcended to her, as in the Right of the *Seigneur de la Brit* her Father, as alſo to ſome Goods of her mother and Brethren; It is agreed that good and ſpeedy Juſtice be done her.

23. *Item*, that *Henry* Count of *Naſſaw* ſhall have right done him by *Francis* for part of the Dowry of his wife.

24. *Item*, that *Adolpho* of *Burgundy*, *Seigneur de Beures* Admirall of *Flanders*, ſhall be reſtored to his right of the Caſtle and Lands of *Crevecœur en Cambreis*, in the manner he held it before the warre.

25. *Item*, that *Monſieur Charles de Pompet*, Camarero to the Emperor, ſhall have the money reſtored him, which contrary to the Priviledges of the Univerſity of *Paris*, he was conſtrained to pay for the ranſome of his children, Students there, when the late war began.

26. *Item*, that *Guillaume de Vergi* ſhall have right done him for the Seigneury of *San-de ſier en Perchois*.

27. *Item*, that the Seignuers *de Frenes*, *Conde de Gaures*, *Monſieur Audriano de Croy*, *de Reulx*, *de Meleny*, *Conte de Spinay*, and *Sieur de Reulx*, ſhall have the Goods reſtored which they enjoyed before theſe late warres.

28. *Item*, that the *Marquis Antonio de Saluces* his Mother and Siſters, as alſo *Frederico de Bangy* ſhall have thoſe Goods reſtored, which were taken in theſe late warres, and Juſtice done them.

29. *Item*, that the *Seignuer de Monago* Biſhop of *Graſo* ſhall be replaced in his Biſhopricke, and Juſtice done to him, and againſt thoſe who killed his brother.

30. *Item*, that the *Seigneur de Luz* ſhall be reſtored to his poſſeſſions which he enjoyed before he entred the Emperors ſervice;

vice ; and good and ſpeedy juſtice done in certaine Lands he pretends deſcended to him from his Anceſtors during thoſe warres. 1526.

41. *Item*, that the Pope, the King of *England*, *Hungary*, *Poland*, *Denmarke*, *Portugall*, and *Scotland*, *Don Ferdinando* brother to *Charles*, (and his Lieutenant-Generall of the Empire) *Madame Margarete* Aunt to the Emperor, the Electors and other Princes of the Empire) who are obedient to the Emperor) the Seigneures of the Ancient Leagues and Cantons of *High-Germany*, may upon notification of their deſire to be admitted into this League, (and not otherwiſe) be received thereinto at any time within the ſpace of ſix moneths next enſuing.

42. *Item*, that *Francis* being ſet at liberty, ſhall in the firſt Towne he ſhall come to within his Kingdome, give Letters Pattents for the ratification of this Accord, and ſend them to *Charles*. And that the Dolphin, when he ſhall attaine the age of fourteen, ſhall likewiſe ratifie them with a ſolemne Oath, in which he ſhall renounce all advantages, which by minority of age he might take hereafter to infringe the ſaid Oath.

43. *Item*, that both *Charles* and *Francis* ſhall ratifie this preſent Capitulation and Agreement, and all that is contained therein, (each for his part) before Ambaſſadors appointed for this purpoſe ; and eſpecially *Francis*, when he is free in his Kingdome, ſhall ſweare ſolemnely upon the Evangeliſts in the preſence of the true Croſſe, to keepe and hold all that is contained in the ſaid Capitulation ; and that both of them ſhall ſubmit themſelves herein to the Eccleſiaſticall Juriſdiction and Cenſure, even to the Invocation of the ſecular power to conſtraine them ; And that they ſhall appoint their ſeverall Proctors to appeare for them in the Court of *Rome*, and before the Pope, where they ſhall voluntarily accept the condition and fulmination of the ſaid Cenſures, in caſe of Contravention ; And that neither of them ſhall demand or ſue for abſolution of this Oath or Cenſure ; or if they doe, that it ſhall not be availeable without the conſent of the other.

44. *Item*, becauſe no man may pretend ignorance, it is agreed that this Peace ſhall be publiſhed before the fifteenth of *February* next, both in the Dominions of *Charles* and *Francis*, and eſpecially in the Frontiers, and ſuch other places as have been accuſtomed in the like caſe.

This was Signed: *Francois*, *Carles de Lanoy*, *Don Hugo de Moncada*, *Francois Archeveſque de Ambrun*, *Jean de Selue*. *Chabot*.

The Treaty betwixt them being concluded in the manner above-mentioned, the Archbiſhop of *Ambrun*, for the laſt Seale *Sandv.* Jan. 14.

1526. and ſolemnization thereof, ſaid Maſſe. This being done, *Francis* comming to the Altar, and putting his right hand upon the Book of the Evangeliſts, (which the ſaid Archbiſhop held) did ſweare by the Sacrament, and the holy Evangeliſts, not to break this capitulation all the daies of his life, nor to give counſell or favour that any other ſhould breake it. The like Oath was taken by the Vice-Roy of *Naples*, *Don Hugo de Moncada*, and the Secretary *Aleman* in the Emperors name. (For the Emperor in perſon did not thinke fit to ballance his free Oath, with that of *Francis*, then in reſtraint.) This being performed on both ſides, the Vice-Roy took the Faith and *Pleyto omenaie* (being a kinde of homage) of *Francis*, who as a Prince and the moſt Chriſtian King promiſed and gave his fidelity and Royall word to returne into *Spaine* a priſoner within the ſpace of ſix moneths, in caſe he did not accompliſh all that was there capitulated betwixt them, giving his hands thereupon to be held betwixt thoſe of *Charles de Lanoy*. This being ended with much ſeeming content on all parts, the Emperors Commiſſioners went to *Toledo*: where, upon relation to the Emperor of what was done, it was thought fit to ſend the *Seigneur de Fract*, Chevalier of the *Toiſon d' Or* who had been in *England*, and was now his Ambaſſador in *France* to meet with the French King at *Bayona*, and there to require of him, according to the Articles, a new and more ample ratification of his Oath.

Sandov. Some few daies after this Treaty (commonly called *Concordia de Madrid*) *Charles de Lanoy* having power and Commiſſion from the Queen *Donna Leonora*, privately contracted a marriage with *Francis* in her name, and then having Commiſſion from him again, went to the Queen *Leonora* and contracted a marriage with her in the name of *Francis*. After which time the Emperor treated no more with *Francis* as a priſoner, but a neere Ally, in ſo much that at the next viſit, he offered him the right hand. I obſerve yet the Emperor would not permit *Francis* to enjoy *Leonora* his ſiſter till he had fully accompliſhed the Concord betwixt them. Neither did he, in his laſt words to *Francis*, (being then licenſed to depart) ſeem ſo ſenſible of any thing, as of her honour. At which time alſo (for further obligation of *Francis* unto this agreement) I finde by *Sandoval*, he demanded of *Francis* whether he remembred well all that was capitulated betwixt them? *Francis* anſwered, Yes; for further confirmation repeating the moſt particular Articles. *Charles* then demanded, Are you willing to performe them? *Francis* anſwered againe, Yes. Adding, he knew no man in his Kingdome would hinder him. And, when you finde that I doe not keepe my word with you, I wiſh and conſent that you hold me for *Laſche & Meſchant*. *Charles* replied, and I wiſh you to ſay the like of me if I doe not give you liberty. Whereupon they lovingly bid each other a long farewell. This being done, *Charles* returned.

There

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There was much difficulty yet about the exchange betwixt *Francis* and his two ſonnes, neither could they (almoſt) deviſe how to ſecure it from jealouſie on either ſide. At laſt theſe Articles were agreed. Feb. 26.

1. That no man at Armes, or other Souldier might within ten daies before or after the exchange and delivery be permitted to come within twenty League of the place; and that thoſe who were come already ſhould retire.

2. That no Gentleman of the French Kings houſhold ſhould paſſe *Bayona*, till the King were come to St *Ivan de Luz.*

3. That the number of Foot garriſons in either Frontier ſhould not exceed a thouſand. And that when Madame *Loüiſe* the Regent had declared whether ſhe would give the two eldeſt ſonnes of *Francis* in Hoſtage, or the Dolphin only with the twelve others above mentioned, that then it ſhould be adviſed whether the number were to be increaſed.

4. That at the day of the delivery neither man nor woman, neighbour nor ſtranger ſhould be neere the place.

5. That ſix daies before the delivery, *Charles* ſhould appoint twelve perſons to viſit the Coaſt, on that ſide where the River of *Fuentaraby* joyns with *France*: and that foure perſons appointed by Madame *Loüiſe* ſhould be ready there to doe whatſoever was required for performance of theſe Articles. And that for this purpoſe Madame *Loüiſſe* might alſo appoint twelve on the other ſide of the River, whom foure on *Charles* his part ſhould likewiſe attend.

6. That neither on one or other ſide of the ſaid River (paſſing neere *Fuentarabie*) there ſhould be any Boats or Pinaces, but two (which muſt be of the ſame bigneſſe) to paſſe *Francis* to the one, and the Hoſtages to the other ſide, and that the twelve Deputies on either part ſhould take order herein.

7. That there ſhould be no Gally, Ship, or Pinace in the Sea within five Leagues of the place appointed for the Delivery.

In ſequence of which capitulation, it was further agreed, That *Charles de Lanoy*, with twenty five armed men, with Swords and Daggers onely, for guarding of the French King, and as many with *Monſieur de Lautrech*, in like manner weapond, for conducting the two Hoſtages, ſhould come to the ſides of the above-mentioned River; in the middle of which a little Bridge, upon a Barque faſtned with Anchors, ſhould be built, on which yet no body ſhould ſtand; and that two Boats of equall bigneſſe, fitted for twenty Oares apeice, ſhould be ready there, of which *Francis* ſhould chooſe one; which being done, twenty Rowers, all French, and unarmed, ſhould enter his Boat, and bring it to the ſide of *Spaine*, at the ſame time; that the other with twenty Spaniards unarmed March 15.

1526. likewiſe, ſhould be brought to the French Coaſt. That thereupon *Charles de Lanoy* conducting the King, and taking ten perſons onely with him ſhould paſſe to one ſide of the ſaid Bridge at the ſame time that *Monſieur de Lautrech* with the Hoſtages, and ten perſons ſhould likewiſe come to the other. That none of the ſaid perſons yet ſhould put themſelves upon the Bridge, but *Charles de Lanoy* with the French King and one other, and *Monſieur de Lautrech* with the two Hoſtages, and *Madame de Briſac* and *Chauvigny*. That thereupon the exchange ſhould be made in one inſtant. Before yet any thing was done the ſame day, that a Boat with foure Rowers Spaniſh and foure French, and a Gentleman of either Nation, ſhould viſit the Coaſt on both ſides, and take order that every thing ſhould be prepared. For feare yet leaſt ſome ſuppoſititious children ſhould be tendered inſtead of the Dolphin and his Brother, it was agreed further, that the *Seigneur de Praer*, the Emperors Ambaſſador ſhould come along with them, while another Frenchman was allowed to attend *Francis* in his paſſage.

March 18. Thus upon the eighteenth of *March* 1526, after one whole yeere and ſome daies impriſonment, was *Francis* delivered to his Boat, and by mutuall conſent, at the ſame time accompanied with twelve Spaniards (whereof *Charles de Lanoy* and *Hernando de Alancon* his Guardian were two) to the French ſhore, while the Hoſtages, accompanied with the like number came to the Spaniſh coaſt; neither was there any thing more that might be thought remarkable in the performance of all this, but that a ſtay was made while the two children kiſſed their fathers hands, and that his laſt words to *Lanoy* confirmed againe his promiſe to the Emperor. As ſoon as *Francis* came to his own ground, he got haſtily upon a Turkiſh and ſwift horſe, and ſuddenly putting Spurs to him (if we may believe *Sandoval*) and caſting one of his Armes over his head, and crying *Ie ſuis le Roy, Je ſuis le Roy*, poſted to S. *Ivan de*
March 19. *Luz*, and the next day to *Bayona*, where the Lady his mother and many other principall perſons with much anxiety attended him.

I am the more particular in the Relation of theſe paſſages, both that the example is rare, as that it leads to the underſtanding of that which followeth in our Hiſtory; and the rather, that it was the ſubject that chiefly took up the time and thoughts of our King, whenſoever his proſpect was turnd on forraigne affaires; inſomuch that he might be truely ſaid a principall Actor in them. And now he held it his part to relieve *Francis*. Therefore as he had ſent *Cutbert Tonſtall* Biſhop of *London*, and Sir *Richard Wingfeild*, long ſince into *Spaine* to mediate his delivery with the Emperor, ſo now hearing he was in his way homewards, he diſpatches Sir *Thomas Cheney* to congratulate his ſafe returne, and to take

take his Oath to the Treaty of *Moore* above-mentioned ; which *Francis* accepting, ſent a meſſenger immediatly to advertiſe our King of the conditions of his delivery, and to acknowledge that he ow'd him chiefely his liberty, as both *Sandoval* relates it, and our Records, under his own hand, confirme; which faire termes produced, afterwards, a more firme correſpondency betwixt them. 1526.

Charles de Lanoy & Hernando de Alancon having in vaine ſollicited *Francis*, at *Bayona*, to accompliſh that part of the late Concord and Agreement he was bound to there, ſeem'd yet to receive ſome ſatisfaction, that they were referr'd untill their comming to *Paris*, (The King pretending he could doe nothing, effectually, till hee had ſpoken with the principall perſons of the Eſtate and Parliament. Here againe they preſſed *Francis* unto the performance of that he was bound to by ſo many Oaths and promiſes. But *Francis*, for a concluſion, poſitively anſwered, that it was not in his power to diſmember any part from the Kingdome, without conſent both of the ſame part, and the whole Kingdome; And therefore, with many loving words, deſired that his Ranſome might be chang'd to ſome equivalent ſumme of money. But *Charles* would by no meanes hearken thereunto. Therefore, as he had by Treaty happily detained the Queene *Leonóra* from paſſing into *France*, ſo he determined rather (at what price ſoever) to take off the Pope, Venetians, and *Franceſco Sforza*, and the Florentines from a League they were entering into with *England* and *France* againſt him, then to decline any way the leaſt Article of the late Concord and Agreement. May.

This League (called *Clementina & Sanctiſſima*) was begun (as the French hav it) by the inſtigation of our King, during the Impriſonment of *Francis*, but not perfectly concluded, till about two Moneths after his delivery. To give this a more auſpicate beginning, the Pope (as the Spaniſh Hiſtory hath it) ſent to the French King a Relaxation of the Oath he made to obſerve the concord and Treaty of *Madrid*, upon pretext alleaged by *Francis*, that thoſe of *Burgundy* would not conſent, by any meanes, to be alienated from the French Crowne. *Charles de Lanoy & Hernando de Alancon* finding matters thus diſtemper'd, and unlike to ſort to any good end, deſired leave to returne, which *Francis* granted, upon condition that they would goe to *Spaine* immediatly, and not to *Italy*, whither (in regard of his Government) *Lanoy* deſired much to paſſe through the French Territories. Though others write, and our Records confirme it, that they departed not till the following Teaty was ſworne, at *Cognac* in their preſence. Which that they might make more ſpecious to the Emperour, they offered him place to enter into it, upon certain conditions. This Treaty, concluded between Pope *Clement* the ſeventh, *Francis* the French King, the *Tillet.* May. 22. *Sandoval.*

1526 May 22. the Venetians, *Franceſco Sforza*, and the Florentines, was to this effect.

1. That the contractors of this League and concord ſhall be friends of the friends, and enemies of the enemies of each other. That this Clauſe yet ſhall not extend to the Dominions held by the Pope and Venetians, out of *Italy*. And that the ſaid Contractors ſhall, particularly, defend the Perſon and Dignity of the Pope againſt all his adverſaries.

2. That place ſhall be left for the Emperor *Charles* to enter hereinto, if he deſire it, and for *Henry* King of *England*, not onely as a Contractor but Protector of this moſt holy League and Concord, as alſo for *Don Hernando*, Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, and the reſt of the Kings, Princes and Potentates of Chriſtendome. Provided yet, that the ſaid *Charles* ſhall not be admitted hereunto, but upon theſe enſuing conditions. That is to ſay, unleſſe he firſt reſtore the two Sonnes of *Francis*, which he detaines as Hoſtages, and take in Lieu of them, ſome reaſonable and fitting Recompence and ſatisfaction. As alſo unleſſe he leave the Dutchy of *Millan* freely unto *Franceſco Sforza*, and the reſt of the Eſtates and Dominions in *Italy*, in the forme and manner they were before the late warre; And unleſſe, when he enters *Italy*, to be Crown'd there, he bring with him ſuch Family and Traine only, as the Pope and Venetians ſhall think fit; which yet is intended ſhall be ſuch, as may take away ſuſpition of violent attempt, and preſerve together the Imperiall Dignity; And unleſſe within three Moneths, after the Concluſion of the ſaid Treaty, (the King of *England* entering into it) he pay unto the ſaid King all the Money due to him.

3. That an Army ſhall be raiſed by the ſaid confederates, which ſhall conſiſt of thirty thouſand Foot, two thouſand five hundred men of Armes, and three thouſand Light Horſe, together with the Artillery and Munition fitting thereunto. Whereof, the Pope ſhould furniſh eight hundred men at Armes, and ſeven hundred Light Horſe, and eight thouſand Foot: The French King eleven thouſand Crownes the Moneth in Money, and five hundred men at Arms (called *Maiſtres*) comprehending one thouſand Light Horſe: The Venetians eight hundred men at Armes, and one thouſand Light Horſe, and eight thouſand Foot; *Franceſco Sforza*, the Duke of *Milan*, foure hundred men at Armes, three hundred Light horſe, and foure thouſand Foot. That certaine Suiſſe ſhould be raiſed for the ſaid League, at the charge of the French King; who, beſides the above mention'd, ſhall have a powerfull Army to hinder the paſſage of any conſiderable Forces into *Italy*. All which, are to be imployed againſt the Perturbators of the Peace of *Italy*, untill they be reduced to the Eſtate of not being able to keepe the Field.

4. That

1526.

4. That, when this Treaty ſhall be ratified by all the confederates, they ſhall joyntly deſire *Charles* the Emperor to reſtore the two ſonnes of the French King, and, in caſe he refuſe, ſhall denounce warre to him, till he reſtore them. For the execution whereof (the war of *Italy* being ended) the confederates ſhall furniſh to the ſaid French King ten thouſand foot, one thouſand men at Armes, and a thouſand Light Horſe, or money for the rayſing and payment of them.

5. That the Confederates ſhall defend each others Eſtate againſt all Invaſion: In which caſe thoſe of *Italy* ſhall furniſh ten thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe to the French King, and he as many to them againe.

6. That the Confederates ſhall have an Armado of twenty eight Gallies at leaſt, whereof the French King ſhall furniſh twelve, the Pope three, and the Venetians thirteen, to be imploy'd in this war, unleſſe the French King have particular uſe of his part. 7. That for removing all ſuſpition of attempt upon the Dutchy of *Milan*, the French King ſhall not only permit the preſent Duke to injoy it, but ſhall defend him againſt all adverſaries, with the proportion of Forces above mentioned, he paying, in conſideration of the claime and expence of the French King, ſuch a Penſion (at Lyons in *France*) as the Pope and Venetians ſhall ordaine; which yet ſhall not be leſſe then five hundred thouſand Duckats yearely.

8. That, becauſe this peace may be univerſall over *Italy*, all goods taken away in theſe late occaſions, ſhall be reſtor'd, and all men reinplac'd in their former poſſeſſions.

9. That the French King ſhall give ſome Lady of the Bloud Royall of *France*, (by the nomination of the Pope) for wife to the Duke of *Millan*, and ſhall procure the Suiſſe to defend his State on all occaſions, as they were formerly accuſtomed. That the *Concado de Aſti*, as being diſtinct from *Millan*, and anciently pertaining to the Houſe of *Orleans*, ſhall be reſtored to the French King, or at leaſt the government thereof, to be adminiſtred by the Duke of *Orleans*, ſecond Sonne to the French King, or his Deputie.

10. That *Antonio Adorno* ſhall remaine Duke of *Genoüa*, if either he enter into this League, or, otherwiſe, alter the forme of the City government, in ſuch ſort as may be thought moſt for the ſecurity and quiet of *Italy*, reſerving yet to the French King his Title and right of Superiority, in the manner he held it when he was in poſſeſſion of the ſaid City.

11. That if the Emperor deny or delay to performe what is required in the ſecond Article, that then preſently after ending the war for the Pacification of *Italy*, the Confederates ſhall invade the Kingdome of *Naples*; and, if the Emperor be expulſed thence, that then it ſhall remain at the diſpoſition of the Pope, as being held in Feud of the Church; and that, in recompence of the pretence, which the French

1526. French King hath to it, the Pope, with consent of all the Cardinals, shall binde himselfe and successors to pay yearely to the King of *France* a convenient Pension, which shall not be lesse then sixty five thousand Crownes *de Soliel.*

12. That in Case any of the Confederates should dye or faile, yet the League should continue firme among the rest, and that the Successors of the dead may enter into his place.

13. That all the Confederates shall take upon them the defence and protection of the House of *Medicis*, even to the restitution of them to their former greatnesse and dignity.

14. And because the most serene and powerfull King of *England*, Defendor of the Faith, hath alwayes affected Peace, as appeares by the good Offices done to the French King, and hath alwayes imploy'd his Forces in service of the Catholique Church, as his Father did before him; And because no Authority, Superior to his, can be interpos'd either for the Conservation of good Men in Peace or repressing of those who are ill: Therefore, it is agreed, that his Majesty shall be Protector of the most Holy League and Concord. For which purpose, the said Confederates doe offer to him and his Heyres an Estate in the Kingdome of *Naples*, with the Title of Duke or Prince, not lesse worth then the yearly rent of thirty thousand Duchats. And to the Cardinall of York, for his great paines and service in this Businesse, they offer an other State in *Italy* worth ten thousand Duckats yearely.

15. That the Confederates shall make no Treaty with others then these who are mentioned in this present Concord: And that, if, before this time, they have made any, it be reputed as of no force and value.

16. That, before the ratification of this Concord, every one, who is contained in it, shall name his friends, provided, that they be not Subjects, nor vassals, or enemies of the greater part. And so the Pope nominated the King of *England*, and the Marquesse of *Mantua*, reserving the naming of the rest within the time appointed. The King of *France* naming the King of *England*, *Scotland*, *Navarre*, *Portugall*, *Polonia*, *Hungaria*, The Dukes of *Savoye*, *Lorraine*, and *Gueldres*, and the thirteene *Cantons* of the *Suisse*; The Venetians nominated the King of *England*, reserving the naming of the rest within the time appointed.

17. That the French King send his Moneys within the space of a Moneth to *Rome*, or consigne them to *Venice* or *Florence*, and give security for payment to the Banquers six dayes before every moneth.

18. That all, who enter the League, shall, in the space of one Moneth, approve and confirme it. And if the Duke of *Millan*, because he is straitly beseiged, cannot performe his part, that then the Pope and Venetians shall signe it for him.

And

And thus farre I have followed the Spaniſh Relation. By the French I find only ſuch a League was ſign'd at *Coignac* in *France*, the two and twentieth of *May*, 1526. 1526.

¶ Our King finding himſelf thus choſen Protector of the League, adviſes what to do; which being accordingly debated by his Counſell, it was reſolved. moſt prudently, that he ſhould not be a Party, where he might be a Judge.

The Emperor alſo, inform'd hereof, proteſted againſt *Clement* the ſeventh, as an ungratefull perſon; he having been by his favour firſt made Cardinall, and after Pope, in deſpight of Cardinall *Soderino's* Allegation. that he was a Baſtard, and, therefore, uncapable of either of the ſaid dignities : Neither had he other evaſion to clear himſelfe, but that he produced witneſſes, how his Father, *Julian de Medicis*, before his death, (which he received by a ſtab as the Prieſt lift up the Hoaſt) had at length marryed his Mother. Againſt the French King he exclaimed, as perjur'd and falſe; and againſt the Venetians, as unconſtant. Howſoever, his greateſt care was how to divide them. Therefore, though in *Italy*, upon publiſhing of the League (*July* 8) Solemnly, by the Pope, they levyed their appointed numbers, yet *Francis*, being put in hope of the reſtitution of his Children, delay'd ſo much on his part, That, at laſt, the Imperiall Army conſtrained *Sforza* to yeeld *Millan*, reſerving yet the Revenues thereof to his uſe, as hoping thereby to content him. But the deſpited and diſtruſtfull Duke, not ſatisfied herewith, fled to the Forces, which the League had then on Foot, in *Italy*, of which, the Duke of *Urbin* was made Generall. This while the Emperor was advertiſed, how, in ſequence of the Pope's Relaxation of *Francis* his Oath, the Parliament of *Paris* and Kings Councell had diſannull'd and annihilated the Concord of *Madrid*, as being concluded by a Perſon who was conſtrain'd, and in Priſon. To colour yet this refuſe, *Francis* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Granada*, (where the Emperor was) to tell him againe, *Burgundy* could not be Alienated from the French Crowne ; and that, if hee would returne his Sonnes at a reaſonable Ranſome, (which I find by the French was two Millions of Crownes) he would take his Siſter *Leonora* for his Queene ; if not, that he would recover them by force. The ſeverall Ambaſſadors alſo of the Confederates, which were in his Court at that time, (and particularly the Engliſh) concurr'd herein; requiring further, that he ſhould recall the Spaniards out of *Lombardy*, and reſtore *Franceſco Sforza* ; leave his pretence to *Naples*, and not goe to *Italy* with an Army, and that he ſhould pay the King of *England*. All the Contractors of the League, in Caſe of refuſall, denouncing warre. The Emperor anſwerd, That the French King ſhould doe ill, not to keepe his Oath and promiſe. Neither could he excuſe himſelfe ſufficiently by laying the fault on his Parliament or Kingdome, they being privy and conſenting to it. That he would detaine the Hoſtages; July.8. July 24.

and

1526 and, for the Queene *Leonóra*, ſhe was not demanded in ſuch termes as it was fit to ſend her. For *Franceſco Sforza*, that he would chaſtiſe him as his Vaſſall. That he would hold his right in *Naples*. That he would goe to *Italy*, when and how he liſted. And that, if all made warre againſt him, he would, by the help of his good Subjects, defend himſelfe againſt them all, and that he would pay the King of *England* with French Money.

I muſt returne now a while to ſpeake of home buſineſſes, that the Reader may ſee wherefore our active King prevail'd himſelfe no more nor otherwiſe of theſe great occaſions. It was only want of Money; The ſcarcity whereof alſo was the excuſe his people made, for not furniſhing thoſe Contributions, he demanded. Hereupon our King inquires into the cauſes. Among which becauſe ſecret tranſportation of Money was thought one of the greateſt, he adviſes concerning the remedy. All his Counſellors yet did not concurre in the ſame opinion; for ſome affirm'd, no Merchant would carry away Coine unleſſe he found gaine by it; And that this, returning home againe, inrich'd the Country. Others ſaid, there were ſubtleties yet, which, if order were not taken, would draine away our moneys inſenſibly, it being manifeſt to all, that would take the paines to conſider it, that, unleſſe the Commodities and Coine of our Country kept both Standard and proportion with thoſe, with whom we Trafficked, there would be loſſe. That the Crafty Flemmings, therefore, when they deſired to raiſe the price of their Commodities, inhanſed likewiſe the value of our Money, eſpecially Gold; leaſt our Merchants ſhould be diſcouraged to buy, when they find the price of the Commodity ſo much rais'd. The conſequence whereof was, that our Merchants deſired, by ſtealth, to convey over their Money in *Specie*, as having, thereby, the benefit of the inhancing; whereas, if they received it in the *Low-Countries* by Bill of credit or exchange, they ſhould not only looſe this benefit, but pay ſomewhat to thoſe which furniſh'd them. Againe, that when our Merchants had occaſion to returne from the *Low-Countries*, they were not ſuffered to carry back their Moneys in *Specie*, but were forc'd to take Letters of Exchange for them in *England*, by which they loſt againe. Thus, notwithſtanding all Prohibitions and Searches, great ſums were conveyed over, to the impoveriſhing of the Kingdome. The onely remedy whereof therefore was, to cry up our Money at home, to the ſame Rate that it paſſeth at a broad, which will both keepe our Money from Tranſporting, and make the Exchange without loſſe: Neither was there other meanes to prevent theſe Inconveniences: which had now extended ſo farre, that our Gold was as frequent and currant among our Neighbours, almoſt, as at home; Whereas yet, little, or none of their Gold was to be found in our ordinary payments. Beſides, they made an other advantage hereof: For as their Standard was baſer then ours, ſo they Coined our

Gold

Gold againe, and made no little profit that way. Thus did our neighbours many wayes procure the wealth of their Country and damage of ours; and would do more, when timely order were not taken. Which our Hiſtorians have thought worth the ſetting downe, and my ſelfe have the more inſiſted on, both to ſhew the rate of Gold and Silver in thoſe times, and to help the Reader to underſtand the ſecond enhanſing under this King *Anno* 1544. Therefore thus I collect. The Angell-Noble of Gold was hitherto in waight $\frac{1}{4}$ of an ounce, in eſtimation ſix ſhillings eight pence of Silver, which Silver was two ounces. Thus the proportion of Gold to Silver was twelve to one. Againe, an ounce of Silver (or halfe Angell) paſs'd for three ſhillings foure pence; ſo twelve ounces (or a pound) was juſt forty ſhillings, which is two pound, as we commonly count our Money. 1526.

But *Henry* the eighth now, by Proclamation, advancing the value of both (one tenth part) the Angell was rayſed to ſeven ſhillings four pence (which was the rate at which it paſs'd in the *Low-Countryes*.) And, conſequently, an ounce of Gold eſtimated at forty foure ſhillings, and an ounce of Silver three ſhillings eight pence, and a pound weight at forty foure ſhillings, the proportion being (*ut ſuprà*) twelve to one. The ſudden benefit of this appear'd ſuch, that, in *November* following, there was another enhanſing of one forty fourth part. So that the Angell was ſeven ſhillings ſix pence, the ounce of Gold forty five ſhillings, and the ounce of Silver three ſhillings nine pence. And, by theſe meanes, much of our Gold (as our Hiſtorians obſerve) was brought back again. But *Anno* 1544. theſe Mettalls were againe enhanſed one fifteenth part. So Gold came (from forty five ſhillings) to forty eight ſhillings an ounce; and Silver (from three ſhillings nine pence an ounce) to foure ſhillings; anda pound waight of Silver was forty eight ſhillings. Sept. Novemb. 1544

This while *Solyman* brought two hundred thouſand men into *Hungary*, with which (neere *Buda*) he wholly defeated the Army of *Lowis* King thereof, being forty thouſand, and conſtrained him to flye away: till, by the fall of his Horſe, having his Legge ingaged, he was drown'd in leſſe then a ſpan-deep of water and mud, ſo that it concern'd all Chriſtian Princes to make Peace, but chiefely the Emperour, whoſe Siſter King *Loüis* had marryed; and whoſe brother *Ferdinand* in the right of his wife, *Anne*, Siſter and Heire to the ſaid King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* claimed to ſucceed in both Kingdomes. *Francis*, being not Ignorant hereof, thought fit to prevaile himſelfe of the occaſion. Therefore hee ſent in *September* 1526. the Arch-Biſhop of *Bourdeaux* (with whom alſo the *Nuntio* and *Venetian* Ambaſſadours joyn'd offices) to deſire the Emperor to ſend back his Children, and to accept ſome honeſt Ranſome in Money; promiſing, withall, his love and friendſhip. But *Charles*, now incenſed, told the Arch-Biſhop, that, if he would Sept.

have

1526. have his children, he muſt, according to his Oath and promiſe, return priſoner himſelfe; (adding, that his Kingdome could not hinder him herein, however he pretended they would not conſent to the reſtitution of *Burgundy*.) Wherein yet, he ſhould but imitate the example of King *Iohn* his predeceſſor; who, being priſoner in *England*, and permitted to goe home upon the like termes, did (when he was not able to pay his Ranſome) moſt faithfully return again, and yeeld his body unto cuſtody, where he dyed. Then, taking the Ambaſſador aſide, (as *Sandoval* hath it) he bid him tell the French King his Maſter, that he had done *Laſchement* and *Meſchamment*, in breaking the Concord of *Madrid*, and that, if hee denyed it, he would make it good in perſon againſt him. But *Francis* wanted not courage to reply in the ſame Language, as will appeare afterwards.

Sandov.

In the meane time, as hee thought it concern'd him to defend his reputation in any probable way, rather then to confeſſe in himſelf ſo notable a falſhood; he cauſed an Apology (penn'd by the Chancellor of *France*) to be publiſhed, and ſent to all Chriſtian Princes, the effect whereof was.

1516. That the Emperor had firſt broke the confederation of * *Noyon*, in denying the Tribute due for the Kingdome of *Naples*, the reſtitution of *Navarre*, and divers other Rights. Beſides, that hee had made warre in *Milan*, which was his by inheritance, the Conceſſion of Popes, and *Donation in Feud* by *Maximilian* the Emperor. And, which was worſt of all, had enticed his Vaſſall the Duke of *Bourbon*, to rebell againſt him, and invade *Provence*. That, thereupon, hee had, indeed, drawne his ſword, and chas'd the Imperiall Army from before *Marſeilles*, and followed it to *Italy*, where hee was unfortunately taken Priſoner; yet that he had proteſted to thoſe, who kept him there, that, if the Emperor requir'd unjuſt or unpoſſible things, he would not performe them, but rather that hee would revenge himſelfe, when he was free. That, as he doubted, leaſt, through his abſence, ſome troubles might ariſe at home, hee had procured his liberty the beſt way hee could. In the whole frame whereof, if any thing were to be diſliked, it muſt be rather imputed to the Emperor, who demanded unreaſonable conditions, than to him who found no other meanes to eſcape. Notwithſtanding, that, at his returne, he had for the ſatisfaction of his Honour, required of his chiefe Nobility and Counſellors, what he ought to do, both according to equity, and the maintenance of his Royall Dignity, who, upon mature deliberation, anſwered: That inſolent Pactions and Contracts, which comprehend in them notable dammage, and detriment to the Contractor, as being impos'd on him, from one more powerfull, ought to be held as violent, and involuntary, and therefore in themſelves voyd. Beſides, that, when he was ſacred at *Rheims*, he was then ſworne not to Alienate any Patrimony of the Crown, from which oath therefore, as being formerly

formerly made, and more Obligatory, he could by no means depart; eſpecially, when the Inhabitants of *Burgundy* (which was the Country demanded) would not conſent thereunto. Wherefore, if the Emperor preſſed him to any thing contrary to theſe Duties and Obligations, hee muſt think it was not without a ſpeciall providence from above, that he recovered his liberty. For how could the Emperor be ignorant, that he was tyed by the greateſt bond of Religion, not to violate the Right of his Crown? Or how could he beleive, that the Preſidents of the Parliaments of *France* would conſent hereunto, when they had taken their Oaths to the contrary? Howſoever, that none could think him falſe or perjur'd, as long as the *Hoſtages* (as the Counter-value of all that was capitulated) had beene deliver'd to the Emperour. Neither was it enough to ſay, that, in demanding *Burgundy*, the Emperour did but require his own; ſince that Dutchy was (long ſince) annexed to *Normandy*, and incorporated into the Crown of *France* by King *Iohn*, and conſequently govern'd by the ſame Lawes; Among which the *Salique* being principall, the Emperors Title, as being claimed from a daughter, was excluded. Furthermore, that this affaire had been Communicated to ſome out of this Kingdome, who underſtood well what was to be done in ſuch Caſes, and that he had received much Comfort. In concluſion, as there remained nothing elſe for him to do, ſo he had offered a Condigne Ranſome in money, and other good Conditions, which might both redeem his deare Children, and teſtifie the deſire hee had to recover his lately married wife, who was alſo detained from him; yet that hee was ſtill refuſed. All which premiſſes being duly conſidered, he appealed to all Chriſtian Princes, and Potentates, as his Judges and Protectors, whether the fault were his, and not rather the Emperours, who, by his injurious and impoſſible demands, had fruſtrated himſelfe. Thus (as many thought) did *Francis* ſtrive to elude his Oath with reaſon of State; and to cover the breach of his Faith under a pretext of impoſſibility. without making any good excuſe at all (that is extant) for his not returning, (though more eaſily palliated then the reſt) both as ſuſpition of ill uſage might be held a kinde of naturall defence and evaſion in this kinde, and as his Kingdome would leſſe conſent hereunto, then to any other condition. And certainly, had the Emperour ſufficiently conſidered all theſe Circumſtances, he would have followed their counſell, who adviſed him, either to detaine *Francis* till he had made ſome advantage thereof, or elſe have let him go freely. Neither ſhould the Clementine League (begun during the impriſonment of *Francis*) have de- 1526.

1526. terr'd him ; as being not concluded ſo much in favour of *Francis*, as directly againſt him, whoſe greatneſſe did then many wayes appeare. So that to let *Francis* goe, was but to fortifie his adverſaries againſt himſelfe. Hee thought fit yet, to command an Anſwer to this *Apologie* ; wherein the Title, by which hee claim'd all his doubtfull poſſeſſions, (eſpecially that of *Naples* and *Province*) is ſet downe, and the Fault layd on *Francis*, with as much bitterneſſe as the cauſe requir'd, all which is ſet downe by *Sandoval*. *Francis*, finding now there was no other was to recover his children, but by force, makes all the friends he can : wherefore, about the end of *July*, ſending ſome Ambaſſadors to our King, a League was concluded, 8. of *Auguſt*, *Anno* 1526. by which both Kings did oblige themſelves reciprocally, not to Treat or agree apart, or ſeparately with the ſaid Emperor, concerning the reſtitution of the two children of *Francis*, (when yet they were freely offered) nor the money due from the Emperour to our King ; but joyntly and together. And, as for all other buſineſſes, they ſhould paſſe without derogation or prejudice to their former Treaties, which were underſtood to remaine entire. And that neither of the ſaid Kings ſhould, in any kind, aſſiſt the Emperor, when he were invaded by the other. The perſons who chiefely procured this Treaty, were *Giovanni Ioakim* (now ſtyl'd *Mounſieur de Vaux*,) and *Iean Brinon* the *Premier* Preſident of *Roüen* ; who, being (as is before ſaid) diſpatched by *Francis*, came to King *Henry* April 28. and, being admitted, the Preſident, in an Eloquent Oration in Latine, before our King, ſet in his Throne, and attended by the Ambaſſadors of the Pope, the Emperor, *Venice*, and *Florence* (who at this time laboured to draw him into the League of *Italy*) profeſſed publiquely, that it was the King's goodneſſe meerly that made him abſtaine from *France* at this Seaſon, the occaſion of invading it being ſo faire, during the Impriſonment of the King his Maſter. This being ended, Sir *Thomas Moore*, in the ſame Language, wittily anſwered him : Concluding at laſt, that ſince they acknowledg'd this goodneſſe in the King, it ſhould be an obligation on him to continue it ; wherewith the Ambaſſadors departed, much ſatisfied. Our King alſo, conſidering the difficulties hee found to procure Money, divided his time, betwixt buſineſſes at home and his pleaſures, not neglecting yet the publique weale of Chriſtendome ; For which purpoſe, he ſent Sir *Iohn Wallop*, not only to the Princes of *Germany*, exhorting them to joyne againſt the Turke, but to *Mary* Queen of *Hungary*, to comfort her for the loſſe of her Husband, adding with all ſuch a ſupply of money as might teſtifie his Zeale to that Cauſe

Sandov.

Aug. 8.

April 28.

Cauſe was greater then theirs, who by kindred and neighborhood to the danger, were more concern'd therein. 1526.

The Army of the late League having now begun a Warre, with ſome doubtfull ſucceſſe, in *Italy*, the Pope, for his juſtification, thought fit to write unto the Emperor, 23. *June* 1526, a kind of Apologie for his taking Armes; alleadging, that, as he was *Pater communis*, he thought himſelfe bound, by all the wayes he could, to procure a generall good before any Particular, exhorting him for the reſt, to moderate his immenſe Ambition, to give Peace to *Italy*, pardon to *Franceſco Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, and contentment to all the confederates in their juſt demands. To which *Charles* ſharply anſwered (by Letter Dated 17. *September* following) laying the fault of that diſſention among Chriſtian Princes (which had given occaſion to the Turke to conquer ſo much in *Hungary*,) from himſelfe, and on the Pope chiefely; telling him, among other things, that, regularly, hee ought not to draw his ſword, when even it were againſt the Enemies of our Faith. Then, taxing him, as if hee were ungratefull, falſe, and an Incendiary, he declares how much he had done for the peace of *Italy*, and the Chriſtian World, and among others, for *Franceſco Sforza*, proceeding thence to a bitter expoſtulation with the Pope, as is more at large ſet down by *Sandoval*; by whom alſo I finde, that *Charles* ſollicited all the Cardinals, openly, to call a Generall Councell for the good of Chriſtendome, (as of themſelves,) when, otherwiſe, the Pope would not conſent thereto.

June 25.

Sept. 17.

Sand. & Sleid.

This while *Don Hugo de Moncada*, comming into *Italy* to offer ſome conditions of Peace unto the Pope, and finding they tooke no effect, Treated ſecretly with *Pompeo* Cardinal *de Colonna*, and others of that Family; who ſuddenly, with three thouſand men onely, or as others ſay ſix thouſand, entred *Rome*, ſacking part of it, and cauſing that terror to the Pope that he fled to the Caſtle of Saint *Angelo*. Neither could hee free himſelfe, till hee had agreed with *Moncada* for a Truce of foure monethes with the Emperor, and the withdrawing his Forces out of *Lombardy*, And a Pardon to all the *Colonneſi*. Whereupon *Moncada* alſo withdrew his Forces out of *Rome*.

Sept. 20.

Sept. 22.

Our King, being not yet inform'd hereof, had ſent to *Charles*, to offer his beſt indeavours to the mediating of a Peace betwixt all Parties, proteſting, that if he accepted his good will herein, he would diſclaime all intereſt in the *Clementine* League, although that Ambaſſadors from all the Confederates were at that inſtant, in his Court ſufficiently authorized to induce him into it. The Emperor hereupon ſends inſtructions to his Ambaſſadors Reſident in *England*, to Treat accordingly of an

1526. end ; to which purpoſe alſo he diſpatches *Don Hugo de Mendoza*, who came to Court *January* 14. to Treat hereof. Howbeit, as matters were likely to be ſpun out into a greater length then ſtood with his Maſters occaſions hee ſhortly after broke off the Treaty. One Article whereof concerning the Spiceries of the *Eaſt-Indies*, I have thought fit to mention with particularity. For whereas by the deciſion of Pope *Alexander* the ſixth 1493. the *Eaſt-Indies* were given to to the *Portugalls*, and the *Weſterne* to the *Spaniards*, ſo that the firſt Bound was a Line drawne from North to South, diſtant from the Iſlands of *Capo Verde* the ſpace of foure hundred miles Weſtward (all on this ſide being allotted to the *Portugall*, the other ſide being permitted to the *Spaniard*) this Line yet in favour of the *Portugalls* (who by their riches, power at Sea, and Conqueſts in *Africa* had made themſelves much redoubted) was afterwards extended to eight hundred eighty miles Weſtward ; whereby betwixt theſe two Neighbor Princes alone a new World with the immenſe wealth belonging to it, was divided ; yet with this honour to the *Portugall* that his diſcoveries and poſſeſſions gave denomination to both, the River *Indus* having occaſioned antiently the calling theſe parts after its name, and the new Conqueſts on the Spaniſh part, though hugely diſtant, following the Style. Notwithſtanding which large Empire, able to ſatisfie any exorbitant Ambition, there wanted not emulation betwixt thoſe Princes. Inſomuch, that neither Alliance, Neighborhood, nor the danger they ſhould incurre, if other Princes prevailed themſelves of their diſſentions, could keep them in good termes. Therefore I finde, by a Letter from *Edward Lee* our Kings Almoner, and now Ambaſſadour in *Spaine*, *Dat.* at *Medina del Campo*, the 21 of *Ianuary* 1527. The Emperour laid claime to ſome Spiceries in the Eaſtern parts, which I finde, by *Sandoval*, to have been the *Molucca's* lately diſcovered, (as we have ſhewed,) by the Companions of *Magellanes*, to the no little prejudice of the *Portugall*, who, to buy out the King of *Spaine*, offered, two Millions of Duckats ; which yet the Emperour accepted not for the preſent, but choſe rather to offer a Treaty concerning them to our King ; and, thereby, either to draw a great ſumme of Money from him, and, together, to ingage us in a quarrell againſt the *Portugalls*, while himſelfe continued his Navigation ſecurely to the *Weſt-Indies* ; or, at leaſt, to detaine him a while, from a League he was now entring into with *Francis*. I doe not finde yet what anſwer our King return'd thereto. But as no effect followed, I beleeve the offer, though advantageous, was (out of ill information concerning theſe parts) rejected.

Holinſ. Jan. 14. 1527.

1493.

1527. Jan. 21.

And

And now our King finding no good to be done by Treaty, and underſtanding, beſides, what rough uſage the Pope had received from *Moncada*, reſolves, according to his former League, to joyne againſt that Prince which appear'd moſt refractary. Therefore, conceiving the fault to be in *Charles*, he enter'd preſently into a ſtrict League with *Francis*, chooſing rather to concurre with him particularly, then to embrace the *Cleuentine Accord*, as containing many Articles in it, that no way concern'd him. Therefore ſending over Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, he propoſes to *Francis* the Princeſſe *Mary* in marriage (ſince *Charles* had denied him *Leonora*. And, beſides, offers to enter an Offenſive League with him (ſuch as his confederat's in *Italy* had made) for the recovery of his children, and forcing the Emperour to reaſonable conditions. *Francis*, gladly accepting this Motion, demands the Princeſſe *Marie's* Picture, which, together with our King's, is granted, and the match treated, in *France*, by our Agents, the Biſhop of *Bath*, and *Fitz-William*. The French King, if he married her, requir'd ſhe ſhould be preſently given up into his hands: But our King not agreeing thereunto (by reaſon his daughter, was yet but eleven yeares old.) *March* the ſecond, the Biſhop of *Tarbe*, the Viſcount of *Turrenne*, and *Antoine Veſey* the Preſident of *Paris*, came into *England*; where, on the laſt of *Aprill* (as I find by the French, and our Records) Three Treaties were concluded, in which theſe are the moſt remarkable Articles.

1526.

1526. Decemb. 24.

1527. Jan

March 2.

April 30.

I.

In the firſt the preceding Treaty betwixt them was confirm'd. Beſides, it was agreed, that the ſaid Kings ſhould ſend their ſeverall Ambaſſadours to the Emperor, with Inſtructions conformable to each other, (ſo that their Language might be the ſame,) aswell concerning a Ranſome of the *Dolphin*, and the Duke of *Orleans* (then Hoſtages with *Charles*) as payment of the Debts due from him unto *Henry*, and other ſatisfaction for his Rights.

Aug. 8.

II.

That they ſhould propoſe alſo, in name of the ſaid King, ſuch decent conditions and offers, which ſhould be by them advis'd, and purſue them inſtantly with the ſaid *Charles*. And, if either hee refus'd, or made no anſwer within 20. dayes next following, or, otherwiſe, detained or excluded the ſaid Ambaſſadors from coming to his preſence, That then, by their Heralds (or Kings of Armes) they ſhould denounce war againſt him, in ſuch forme, manner, and order, as ſhould be declared in the ſecond Treaty.

1527

III.

Furthermore, it was concluded, that an Alternative marriage (for ſo the *French*, and our Records call it) ſhould bee made; betwixt *Mary* daughter of the ſaid King of *England*, and the ſaid *Francis*, or the Duke of *Orleans* his Sonne; and that the determination (of the Alternative ſhould be reſerv'd to the enterview of both Kings, in the Towne of *Calais* (at a moderate expence) which ſhould be declared preſently after the refuſall of *Charles*: In which caſe *Henry* ſhould ſend unto *Francis* ſome faithfull Perſon, to adviſe concerning the particularities thereof. Alſo, the Articles of the ſaid Alternative marriage were remitted untill the aforeſaid time. Howſoever, it waspreſently agreed, that, if the ſaid Princeſſe *Mary* or her iſſue did not ſucced to the Crown of *England*, and that the ſaid warre were not made againſt *Charles*, that then this Treaty of a more ſtreight alliance ſhould bee void. Notwithſtanding which, if the ſaid Alternative Marriage were broken off by the common conſent of both Kings, they ſhou'd yet bee obliged reciprocally unto the ſaid warre. Upon condition ſtill, that *Francis* ſhould reinbourſe (at convenient dayes of payment) unto King *Henry*, the expences hee ſhould bee at; and, beſides, ſhould furniſh unto the ſaid *Henry*, as long as hee lived, yearely, of the Salt of *Broüage*, the value of fifteene thouſand Crownes. But if the ſaid Marriage were hindred on the part of *Henry*, the ſaid *Francis* ſhould not bee bound to pay the aforeſaid expences of the warre. On the other ſide, that hee ſhould pay them double, if the impediment proceeded from him.

2. By the ſecond Treaty it was agreed, that, preſently after the refuſe, delay, or non-admittance, of their Ambaſſadors, that the entercourſe commerce, and Traffique betweene their Subjects and thoſe of the Emperor ſhould be forbidden. Neverthelеſſe, that by their Ambaſſadors, they ſhould offer the reſpite of forty dayes, to the intent that the goods of their ſaid Subjects, might bee reciprocally with drawne, if the ſaid Emperor accepted it. That, for the making an actuall warre againſt him in the *Low-Countreys*, an Army ſhould be levied of thirty thouſand Foot, and one thouſand five hundred Men of Armes, *à la Francoiſe*, a Band of Artillery (ſo termed then) and neceſſary Ammunition: whereof *Francis* ſhould furniſh the aforeſaid one thouſand five hundred Men at Armes, and twenty thouſand Foot; and *Henry* tenne thouſand Archers or Halberdiers, whom five hundred of the ſaid Men at Armes ſhould accompany and convey, whenſoever, by the command of the ſaid King, or

or their Generalls, they ſhould be divided from the body of the Army. And that victuals and other proviſion ſhould bee delivered to them, at the ſame price that other Foot-men had it. That, for better keeping of the narrow Seas, as well as for hindring all intercourſe, and Traffique into the ſaid *Low-Countries*, a Navy ſhould be equipped of fifteene thouſand Men, beſides Marriners and Seamen. Whereof *Francis* ſhould furniſh tenne thouſand, and *Henry* five thouſand, each of them at their proper coſt and charges. That at *Calais*, *Abbeville*, or other the moſt commodious Townes, under the obedience of the ſaid Kings, certaine privileged Marts or Fayers ſhould be appointed, and that thoſe Merchants which uſually frequented the *Low-Countries*, ſhould be drawn and invited thither, by all meanes poſſible. That the number of their ſaid Armies, both by Sea and Land, ſhould bee kept intire, and that the Townes, and ſtrong places, which were conquered, and priſoners taken, ſhould be equally divided betwixt the ſaid Kings. And that the Spices and other Merchandize of the Portugall ſhips, paſſing by the narrow Seas, ſhould not be permitted to be ſold in the *Low-Countries*; but onely in *France*, and *England*, while the ſaid warre continued, according to the proportion of that uſe and neceſſity, that either of the ſaid Kingdoms ſhould have thereof; Provided yet that, if the King of *Portugall* did declare himſelfe in favour of *Charles*, that, in this Caſe, he ſhould be held as their Common Enemy, and his goods and Subjects adjudg'd as good prize. And that the like courſe ſhould be held withall others who ſuccour'd the Emperor in his ſaid warres; which neither of the ſaid Kings ſhould abandon or leave off, or otherwiſe Treat of any Peace, Truce or other Ceſſation of Armes, without mutuall conſent. That place ſhould be reſerv'd for the Pope, Venetians, and *Franceſco Sforza*, to be compriſed in the ſaid confederation; upon condition yet, they ſhould continue the warre begun by them in *Italy*, as long as the ſaid Kings proceeded in their wars in the *Low-Countries*. That the ſaid *Francis* ſhould diſpoſe *Henry de Albret* King of *Navarre*, as alſo the Duke of *Gueldres*, and *Robert de la March*, *Sieur de Sedan*, to make warre, on their part, upon the Countries of *Charles* next adjoyning to them. That if *John Sepuſe*, *Vayrode* of *Tranſylvania*, (pretending to the Kingdome of *Hungary*, againſt *Ferdinand* King of *Bohemia*, and brother of the ſaid *Charles*) have not yet allied himſelfe with the Turke, and that the ſaid King of *Bohemia* did any way aſſiſt the Emperor againſt the ſaid Kings; that then, by their joynt Letters, they ſhould animate and comfort the ſaid *Iohn Sepuſe* to the defence of his cauſe, to the end hee might both abſtaine from any dependencie on the Turke, and that hee might divert the ſuccour of the ſaid King of *Bohemia*. That alſo, by their joynt Letters,

1527.

1527. ters, they ſhould ſignifie to the Princes of *Germany* this confederation, together with the cauſes thereof, to the end they might forbeare giving aſſiſtance to the Emperor, and be excited to bring the ſaid Emperor unto reaſon, which whenſoever the ſaid Emperor would accept, *Francis* ſhould condeſcend thereunto, by the intervention of *Henry*.

3. By the third Treaty, true, ſolid, firme, perpetuall, and inviolable peace, amity, union, confederation, League, intelligence, and concord between the ſaid Kings, and their poſterity, even to the end of the world, was accorded, by Decree, and Law, obliging them, and all Kings their ſucceſſors, no leſſe then the Oathes they take at their Sacrings and Coronations. According whereunto, they did reſpectively promiſe and agree, that the ſaid Kings and their Succeſſors, ſhould never be inquieted or moleſted, by them or any of their Succeſſors, being Kings, in the Lands, Countries and Seigneuries, which either of them held for the preſent; which therefore they and their heires ſhould quietly poſſeſſe for ever. In conſideration whereof, the ſaid *Francis* did bind himſelfe, and his ſucceſſours, Kings of *France*, to pay, every yeare, at two ſeverall termes, after the deceaſe of the ſaid King *Henry*, to all the Kings of *England* his Succeſſors, forty ſix thouſand Crownes *de Soleil*, and twenty foure *Sols Tournois*, without deduction or prejudice of the ſumme of eighteen hundred thouſand Dcc, xxxvi. Crownes *de Soliel*, xxxii. *Sols*, due to the ſaid *Henry*, by Obligation, and Treaty of the xxx. *Auguſt*. 1525. or of that which ſhould remaine to be paid after his deceaſe; moreover the ſaid *Francis* bound himſelfe, and his Succeſſors, Kings of *France*, to give of the Salt of *Broüage* yearly, as well to the ſaid *Henry*, as to his Succeſſors, to the value of 15000 Crowns, as is above mentioned. Furthermore, it was agreed, that, if any thing were attempted by any Subject or Ally of the ſaid Kings contrary to this third Treaty, that their Peace and Amity ſhould not yet be broken, but that the offenders and Delinquents only ſhould be puniſhed. and in every one of the ſaid three Treaties, an expreſſe Article was inſerted, that the precedent Treaty of *Auguſt* 30. 1525. ſhould be by them confirm'd, and, no wayes, infring'd, or diminiſhed. Laſtly, by Letter or Agreement apart, bearing Date likewiſe 1527, the ſaid Kings declared, that they would have themſelves held, underſtood, and reputed as one and the ſame, and that either of them ſhould be ſtill concern'd in the other. Theſe Treaties being concluded and * ſworne, (yet ſo as the Biſhop of *Tarbe* made not a few doubts concerning the Princeſſe *Maries* Legitimation) which we ſhall finde afterward occaſioned the devorce, they were diſmiſt, and Honorably rewarded, and afterwards (as I finde) ſent by *Francis* to *Spaine*.

May 5.

While theſe things paſſed, the Pope, aſſoone as the Imperials had quitted *Rome*, and left him at his liberty, ſends to our King a Letter,

Septemb.

Septemb. 24. complaining of the indignities offered to his Perſon by *Moncada*, and the *Colonneſi*, deſiring his Grace to ſet his hand to the revenge of it, and defence of the Apoſtolique See. Moreover he told our Ambaſſadors, (as they write) that if the King of *England*, by whoſe incouragement (he ſaith) he enter'd this Labyrinth, will yet effectually aſſiſt him, and the French King, amend his former ſlackneſſe, &c. he will do as hee did before, notwithſtanding this late agreement with *Moncada*, to which he holds himſelfe not bound, becauſe he was forc'd to it. Whereupon our King in *November*, ſent him about thirty thouſand Duckats for a preſent. The Pope thus being heartned, cites the Cardinall *Colonna* to appeare at *Rome* upon paine of deprivation of his dignity: he, on the other ſide threatning to call a Councell againſt him, and depoſe him as a Simoniac; The Pope, hereupon, gathers an Army, and with about ten thouſand men, led by the *Conte de Vandemont*, brother to the Duke of *Lorraine* (to whom the Pope now pretended to give *Naples* as the right of his family) enters the Kingdom of *Naples*, takes divers places belonging to the *Colonneſi*, and approcheth the very Gates of *Naples*. But now new ſuccours comming from *Spaine*, the Pope was diſtreſſed and glad to Treat againe with *Lanoy* the Vice-Roy, and to give the Imperialiſts ſixty thouſand Duckats, whereupon alſo it was agreed that the Armies ſhould retire on either ſide, and a Ceſſation of war ſhould be accorded, for eight moneths. But the Pope finding this accord alſo too diſadvantageous (as having diſarm'd himſelfe thereby, and diſcontented both the French and our King) intends to diſavow it, and to provide himſelfe of Money) by creating 14 Cardinals, for which he had three hundred thouſand Duckats; But *Bourbon* prevented his attempts. For being actually generall of the Imperialls (who for want of pay, were to be maintain'd with Pillage) he takes a pretext to invade *Rome* it ſelfe; For (as the intelligence in our Records hath it) comming neare that City *May* 5. He ſent to the Pope for leave to paſſe through it, and his Territories into the Realm of *Naples*, and to have victualls for his Money; But the Pope denying it, *Bourbon* reſolves to aſſault *Rome*, which *Renzo de Ceri* an old Commander defended. But *Bourbon* having an Army of thirty thouſand Men, upon *May* 6. 1527. Marches directly to the walls; where carrying a Ladder before the reſt of the Souldiers with which he meant to ſcale the Town, a ſhot kill'd him; which kind of death ſome writers ſay, he call'd upon himſelfe, by a kind of Imprecation; when the laſt yeare, being at *Milan*, he made the Citizens buy their quiet at a great price, wiſhing he might be ſhot to death the firſt time, he went to the Field if they ſhould be oppreſſed any more, by ſuch payments, which yet hee forced them unto ſoone after. *Bourbon* being thus dead, *Philibert de Chaalon*, Prince of *Aurange*, threw a Cloake over, his Body, as fearing it might diſcourage his Souldiers. But they whether out of

1527. Septemb. 1526.

Novemb.

Feb.

March. 29.

Record.

May 5.

Guicciard. 18

May. 6

Bellay.

1527. indignation for this loſſe, or greedineſſe to ſack the Towne, enter'd it with fury; killing in the way divers Biſhops, and ſurprizing ſome Cardinalls that were flying to the Caſtle Sant *Angelo*; The Pope and *Renzo de Cen.* being already retir'd thither with ſeventeene Cardinalls, and the Ambaſſadors of *England*, *France*, *Venice*, and *Florence*, and about five hundred Souldiers. The Prince of *Aurange* (who now tooke upon him the charge of Generall) did all that was poſſible to reſtraine the Souldiers, from their frequent Murthers and Pillage. Notwithſtanding which, their impetuoſity was ſuch, that (without making difference betwixt holy places an prophane) they Ranſack'd the City for the ſpace of ſix or ſeven dayes, killing above five thouſand Men. Not content with this yet, they laid Siege to the Caſtle, and brought the Pope to ſuch neceſſity, that to free himſelfe from further danger, He and thirteen Cardinalls, that now remain'd with him, agreed, That foure hundred thouſand Duckats ſhould bee paid to the Army within two moneths, and that the Caſtle of Saint *Angelo*, together with thoſe of *Oſtia*, and *Civica*, *Vecchia*, and other places, ſhould be deliver'd into the hands of the Imperialiſts. That the Pope with the ſaid Cardinals ſhould remaine in the Caſtle, till part of the Money were paid, and good Hoſtages given for the reſt. Which being done, that he ſhould goe to *Gajeta*, or ſome other place in the Kingdom of *Naples*, there to expect the Emperors pleaſure.

Sand.

May 17.

Grobier. Hiſt. Rom. direct.

Guicciard. L. 18.

June 5.

Guicciard. l. 18.

Hereupon the Guard and ſervice of the Popes Perſon was Committed to *Hernando de Alancon* and victualls put into the Caſtle (where the Pope remaind under ſome reſtraint not free from danger) though otherwiſe reverenced in all apparance, according to his dignity. And now the Cardinall *Colonna*, and others that ſided with the Emperor began to Treat Concerning a Generall Councell, Conformable to a late Bull of Pope *Iulius* the ſecond, by which it was declared, that a Pope might bee deprived from his Place, and an other ſubſtituted, when there were Cauſe for it (And they pretended to prove this Pope a *Simoniac.*)

Sand v.

It was now the begining of *June* 1527. when the Emperor being at *Valedolid* took notice of this ſucceſſe, divulg'd already over all *Chriſtendome*. Nevertheleſſe he ſhewd not any other ſence thereof, then ſuch as might be expected from one to whoſe ambition and power nothing could ſeem either great or new. Yet as he knew that all Chriſtian Princes muſt needs be highly intereſſed in the impriſonment of the head of their Church, ſo he thought fit to ſatisfie them herein. Among all which none ſeem'd ſo conſiderable as our King. To whom therefore in a letter dated from *Valledolid*, 2 *Au.* 1527 He made a kind of Apology for theſe proceedings; beginning firſt with giving an account thereof; then demanding our Kings advice;

June. *Sandov.*

thereupon

thereupon declaring alſo the cauſes why his Army could not be withheld from invading of *Rome*. Yet ſo, as he diſclaimed any part, either the counſeling or authoriſing thereof. Notwithſtanding which (as God could draw good out of evill) ſo he hoped a benefit might redownd to *Chriſtendome* thereby. Wherefore, that he ſhould intreat him again, as his good Unkle and Brother, that he would ſend his Opinion what further was to be done in this caſe. And particularly, that he would aſſiſt him againſt the Enemies of our Faith; againſt whom, when their inteſtine Wars were compos'd, he reſolved to imploy his Blood and Life. He forgot not alſo, upon the* inſtance of ours and the French Ambaſſadors for the Popes liberty to* write gently unto his Highneſſe, offering his love and friendſhip in caſe he deſired it. But to the chiefe Officers of his Army, by his Agents *Antonio Veyeley*, and *Franceſco de les Angeles* Generall of the Franciſcans, he ſent Inſtructions, which for ſome ſpace amuſed them. For he commanded to ſet the Pope at liberty, yet ſo as together they ſhould provide, that from a friend he ſhould not become an enemy. The Prince of *Aurange*, *Hernando de Alancon*, and ſome other principall Commanders met hereupon; where, after a long conſultation, how to reconcile and interpret this Riddle, they reſolved at laſt, that to deſpoile the Pope firſt of his Money, and then to deliver him, was the beſt way to comply with their Inſtructions. After therefore having extorted great ſums, not onely for the Emperors Occaſions, but their own; he was diſmiſſed out of the Caſtle of St *Angelo*, as ſhall be told in its place. Yet ſo, as they ſuffered him not to depart out of their reach; neither indeed did he think fit to do otherwiſe; ſo that although by the former Convention he was to be removed to *Gaiera*, ten Miles diſtant thence; or ſome other place belonging to the Kingdom of *Naples* (whither not onely the burning of his Pallace, Library and Records did ſeeme to compell him, but the Peſtilence then raging in that City; (whereof alſo *Charles de Lanoy* Vice-Roy of *Naples* died; into whoſe charge therefore *Hugo de Moncada*, much againſt the Popes will ſucceeded;) yet, ſaith *Guiccardine*, with much diligence, intreaty, and Art, hee procured to ſtay in *Rome*. From whence upon the firſt ſurrender of the Caſtle hee complained (as I finde by our Records) to our King and Cardinall; proteſting that all the helpe and ſuccour hee could expect in this extremity, was from hence, and therefore implored his aſſiſtance. Which Petition therefore hee cauſed to be ſeconded by the thirteene Cardinals then with him, and to be diſpatched hither by *Gregory de Caſalis*, our Kings Agent in *Rome*, and now returning to *England*.

This while the Ambaſſadors of our King in *Spaine* mediated potently for delivery of the Hoſtages upon more reaſonable terms then had been hereunto propoſed; and in concluſion ſo prevailed, that

1527.

July 20,
Aug. 2.

Aug. 2.
Sand. v.

Octob.

June 6.

1527. that (as *Sandoval* hath it) *Charles* protested to our Ambassadors, that for his sake onely he would relinquish his demand for the restitution of *Burgundy*, in which the difficulty of the peace consisted. Adding further, that for the same reason, he would accept, as well for the ransome of the two sonnes of *Francis*, as for the recompence of the great expences he was at for breach of the Concord of *Madrid*, the sum onely which *Francis* had offered voluntarily long before to *Charles de Lanoy* (which were 2000000 Crowns) upon condition yet that *Francis* should observe the rest of the Articles in the said Concord. But all this againe was interrupted by the continuall intelligence of the Popes imprisonment, which so incensed our King that he would not so much as vouchsafe an answer to the abovementioned Letter of *Charles*, but prepared to joyn in a stricter League with *Francis*, as judging that *Charles* would never in so insolent a manner have captivated the Pope, had he not pretended to Universall Monarchy.

March 14. This while *Ferdinand* King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* sent Ambassadors hither to invite our King to joyn against the Turke Notwithstanding which, as *John Sepusi Vayvod* of *Transylvania*, pretending he *Sleid. lib. 6.* was chosen King of *Hungary* by the greater part of the Nobility, had lately complained of *Ferdinands* usurpation to divers Christian Princes, and particularly to our King, so no other satisfaction was returned but a Protestation made by Sir *Thomas More*, that the fault was not our Kings if more were not done therein; all these miseries which he so much lamented being occasioned by the Ambition of *Charles* the Emperor, his Brother who (notwithstanding his mediation) could not be induced to accept the overtures generally proposed him for a peace. And that till this were done, the Turke must needs prevaile. Whereupon the Ambassadors were honourably rewarded and dismissed.

H. V. May 3.

Our King at this time intended to proceed according to his Treaty with *Francis*; but as he now heard that *Rome* was sack'd, he made May 29. a new confederacy with him, by which they agreed mutually to desist from their warre in the Low-Countries, and to transport it into *Italy*; according to which, *Francis* obliged himselfe to send an Army of 20000 Foot and 1000 great horse, to joyn with the Venetians, and others of the Clementine League. And that *Henry* should contribute thereunto Monethly 32222 Crowns *de Soleil*, to be deducted out of the Money which the said *Francis* owed him; And that this Contribution should be understood to be in lieu of those Forces, which by the late Treaty he should have furnished for the Wars in the *Low-countries*. And that therefore all the other Articles of the said Treaty should remain in full effect and vertue. It was agreed also that *Henry* might send a Commissary which should visit the Army in *Italy*, and advertise him of all passages. For the better accomplishment of which Treaties, Sir *Thomas Bolen* Knight

May 29. *Fiduc.*

Knight, lately * made Viſcount *Rochforte*, and Sir *Anthony Browne* being joyned in Commiſſion with the Biſhop of *Bath* (then Reſident at *Paris*) were commanded to ſee *Francis* ſworne thereunto, which accordingly was performed. Sir *Francis Pointz* Knight alſo, upon the tenth of *May* 1527, was ſent to *Spaine*, where Doctor *Edward Lee*, and *Hierome* Biſhop of *Worceſter* (lately come from *Rome*, and diſpatched to the Emperour) were reſident on the part of our King. To accompany him in which journey and negotiation, *Clarenceaux* King of Armes was ſent to act his part, when the gentle perſwaſions of our Ambaſſadors could not prevaile. The Propoſition on their part to be made, was briefly this, That in regard our King was at halfe the charge of the warre, *Charles* ſhould ſend him halfe the Prize and Booty taken at *Pavia*, and one of the two Hoſtages; and that if he denied, *Clarenceaux* ſhould denounce him Warre. To this rough meſſage, *Charles* anſwered with much gravity; That the Propoſition made was of great moment on either part. So that whether hee accepted or refuſed it, it was fit hee tooke time to adviſe with himſelfe, both that his good will to our King might be conſerv'd, and *Francis* might be uſed according to his demerits, who had ſo perfidiouſly behaved himſelfe, that hee had broke his promiſe almoſt before he made it. Therefore that hee would declare his reſolution by Letters unto *Henry*; and that, till then, he would make them no abſolute Anſwer. All which was done purpoſely by *Charles*, that hee might gaine time. Our King and *Francis* being advertiſed of this dilatory Reply, and together of the Popes diſtreſſe would no longer intermit to give order for their owne, as well as the generall Affaires of *Chriſtendome*. Therefore our Cardinall was commanded to *France* both for concluding the marriage of our Princeſſe *Mary*, either with *Francis* or the Duke of *Orleans* his ſonne, (as is before mentioned) as alſo for other occaſions, which ſhall be hereafter declared. Though whatſoever they treated concerning her marriage in ſo many places, and with perſons of ſo different ages, her Husband, *Philip* the ſecond, was now but newly born at *Valedolid*, *May* 21. 1527.

1527. June 18. 1525.

May 10.

July 3.

The Cardinall having kiſt the Kings hand, and received his Inſtructions, arrived at *Calais* with a Noble Equipage; being neere a thouſand Horſe, the eleventh of *July* 1527. departing thence towards *Boulogne*, (leaving yet the great Seale behind him in *Calais* with Doctor *Taylor* Maſter of the Rolles;) where he was met by *Monſieur de Byron* with a thouſand Horſe, and after by *John* Cardinall of *Lorraine*, and the Chancellour of *Alancon*, who accompanied him in his way to *Monſcreüil*, and afterwards to *Abbeville*. *Francis* in the meane time aſſuring

July 11.
July 22.
Stow.
July 23,
July 24.

1527. ring him by Letter, that Himſelfe and Madame *Loüiſe* his Mother would meet him at *Amiens*, as ſoone as he had confiſcated the Lands of *Bourbon*, and extinguiſhed his Title and Dignity. This occaſioned the Cardinals ſtay for ſome daies, yet ſo as hee wanted not a juſt exerciſe for that power which *Francis* had given him, whereſoever hee went to releaſe all thoſe priſoners hee thought capable of mercy. While hee ſtaid thus at *Abbeville*, the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Edward Lee*, our Kings Ambaſſadors in *Spaine*, ſent him the Emperours demands, in caſe the reſtitution of *Francis* his Children were propos'd; which, though high, were to be qualified by our King, if his Highneſſe ſo thought fitting. Hereof therefore, by
July 29. a Letter dated the twenty nine of *July* 1527, hee advertiſed our King; adding moreover, that though the Emperour were determined to traine the Pope to *Spaine*, (to which alſo hee heard the Pope was inclin'd) yet that the project was ſo dangerous, as it was not by any meanes to be ſuffered; ſince, thereby *Charles* might both eſtabliſh the Imperiall Authority in *Rome*, and ſeize on the Patrimony of the Church, or at leaſt conſtraine him to furniſh what money he would, and together compell him to make ſo many Cardinals of the Spaniſh faction, as when the Pope died, would enable him to Elect what Succeſſour hee pleaſed. Neither did hee ſee how this could be avoyded, unleſſe *Andrea Doria* were commanded to uſe the Fleet he had then at Sea, for intercepting of the Pope; who, what ſhew ſoever he made of willingneſſe to come to
Jun. 6. 1527. the Emperour, complained yet of his Captivity, as by a Letter written by the Popes owne hand in Cipheres, to his Highneſſe, and conveyed by *Gregory de Caſalis*, might appeare; which alſo was confirmed by divers Cardinals then attending him. Beſides, that it were convenient, that the Forces his Highneſſe was bound to furniſh for the warres of *Italy*, ſhould be joyned with *Lautrech*, (who was now deſigned by *Francis* to purſue the warre there) and imployed to hinder the Popes paſſage; In which affaire alſo, ſome Princes of *Italy* might be drawne to concurre, when his Highneſſe would write to them; All which was the rather to be ſpeeded, that the Biſhop of *Worceſter* had written from *Spaine*, that the Emperour went to ſow diviſion betwixt him and *Francis*. This Letter was ſeconded by another of the ſame date, which yet contained onely an overture for a meeting betwixt Madame *Loüiſe* and himſelfe, on the one part, and the Emperour on the other, at *Perpignan*; wherein all theſe difficulties ſhould be reſolved.
July 31. Moreover, by a Letter dated from *Abbeville* the 31 of *July*, he certifies the King, how *Monſieur de Bouclans* had propos'd on the Emperours part, a match betwixt the Duke of *Richmond*

mond, naturall ſonne to our King, and the daughter of *Portugall* with *Millan* for Dowry; which yet (as being colourable oney) he thought fit ſhould not be much inſiſted on. Onely, becauſe it was neceſſary to keepe good correſpondence with the Emperour, hee thought it not amiſſe to entertaine ſpeech thereof. And together (by a Letter the firſt of *Auguſt*) to deſire our Ambaſſadors in *Spaine*, to quench all Rumors concerning a Divorce bruited now betwixt our King and the Queen; and to aſſure the Emperour, that the firſt originall thereof aroſe onely from the objection which the Biſhop of *Tarbe* (when he was lately in *England*) made, concerning the Legitimation of the Princeſſe *Mary*. At laſt, *Francis*, together with Madame *Loüiſſe* his Mother, comming to *Amiens*, the Cardinall with all his Traine ſets forth from *Abbeville*; whereof notice being given, *Francis* being Royally attended, meets him a mile and halfe out of the Towne; And, after Proteſtations that he owed his Liberty chiefly to our King, conducted him to his lodging. Shortly after which, the Cardinall obtaining Audience, declared his buſineſſe, conſiſting principally in three points.

1527

Aug. 1.

Aug. 1.

Aug. 4.

Firſt, *To require the Reſolution of* Francis *concerning this Alternative of the Marriage a little before mentioned.*

Secondly, *To adviſe concerning the meanes of making Peace with the Emperour; upon ſuch termes as the reſtitution of* Francis *his Children might be procured.*

Thirdly, *To determine how the Pope might be delivered out of Captivity*; (for which purpoſe our Hiſtorians ſay, that the Cardinall carried over with him 240000 li. of our Kings Treaſure.)

Holinſhed.

To the firſt, it was anſwered, *That the Duke of* Orleans *(as more ſuiting in yeers) ſhould be recommended to the Princeſſe* Mary.

To the ſecond, *That* Francis *for reobtaining of his Children, would, among other things, renounce his claime in* Milan.

To the third, *Little more was ſaid, then that the Pope (as ſoon as poſſible) ſhould be ſet free, by Mediation, or Force.*

Beſides which points, an interview was propoſed on our Kings part, betwixt him and *Francis*; but *Francis* excuſing himſelfe by reaſon of the great Charges he muſt be at till his Children were redeemed, the motion was urged no farther.

After this, *Francis* brought our Cardinall to *Compeigne*; from whence he wrote to the King, that howſoever *Francis* did

1527. did promiſe to renounce *Milan*; yet, that it was beſt not overſtrictly to tie him to it untill his Highneſſe diſcovered whether the Emperour would really conferre it in Dowry upon the match formerly intimated. The King receiving thus much ſatisfaction by the Cardinals Negotiation, writ a Letter with his own hand, acknowledging therein the good ſervice he had done him and the Kingdome divers waies; and particularly in
Aug. 18. three Treaties, concluded *Auguſt* 18. 1527, which, by the French and our Records, I finde thus related.

1. The firſt Treaty was concerning the Princeſſe *Mary*; who (according to the reference formerly made) was to marry the Duke of *Orleans*, reſerving notwithſtanding unto a further time, the particularities of her Dote, Dowry, Tranſportation of the ſaid Duke into *England*, the charges of his Family, and the like. Furthermote it was declared, that if the ſaid marriage, either by death, or conſent of both Kings, or any other accident, tooke no effect, That yet the other Treaties betwixt the ſaid Kings (being of the thirty of *Auguſt* 1525. and of the laſt of *April* 1527.) ſhould remaine in full force. The interview of the two Kings, which (the laſt of *April*) was agreed to be at *Calais*, was remitted to a further time. The contribution, to which the ſaid *Henry* obliged himſelfe for the warre of *Italy*, was expreſſed to be twenty thouſand *Eſcus de Soleil* for *June*, and for *July* thirty thouſand, and for every of the Moneths of *Auguſt*, *September*, *October*, thirty two thouſand two hundred twenty two Crownes. Upon condition yet, that the ſaid Contribution ſhonld be abated proportionably, if the number of Souldiers imployed in the ſaid warre were diminiſhed. That, after the ſaid Moneth of *October* *Henry* ſhould contribute no more; and that, if peace were made ſooner, he ſhould be diſcharged of the ſaid Contribution. And finally, that neither Prince might demand of the other, his money ſpent in this warre, as long as the perpetuall Peace was conſerved.

2. By the ſecond Treaty it was agreed, that the ſaid *Henry* ſhould not charge himſelfe with the protection and aſſurance of the peace, whenſoever it ſhould be concluded betwixt *Francis* and *Charles*: but in caſe onely that the ſaid Peace could not otherwiſe be made, which therefore ſo hapning, the ſaid *Francis* did agree, that he ſhould take the ſaid protection and warranty upon him. On condition yet, that nothing ſhould be attempted by him by reaſon thereof, either againſt him, his Kingdome, or Subjects. Moreover, the ſaid *Henry* conſented, that, for the good of the intended Peace, the marriage betwixt *Francis* and *Leonora* Siſter to *Charles*, ſhould be validated and confirmed; upon condition yet, that thereby

thereby no prejudice ſhould follow to the Treaties concluded betwixt them. That if any peace were made with *Charles*, by which *Franceſco Sforza* ſhould enjoy *Milan*, it was declared by the ſaid Kings, that they did not intend to renounce certaine Penſions aſſigned to either of them, upon the ſaid Dutchy, by the League of *Italy*, when *Franceſco* ſhould refuſe to pay them. That if warre were commenc'd by the ſaid Kings againſt *Charles*, upon his refuſall of the conditions offered to him, then the like Priviledges, Exemptions, and Liberties, that the Engliſh Merchants had a (yeere ſince) in *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Holland*, and *Zealand*, they ſhould now have in other places under the obedience of *Francis*, as long as the ſaid warres ſhould laſt; the ſaid places to be nominated and agreed on hereafter. 1527.

By the third Treaty, it was concluded betwixt the ſaid Kings, that no Councell-Generall, ſummoned by the Pope during his Captivity, or by the Emperours authority, ſhould take effect; and, that for this purpoſe they ſhould cauſe their Clergy on either ſide, by publique and ſolemne proteſtations to renounce and deteſt all ſuch Convocation. That any Commandement, Sentence, Bull, Letter, or Breve proceeding from the ſaid Pope, being in captivity, and tending to the dammage of the ſaid Kings or Subjects, and eſpecially to the prejudice of the Legation of the Cardinall of *Yorke*, ſhould neither be obeyed by them, nor ſuffered to be obeyed; but that they ſhould be declared as of no effect, and the bringers of them puniſhed. That during the ſaid Captivity of the Pope, whatſoever by the Cardinall of *Yorke* (aſſiſted by the Prelates of *England* aſſembled and called together by the Authority of the ſaid King) ſhould be determined concerning the Adminiſtration of Eccleſiaſticall Affaires in the ſaid kingdome of *England*, and other Countries being in the Dominion of the ſaid *Henry*, ſhould (the conſent of the ſaid King being firſt had) be decreed and obſerved. (To confirme which power, the Pope* ſent him a Bull, to be Vicar-Generall throughout all the Kings Dominions.) It was alſo agreed, that *Francis* and his Clergy ſhould have the like power in *France*, and other his Dominions, during the Captivity of the Pope. And here certainly began the Taſte that our King took of governing (in Chiefe) the Clergy; of which therefore, as well as the diſſolution of Monaſteries, it ſeemes the firſt Arguments and Impreſſions were derived from the Cardinall; Who having now in a Conference with certaine Cardinals at *Campeigne*, reſolved that the aforeſaid Order for the goverment of the Church was in theſe times requiſite, tooke on him the charge of our Eccleſiaſticall Affaires (though *Guiccairdine*

Till.

Hall.

1527. *ciardine* write that he ſent for a Bull to be Legate in *England*, *France*, and *Germany*, and the Imperialiſts gave out that he attempted to make himſelfe Pope of the Engliſh and French Church, by a Schiſme from the See of *Rome*.) The paſſages betwixt the Cardinals above-mentioned being certified to *Rome* *Septemb.* 16, *Woelſey* prepared to returne. Whereupon *Francis*
Sept 21. not onely richly preſented him, but conducted him through the Towne, and upon his way about a mile, being accompanied with the Titular King of *Navarre*, the Popes Legate, and his prime Nobility. The Cardinall now haſting homeward, came to *Calais*, where having eſtabliſhed a Mart, hee arrived
Sept. 30. at Court toward the end of *September*, where much demonſtration of affection was given him by our King. To correſpond with this Ambaſſade, *Francis* ſent *Anne de Montmorancy* *Grand-Maiſtre*, *John du Bellay* Biſhop of *Bayonne*, *John Brinon* the Primier Preſident *de Roüen*, and *le Seigneur de Humieres*, as
Bellay. his Ambaſſadours to ratifie the ſaid League here. Theſe, with
Octob. 20. divers other Cavaliers, (being in all about ſix hundred horſe) were conducted to *London*, *October* 20. and lodged in the Biſhop of *Londons* Pallace. After which, Audience being given
Novem. 10. them, they were *Novemb.* 10. entertained by our King at *Greenwich* with a Feaſt (the moſt ſumptuous, ſaith *Bellay*, that ever I ſaw) and then with a Comedy, in which his daughter the Princeſſe was an Actor. On this day alſo the King of *England* received at the hands of *Montmorancy*, the Order of St *Michael*; And *Francis*, with no leſſe ſolemnity, that of the Garter, in *Paris*. For which purpoſe, our King had ſent over *Arthur Plantagenet* Viſcount *Liſle* (naturall ſonne to King *Edward* the fourth,) Sir *Nicholas Carew* Maſter of his Horſe, Sir *Anthony Browne*, all Knights of this Order, and Sir *Thomas Wriotheſley* Garter-Herauld. Both Princes likewiſe giving their Oath and Seale (which was in Gold) for the Ratification of the late Treaty.

Charles, being not ignorant of theſe Treaties, thinkes fit to prevent the execution of them, by a timely conſent unto all that could in reaſon be expected from him. Therefore at *Palentia*, *Septemb.* 15. he offered this Agreement unto the French,
Sept. 15. *Sand.* Engliſh, and other Ambaſſadours reſiding in his Court; which alſo for the preſent they ſeemed to accept. That the Article for the reſtitution of *Burgundy* ſhould be raſed out of the Concord of *Madrid*, reſerving ſtill to the Emperour his Right. That *Francis* ſhould pay for the ranſome of his ſonnes, the two Millions of Crownes which were offered. And that out of them ſo much ſhould be allowed, as would pay our King. Furthermore, that *Francis* ſhould take upon him to ſatisfie *Henry*, as well as to keepe *Charles* indemnified from the Obligation,

ligation, by which hee tyed himſelfe in *London* by particular Treaty, which was, that he ſhould pay unto *Henry* the ancient penſion which *Francis* payd him, together with any other ſumme that *Francis* ſhould refuſe to pay onely becauſe he ſaid *Henry* had declared himſelfe his enemy. That the French ſhould oblige themſelves to reſtore *Genoüa*, and all the reſt that they had taken in *Lombardy*, before the Hoſtages were rendred. That in the particular of the Duke of *Milan*, *Charles* ſhould nominate and appoint certaine Judges, who ſhould determine the cauſe betwixt them. And that if hee were not found culpable, then his eſtate ſhould be reſtored to him, and the inveſtiture given him; otherwiſe, that the Emperour ſhould diſpoſe thereof as Lord of the Feud. That, in all the reſt, the Concord of *Madrid* ſhould be obſerved, ſaving in ſome few points of ſmall importance. When theſe Articles were approved on both ſides, the Ambaſſadors of *France* ſaid, that they wanted ſufficient Authority from their King to ſigne them, which yet they promiſed to ſend for, and procure. And ſo the concluſion of peace at this time was deferred on their parts. *Charles* not much tronbled herewith, returnes to his former Arts of dividing our King from *Francis*. Therefore he ſends privately to the Cardinall (now returned from *France*) offering him, beſides his ordinary Penſion, large ſummes for this purpoſe. Notwithſtanding which (ſaith *Polydore*) becauſe he had denied him the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo*, to which (if we may believe the ſame Author) he vehemently aſpired, he was found inexorable. *Polydor. Virg.*

This yeere our King ſent out two faire ſhips to diſcover new Regions, then daily found out by the Portuguez and Spaniard; though, as no ſucceſſe followed thereupon, I doe not finde the deſigne purſued. May 20. *Hall.*

This while, *Monſieur de Lautrech* made ready an Army of twenty ſix thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, for the affaires of *Italy*; and, about *July*, paſſed the *Alpes*. Wherewith the Clementine League (whoſe Forces were eleven thouſand Foot, and about one thouſand ſix hundred Horſe) being much encouraged, an Anſwer was ſent to the Propoſitions made by the Emperor, to the Ambaſſadours of the League, at *Palentia*. For which purpoſe a Secretary of *Francis* came the twelfth of *December* 1527 to *Burges* (where *Charles* then was) publiſhing by the way that he brought a finall Reſolution of Peace; when yet indeed he brought Order onely to defie *Charles*, as will appeare afterwards. Yet, to ſhew ſome deſire of Accommodation, the Ambaſſadours of *England* and *France* deſired, two points of the Treaty of *Palentia* ſhould be altered in this manner. The firſt was, that *Franceſco Sforza* ſhould be reſtored to his

1527. July. Decemb. 12.

1527. his Eſtate; and, afterwards, juſtice done concerning the complaints made againſt him. The other was, that the Hoſtages ſhonld be remanded, before *Francis* ſhould deliver vp *Genoüa* or *Aſti*, or withdraw his Army out of *Italy*. And to induce *Charles* hereunto, it was offered by the French, to put ſecurity into the hands of our King, for the payment of three hundred thouſand Duckats to *Charles*, in caſe of not rendring the ſaid Townes, and withdrawing his Army. *Charles* replied, that though all this was Innovation upon the Treaty of *Palentia*; yet, to ſhew his deſire of peace, he wonld put ſecurity for payment of ſo much money into the hands of our king, in caſe the French would agree to performe that which was concluded on their part; But the French Ambaſſadour ſaying, he had no Order to make any other end, then what was propoſed, this great affaire remained ſuſpended.

Our Ambaſſadour perceiving this, proceeds upon his Inſtructions, and makes foure demands.

1. The firſt was, That without any delay, *Charles* ſhould pay to the King his Maſter all that was lent him heretofore.

2. The next was, That he ſhould pay him a penalty of five hundred thouſand Ducats, becauſe he did not marry the Princeſſe *Mary*, as was agreed.

3. The third was, that he ſhould ſatisfie for the indemnity he undertooke to diſcharge, upon the Declaration that our King made of war againſt *Francis*, (whereof mention is made formerly) which from the time it was due, was foure yeeres and foure moneths.

4. Fourthly, that he ſhould deliver the Pope; and make him ſatisfaction for the loſſe and dammage he had ſuſtained.

To which *Charles* anſwered, That hee marvelled why the King ſhould preſſe him ſo much, ſince hee never denyed the Debt; and that, if they required from him the Money, they ſhould give him the ſecurity he entered into for the payment thereof. But our Ambaſſador ſaying, that they were kept among the Archives and Records of *England*; and that, for the reſt, they were ſufficiently Authorized to give him an Acquittance; *Charles* knew not well how to argue the matter further. As for the penalty of Marriage and Indemnity, he ſaid hee would ſend an expreſſe Meſſenger into *England*, to acquaint our King with the Reaſons why he did not hold himſelfe bound to give any ſuch ſatisfaction. And for the delivering of the Pope, he ſaid Order was, and ſhould be given. And indeed, I finde that about this very time, the Pope recovered his liberty. Which becauſe it was occaſioned by the proceeding of the French in *Italy*, let us looke backe awhile on thoſe affaires.

The

The Army of the League formerly-mentioned, being commanded by *Odet de Foix Seigneur de Lautrech* (an able Generall) great hope was conceived; Both as he was ſupported by our King, and *Francis*, and the Venetians, at a common charge; (whereof our Kings part, according to the French Hiſtory, was 60000 Angelots the moneth) as that the Imperiall Army, which ſackt *Rome*, was much conſumed with the Plague. By Sea alſo, *Andrea Doria* of *Genoua*, who had the command of the French Kings Gallies, a brave Commander, was appointed with a ſtrong Fleet to ſecond him; who, accordingly, ſo ſcour'd all the coaſt of *Genoua*, that no ſhipping on thoſe quarters durſt appeare. This cauſed great ſcarcity of victuals there; which being advertis'd to *Doria*, and afterwards to *Lautrech*, hee ſends *Ceſar Pregoſo* with 2000 men thither; who, together with *Doria*, ſo preſt that City on both ſides, that, at laſt, it yeilded; Whereupon *Theodoro de Trivulci* was made Governour of it, on the behalfe of the French King. After this, *Lautrech* took (in the name of *Sforza*, and for his uſe) *Alexandria*, the Country of *Lomeline*, the Cities of *Vigneua*, *Biagras*, and *Novarra*, and beſieged *Pavia*, to the great diſpleaſure of *Antonio de Leyva* (then Governour of *Milan*) who wanting ſouldiers for himſelfe, would yet ſpare ſome for defence of that Town. This did not hinder *Lautrech* yet to make a breach and enter it, at the ſecond aſſault, where, in revenge of the King his Maſters misfortunes, he permitted his Army to exerciſe all manner of licentious cruelty; And now *Milan* it ſelfe (which remained only to make an intire conqueſt of thoſe parts) began to ſhake; neither could it have reſiſted long, but that a Myſtery of State preſerv'd it. For, as *Lautrech*'s chiefe deſigne was on *Naples* (to which hee knew yet *Sforza* and the Venetians would not eaſily concur) ſo he thought fit to leave this ſtrong place intire, as well to keep them in exerciſe, as to draw from them a greater dependence on the King his Maſter. For he underſtood well, that when he had put a Garriſon in it in the name of *Sforza*, that hee and the Venetians would ſooner have excluded him from his further paſſage to *Naples*, then given him any aſſiſtance; which would have fruſtrated both his chiefe Deſignes, ſince *Francis* prerended alike Title to *Milan* and *Naples*. Beſides, the more moderate ſort approved this courſe; for when the event of War had been improſperous or doubtfull, it left a way open for Peace; while each party having ſomewhat to require, better Overtures might be given for a generall Accommodation. Laſtly, theſe intentions of *Lautrech* were much facilitated by the intreaty of the Pope; who ſollicited him to expell the Remnant of the Imperiall Army from the Patrimony of the Church. *Lautrech*, hereupon, marcheth forwards; whereof *Antonio de Leyva* being informed, ſallies forth of *Milan*, and with his ſmall Forces, takes *Biagras*, and holds it, untill *Lautrech*, ſending *Pietro de Navarra* back with 6000 men, wan it again, and ſettled *Sforza* in the poſſeſſion thereof. *Lautrech* continuing thus his March, findes the Duke of *Ferrara*, and Marquis of *Mantua* ready to joyn with him.

1527.

Bell.

Octob. 18.

Octob. 28.

Bel.

1527. The manner of weaker and inferiour ſort of Princes being ever to comply with the more puiſſant and victorious Army. The ſincerity yet of the Duke of *Ferrara* ſeemed queſtionable; both as hee had juſt cauſe to be offended with the Pope, and that hee had, a good while ſince, rang'd himſelfe with the Imperialiſts; Nevertheleſſe, upon the Treaty, of a Match betwixt his eldeſt Son, and *Renee* Daughter of *Lowis* the twelfth, all was compos'd, and hee receiv'd into the Confederacy. But among all, none was ſo much perplext as the Pope; who being not yet delivered from his Guards, knew not whether were better for him, to truſt to the faire words of *Charles* (whoſe Agents now treated with him,) or to the aſſiſtance of the League. Neither could he (when this latter part were reſolv'd) determine concerning the Seate of Warre. For as, to keep the Army of *Lautrech* at a diſtance, had been to leave himſelfe in Reſtraint ſtill; So, to invite him to his Territories, had been to expoſe his ſubjects to the Rapines of both Armies. Therefore, he varyed ſtrangely in his private adviſes, anſwers, and Negotiations; inſomuch that *Lautrech*, at laſt, was neither ſcandalized with his denyalls, nor confirm'd with his promiſes. Howſoever, *Lautrech* thought fit to purſue his point; whereof *Charles* being advertis'd, reſolv'd by a timely and voluntary diſcharge of the Pope out of priſon, to prevent compulſion. Therefore hee ſends a particular diſpatch to *Don Hugo de Moncada*, to ſet him free upon theſe conditions;

Oct. 31. That the Pope ſhall not oppoſe *Charles* in the affaires of *Milan* and *Naples*. That he ſhould grant him a *Croiſade* in *Spaine*, and a Tenth of all Eccleſiaſticall livings in all his Kingdomes. That *Oſtia* and *Civitavecchia* ſhould remain in the hands of *Charles*, for ſecurity hereof. That he ſhould conſigne to him *la Civita Caſtellana*, and the Caſtle of *Furli*, giving Hoſtages till it were done. That hee ſhould pay preſently to the Almaines 77000 Duckats, and to the Spaniard 35000; and that, 15 dayes after his departure out of *Rome*, he ſhould pay as much again to the Almains, and within three months after give the reſt, being in all about 300000 Duckats; and to deliver Hoſtages for performance hereof. Upon which Conditions he was to be ſet at liberty *December* 10. But the Pope prevented this, by eſcaping, in the habit of a Merchant, to *Monte Fiaſcone*, and thence to *Orvieto*, the night before they promis'd to deliver him. His Hoſtages yet, the Cardinalls of *Ceſis* and *Orſino*, remain'd till the money were payd; for obtaining of which, he was forc'd to have recourſe to undecent wayes, making (as *Guiccardine* hath it) divers Cardinalls for money, which, otherwiſe, deſerv'd not that honour. He alſo gave the Spaniards licence for the alienating of Eccleſiaſticall goods and poſſeſſions (and particularly in the Kingdome of *Naples*, to the value of 600000 Crownes, as our Records ſay) giving therein a beginning (as ſome obſerve) to that liberty which was afterwards taken in divers places. But neceſſity is a violent Counſellour. Howſoever, the Pope was glad now, not only to finde his perſon free from Guards,

Guicc. l. 18.

Oct. 31.

Dec. 9.

Guicc. l. 18.

but

but safe from attempts. The Cardinall *Colonna* (as a latter Author affirms) having labour'd much with *Hernando de Marçon* privately to make him away. Thus did the Pope enter, by night, and without other company but that of *Louis de Gonzaga* (the complice of his escape) to a Town, unable any way to relieve or protect him. From whence yet, though despoil'd of all his money, hee found meanes, within a few moneths, to return to his former greatnesse and Authority. Being now at liberty, he sends word thereof to Cardinall *Wolsey*, acknowledging him a great instrument thereof; And, withall, certifies our King of his Estate, desiring him to continue his protection of the See of *Rome*. Our Cardinall also (who the last year had caused the Litany to be thus sung, *Sancta Maria Ora pro Clemente Papa, Sancte Petre*, &c. as *Charles* who kept him in prison, had caused to be done in *Spain*, though Ironically, as most men conceived it) now came, in great triumph, to St. *Pauls* in *London*, and caused *Te Deum* to be sung, and Bonfires to be publikely made. The French Ambassadour in *Spaine* this while understanding well how matters were likely to passe, hastned the delivery of the Cartelles, of which the chiefe cause was ill usage of the Pope. For the performing whereof therefore, with more solemnity and ostentation, all the Ambassadours of *England, France, Venice, Florence*, and the rest, desired leave of the Emperour to depart, saying their Commission was expir'd. To which *Charles* briefly answered, that hee would detain them no longer, than till his own were recall'd from their Masters Court. Hereupon, it was thought fit to proceed unto the Defie; which though the Spaniards relate with much particularity and circumstance, I shall yet declare as briefly as I can, according to their Historie.

1527.
Tarcagno.
Decemb. 14.
Decemb. 18.
1528.
Jan. 10.
Hall.
Sandov.

¶ Upon the 22. of January *Anno Domini* 1528. *Charles* being at *Burgos*, *Clarenceaux* and *Guyenne* came to the Court, and demanded Audience, which accordingly was granted them; Hereupon the said Heralds, holding their Coats of Armes in their left hand, after three low obeysances presented themselves before *Charles*, who sate in an high Throne, being attended by his chiefe Nobles and Counsellours. *Clarenceaux* (whom Sir *Francis Pointz*, being now returned to *England*, had left there for this purpose) begins first, saying;

Jan. 22.

Sire, According to the Lawes and Edicts inviolably guarded by the Roman Emperours your Predecessors, as well as by all other Kings and Princes, Wee two in the name of our Kings, do present our selves before your Sacred Majesty, to declare some things, on their part, beseeching your Majestie, that, having respect to the above-mention'd Lawes and Edicts, you would, out of your benignity and Clemency, vouchsafe to give us security and good usage in your Dominions, while we attend your Answer, and that you would grant us a safe Conduct, till we come to the Lands and Seigneuries of the Kings our Masters. The Emperour promising to accord this, *Guienne* reads a Cartell, sent from the King his Master, the substance whereof was, That because *Charles* would not condescend to an honest and fitting

1528. conclusion of Peace, nor pay unto the King of *England* that which he ow'd him, nor put the Pope at liberty, nor leave Italy in quietnesse; The King, my Master, hath commanded me to tell you, to his great griefe and displeasure, as also of his good Brother the King of *England*, that he shall from henceforth hold you his Enemy, notifying to you, that, from this day forwards, he intends not to keep any contract or agreement that may be for your profit and advantage, but that he will doe you, and your Subjects, all the harme he can, by Warre or otherwise, untill, upon honest and fitting conditions, you restore his Sons, put the Pope in liberty, pay the King of *England* that you owe him, and leave in peace and Repose all his Allyes and Confederates. Nevertheless, he offers XL. dayes respite for the withdrawing your Subjects out of their Dominions, requiring the like for his.

Dated *November* 11. 1527. and Signed,
Guienne King of Armes.

Charles hereunto replyed presently, That he had understood all he had sayd on the part of the King his Master, and that he did marvell much, that he should defy him, since, being his prisoner of Warre, and having his Faith plighted to him, he was disabled to proceed in this manner. Besides, it seemed strange to him, that he should defy him now; since he had made Warre with him a long time, and yet never defy'd him. Yet, that he trusted in God, he should be able to defend himselfe. As for that yee say of the Pope, none is more sorry than my selfe, for what is pass'd, as being done without my knowledge, or Consent; But, for that, I must advertize you, that I received assured Newes yesterday, that the Pope is at liberty. As for the Sonnes of the King your Master he knows well I hold them as Hostages, and his Ambassadours know as well, that it is not my fault, if they be not delivered. As for that you say on the part of the King of *England* my good Vnckle and Brother, I beleeve that he is not well inform'd of all the passages in these affairs; otherwise, that he would not have sent me this message. But I shall advertize him of the whole truth, and doe believe, that, when he knows it, he will be the same to me that formerly he was. I never denyed the Money he lent me; and am ready to pay it, as by right I am bound. Notwithstanding which, if he will needs make Warre against me, I can doe no lesse than defend my selfe, and pray to God, he give me not more occasion to make Warre against him, than I have given him against me. As for the rest, I desire to have your Cartell under your hand, that I may answer more particularly. Hereupon *Guienne* tooke his Coate of Armes and put it on.

Sand. Then *Clarenceaux*, not by writing but by word of mouth, spake to this effect. *Sire*, The King my Supreme Lord and Master, considering the necessity of Peace in the Christian World, as well for resisting the Turke, (who having taken the Isle of *Rhodes* and Fortresse

treſſe of *Belgrado*, intends yet further conqueſts) as for repreſſing the Hereſies and Sects that are newly riſen; and finding that your Commanders and Army have lately Sack'd the City of *Rome*, and taken our holy Father priſoner, together with divers Cardinalls, who have been alſo put to Ranſome, and that the Churches have been ſacrilegiouſly pr ofa n'd, and all manner of Religious Orders put to the ſword; inſomuch that by theſe Cruelties, and Miſchiefes, the ayre and earth have been infected, and the anger of God drawn down upon us, if we procure not Reparation for them; And, becauſe the Roote and beginning of theſe Warres proceeds from the contention and debates between you and the moſt Chriſtian King; The King my Maſter, for giving an end to theſe differences, hath, by his Ambaſſadours, propos'd to you, ſeverall times, ſuch honeſt Conditions, that you ought not to refuſe, if you deſired peace; And the rather, that your unreaſonable demands, would be an ill precedent for other Kings, and Princes, that may be ſubject to the like fortune; And whereas he alſo, as a Prince, being bound many wayes to the protection of the holy See, hath deſir'd you to give the Pope intire liberty; And hath, oftentimes, requir'd the Money he lent you in the time of your Neceſſity, which yet you have not paid him: 1528.

For theſe cauſes, the King my Maſter hath thought fit to take a finall reſolution, to deſire you, without further delay, to condeſcend to equity and reaſon; and to tell you, that, ſince you have refus'd it hitherto, he could doe no leſſe than conclude a League with the moſt Chriſtian King, and other Confederates, by force of Armes to conſtraine you to that, which by right you ought to doe. Wherefore, the ſaid King my Maſter, and the moſt Chriſtian King, require you this once for all, to accept the Conditions they have offered you for Peace; declaring, in caſe of refuſall, they muſt, (though not without great griefe and diſpleaſure) hold you for their Enemy, denouncing Warre unto you thereupon, both by Sea and Land, and Defying you with all their Forces. Yet, if you deſire to recall your Subjects out of all their Dominions, as they on their part, likewiſe, require, they offer you forty dayes reſpite for this purpoſe. This being ſaid, he put on his Coate of Armes, and afterwards gave his Speech under his hand, Signing it,

Clarenceaux King of Armes.

The anſwer, *Charles* made to this, little differing from what he made to *Guienne*, I ſhall not particularly relate.

Then *Charles*, calling *Guienne* aſide, deſired him, among other things, to tell the King his Maſter, that he thought he was not well advertis'd of ſomething that he told in *Granada* to his Ambaſſadors, which did concern him much: And that he did hold him to be ſo gentile a Prince, that, had he known it, he would have anſwer'd him before now. Wherefore, that he ſhould doe well, to take information thereof from his Ambaſſadours, ſince thereby he ſhould underſtand

1528. ſtand, that I *Charles* have better kept, what I promiſed at *Madrid*, than he hath done; And I pray you faile not to tell this to the King; which *Guienne* promiſed; and ſo, doing his obeyſance, departed. After which, the ſaid Kings of Armes were called upon by *Juan Aleman*, principall Secretary to the Emperour, to receive the anſwer he ſent to the Cartells. That, made to the French King, having little in it more than what is formerly ſet downe, I ſhall mention no otherwiſe, ſaveonly that a day was required for Treatie of repealing the Merchants on either ſide.

S.md. To *Clarenceaux* he anſwered, by the Pen of his Secretary; That the progreſſe of the Turk in Chriſtendome, and the captivity of the Pope, were not occaſion'd by him, and that the King of *England* ought not to complaine, that he ever refus'd to condiſcend to honeſt and reaſonable Tearms of Agreement, ſince for his ſake only, hee had releaſed much of that, which *Francis*, of himſelfe, had freely offered unto the Vice-roy of *Naples*. And all this before ever *Henry* did intermeddle with the ſaid Peace. Alſo, that, for the ſame reaſon, he had accorded divers other conditions, which no other perſons could have perſwaded him unto. Whereas, on the other ſide, *Francis* had never done any thing to comply with him. As to the ſecond point, which is concerning the liberty of the Pope, he was aſſur'd already from *Italy*, that he was free. So that no more needs to be ſaid thereof. And, for that which paſs'd in *Rome*, as ſoon as ever he was advertiſed thereof, he writ his Juſtification unto our King; Deſiring (withall) his Counſell and aſſiſtance in that which he thought might be moſt for the ſervice of God, and good of Chriſtendome, to which yet he never anſwered. Which argued, he did not ſo much deſire the liberty of the Pope (which by his loving adviſe he might have procur'd) as to pick a quarrell againſt him. And as for the Title which your King pretends of being *Protector of the Pope*, and *Defender of the Faith*, hee would not yeeld to him the honour of that duty, but that hee would ſay only, that if both had done what they ought, it would have been better for Chriſtendome; Neither ſhould thoſe have been born out and favour'd, who have ſo manifeſtly broken their promiſe, which yet, according both to divine and humane Right, ought to bee conſerv'd inviolable, both towards Friends and Enemies. As for the third point, which ſpeaks of the Debts demanded, it is anſwered, That the delay of payment was caus'd by the Treaty betwixt your Kings Ambaſſadours and me, according to which, the ſaid Debt ſhould bee aſſign'd on *Francis* to pay; and, ſince that time, the Non-payment was occaſioned by want of ſufficient power in your King's Ambaſſadours to diſcharge me thereof. And as for the Obligation of Indemnitie, there being in arriere foure yeares and foure moneths at the rate of 133305 Crownes by the yeare; And for the 500000 Crownes to be payd as a Penalty for not having match'd with the Princeſſe *Mary*, it is anſwered, that the Ambaſſadours, having not with them the Originall Obligations and Contracts, by which theſe things ſhould appear, he

he thought himſelf excuſed, till convenient place were appointed, where, at the ſame inſtant that he paid the money, hee might receive the Securities he entred into for the ſaid payments. As for the Indemnitie, there had ſo many things interven'd ſince, that hee thought he could produce five ſufficient reaſons to exempt himſelfe, when indifferent Commiſſioners ſhall heare the buſineſſe on both ſides. And as for the penaltie, which the ſaid Ambaſſadours demanded, there were three evident and peremptory reaſons to cleere him from ſatisfying that demand. Firſt becauſe, by the Law Civill and Canon, all penall ſtipulation, by which the free power of marrying in any fitting place is prohibited, is, *ipſo facto*, voyd, and of no effect. Second, That, when the Obligation for the ſaid penalty were valid, yet the ſaid King your Maſter cannot prevaile himſelf of the Treaty of *Windſor* (where the ſaid penalty was agreed) unleſſe he prove Firſt, that he had intirely accompliſht all that was to be done on his part; which he thought was more than could be made appeare. Thirdly, That, before hee marryed, he requir'd the King your Maſter to ſend his daughter to this Kingdome, for the better ſatisfaction of his Subjects, who deſired much to ſee him have Children, who might ſucceed him: Whereas your King thought fit rather to give Commiſſion to his Ambaſſadours to conſent to any other Marriage, than to ſend his Daughter hither. Beſides which, it appeared, by certaine Letters that were taken, the King your Maſter Treated of a Marriage betwixt his Daughter and the King of *Scotland* his Nephew; which Treaty was begun long before he married with the Empreſſe. So that, when the ſtipulation were valid, the King your Maſter ſhould pay the penalty, as being reciprocally agreed: On which yet he would not inſiſt, as being void in Law. Moreover, that, contrary to the ſaid Treaty of *Windſor*, he had ſecretly kept in his Court *John Joakim*, and afterwards publiquely receiv'd the Preſident of *Rouen*, as Ambaſſadour, who Treated on the part of *Francis*; And, becauſe the Ambaſſadour, he had in *England*, had writ the truth of what he ſaw, and underſtood, he was ill-uſed, and threatned in the ſaid Kingdome, and the diſpatches, he wrote, taken, and opened by the Miniſters of your King, contrary to all right both Divine and humane. And, which was worſt of all, ſince the Impriſonment of the ſaid *Francis*, the King, your Maſter, being required to ſet downe his claims and demands, whereby (according to the ſaid Treaty) each of them might have recovered their right, and a good and durable peace be eſtabliſhed in Chriſtendome, yet the King your Maſter would never accept hereof, as thinking to make his advantage another way; which hath been the cauſe of all the breaches that have follow'd ſince. That yet he had forborn to take notice, or complaine of theſe offences, as being deſirous to keep the friendſhip of the King your Maſter, which he eſteemed ſo much, that he accorded, for his ſake, almoſt all, that his Ambaſſadours demanded at *Palentia*, concerning the Peace with *Francis*. As for the defy you have made on the

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1528. the part of the King your Maſter, there is ſufficient anſwer thereto given by word of mouth. It being poſſible (as was then ſaid) that there might be more juſt occaſion to make warre againſt the King your Maſter, than he hath againſt me; eſpecially, if it be true (which is ſaid in *England*, *France*, and other parts) that your King will be Divorced from the Queen his Wife, and marry with another, (notwithſtanding the diſpenſations granted on that behalfe.) Since, beſides all other injuries done herein, it will be manifeſt, his intention was to make the Lady (he prerended to give me in marriage) a Baſtard; which yet as he could not eaſily believe, in a Prince he eſteem'd ſo much, ſo, if any ſuch purpoſe were, he muſt lay the fault thereof upon the ſiniſter and perverſe information of his Cardinall, whoſe unmeaſurable Ambition and Covetouſneſſe was ſuch, that, becauſe hee refus'd to employ his Army in *Italy* for the making him Pope by ſtrong hand, (which alſo he had procur'd the King his Maſter to write for, and himſelfe had intreated by ſome Letters written by his own hand) And becauſe alſo he would not ſatisfie him in other his inordinate and unreaſonable deſires, he had many times declared, that he would give that diſturbance and impediment to all his buſineſſes, that for this hundred yeares the like had not been ſeen; ſo that he would make him repent it, when the Kingdome of *England* ſhould be hazarded thereby. And certainly, if the King your Maſter will believe the evill counſell of the Cardinall, it will be the right way to bring that to paſſe, which he ſaid, and conſequently to be the ruine of your King and Maſters Dominions. All which being conſidered, hee proteſted he was not the Author of the evills might follow hereupon. Finally, for the buſineſſe of the Merchants, hee referr'd him to a further Treaty.

Theſe Anſwers were read unto the ſaid Kings of Armes by *Juan Aleman Seigneur de Bouclans*, and then given unto them, to be carryed to their ſeverall Kings and Maſters, in *Burgos* 27 *Jan.* 1528. Where-withall they had their ſafe Conducts to depart.

Jan. 27.

Thus did *Clarenceaux*, in ſtead of ſatisfaction for the Money, and kindneſſes done to *Charles*, return with a Reply full of offence and evaſion, unto his King and Maſter. Of which our King yet made no other account, than ſuch, as became one, who holding himſelfe free from all cauſes of ſuſpition and calumny, deſpiſed whatſoever in either kind was objected againſt him; ſince, having inviolably kept his intention and oath of falling on that Prince, which moſt interrupted the publike Peace, he thought it now his part, to joyn againſt *Charles*. For though in the beginning he interceded only for a Peace, betwixt him and *Francis*, (refuſing therefore to bee the chiefe and Protector of the Clementine League) yet finding now, that the Generalls and Army of *Charles* proceeded to ſuch an enormous outrage, as to take and hold the Pope priſoner, he thought he could do no leſſe, than uſe all means that might conduce to his delivery, and the repreſſing of the exorbitant ambition of *Charles*, who was thought not

not obſcurely to aſpire to an univerſall Monarchy. As for the little cavills and punctiglios, concerning the receiving of *Giovanni Joakim*, or the giving a civill eare to a propoſition of marriage in *Scotland*, and the like, as they were not, before ſome Contraventions of the part of *Charles*, ſo no effect did follow thereof, in thoſe times when *Charles* moſt ſuſpected them. Though, when our King was inform'd that *Charles* did, after his Treatie at *Windſor*, give and receive overtures of Marriage in more than in one place, it could not ſeeme ſtrange if he tooke the ſame liberty. As for the opening of the Letters, our Cardinall by particular diſpatches to Doctor *Sampſon* Reſident in *Spaine*, had, a good while ſince, ſo cleered his King from any ſiniſter intention therein, that it ought not to have been further mention'd. For though, indeed, a ſtranger paſſing the Watch about *London* at an undue time of night, and in a ſuſpected manner, had ſome Letters taken from him, which afterwards were opened by Sir *Thomas Moore*, and delivered to the Cardinall; yet the ſaid Letters, which (as it appear'd afterwards) came from Mounſieur *de Praet*, (who departed ſecretly out of *England*, without taking leave either of our King or his Counſell, and were written in Ciphre, and contained many dangerous falſhoods) were, in due time, poſted to the Emperour, whereby alſo he might perceive what ill offices his ſaid Ambaſſadour did, and the fault laid on *de Praet*, who choſe rather to uſe his owne Authority than to demand a Paſſe, in a time when he knew they could not otherwiſe be Convey'd, which likewiſe was the excuſe for intercepting another Meſſenger, who carryed Letters to the Lady *Margaret* in *Flanders*, of the ſame Tenor; which yet ſhe received preſently after. And for the excuſes not to pay the Money requir'd of him, or the penalty above-mentioned, they were but Arts, by which others might learne to deceive him in the ſame kind, and which therefore might inſtruct *Francis* to do the like.

Our Cardinall being thus incens'd againſt *Charles*, thought fit, aſwell in deſpite of him, as for the aſſertion of his Kings proceedings, publiquely to give account in the Starchamber of the whole State of this buſineſſe; adding withall, that our King was reſolv'd to make Warre againſt *Charles*. In the delivery whereof, though he did exaggerate the actions of *Charles*, even to the making him criminall of whatſoever either by the Law of God, or man he could be guilty; yet our Merchants, who, thereupon, ſhould neither vent their chief Commodities in the Low-Countries, and *Spaine*, nor againe receive from thence ſupplies of ſome Commodities they ſtood in need of, would no way approve this Warre; as that, from which they ſaw neither profit nor honour likely to enſue; eſpecially, when they heard, the Pope was delivered from his Impriſonment. Nevertheleſſe, the Cardinall, purſuing his intentions, (as the Emperour had done Firſt in *Spaine* to the Engliſh and French,) ſeizeth on the goods of the Subjects of *Charles*, and ſhortly after on the perſon of his Ambaſſador *Don Hugo de Mendoça*, upon notice given, that our Am-

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1525. *Records.*

1525. *April. 9.*

Octob.

Hall.

1528. baſſadour was ſtaid in *Spaine*. The Conſequence of this, was, that our Merchants preſently found the like meaſure in the Low-Countries, to the great prejudice of that Entercourſe and Commerce, which for many ages had paſs'd betwixt both Nations. Upon newes yet, that our Ambaſſadours were well uſed in *Spaine*, *Hugo de Mendoça* was not only ſet at liberty, but perſwaded, by ſome, that the Defiance which *Clarenceaux* had made unto *Charles*, was by him haſtened, at the motion only of the French Ambaſſadour. For which *Hall.* preſumptuous act, he ſhould therefore ſuffer death, aſſoon as he return'd to *Calais*. *Hugo de Mendoça*, glad hereof, ſends a diſpatch, by poſt, into *Spaine*, acquainting *Charles* with all theſe particularities. But as the *Courrier* paſt by *Bayone*, the Governour thereof opened and Coppyed theſe Letters, which afterwards he ſhew'd *Clarenceaux*, as he return'd homewards. *Clarenceaux*, at firſt, ſeem'd much aſtoniſh'd, but, at laſt, conſidering he had good warrant from the Cardinall, for all his proceedings, he recollects himſelfe, and continues his Journey. He did not thinke fit yet to come to *Calais*, but, taking Ship at *Beulogne*, and landing at *Rye*, he ſecretly poſted to *Hampton* Court, where the King was; uſing ſuch means there, that he obtained ſpeedy acceſſe to him, ſhewing, among other things, *Hall.* three Letters from the Cardinall, authorizing this Defy to *Charles*. He aſſured him alſo of the good uſage he had received there; inſomuch, that (notwithſtanding all theſe Rough paſſages,) he had been rewarded with a Chain of 700 Duckats. Laſtly, he ſhew'd the Copy of thoſe Letters the Governour of *Bayone* had intercepted: which ſo ſtartled the King, that he proteſted againſt the Cardinall, as one, that not only uſurped to much upon the Regall Authority, but repreſented things much otherwiſe than they were, unto him. The King, hereupon, ſent for the Cardinall, and layes theſe inſolencies and preſumptious to his charge in ſuch a manner, that, howſoever the Cardinall excus'd himſelf, the King was obſerv'd to miſtruſt him ever after- *Hall.* wards. The matter hereupon was brought to the body of the Counſell; where, notwithſtanding the Cardinall alleged that nothing was done, but what was conformable to the Kings intentions, as he conceiv'd them; yet, becauſe in a Matter of this high conſequence, he had proceeded too ſingly, without adviſing with the King and Counſell, he was reprov'd. In ſequence whereof alſo (notwithſtanding this deſigned Warre) ſome overtures were made for keeping the Commerce betwixt us, and the Low-Country-men ſtill open, if it could be fairely done. Therefore the Dutchmen were Licenſed to depart home, the Spanyards yet being not permitted to goe, till it appeard'd, how our Merchants were uſed there.

The Lady *Margaret Regent* of the Low-Countryes, being inform'd hereof, doth, in Exchange of this curteſy, diſmiſſe our Engliſh likewiſe, yet reteineth their goods, untill ſhe might heare how the Spanyards were uſed in *England*, But together aſſures them, that, when ſhe is ſatisfied thereof, all things ſhould be ſafely reſtored.

And

And now our Merchants (who uſed not the Trade to the many Northerne and remote Countries they now frequent) foreſeeing the conſequence of theſe Warres, refus'd to buy the Cloathes that were brought to *Blackwell*-Hall in *London*, whereupon the Clothiers, Spinners and Carders in many Shires of *England* began to mutine. For appeaſing whereof, the Cardinall commands our Merchants to take off theſe Cloathes, at a reaſonable price, from the poor mens hands, threatning, otherwiſe, that the King himſelfe ſhould buy them, and ſell them to Strangers. But the ſullen Merchants, little mov'd herewith, ſaid, they had no reaſon to buy Commodities they knew not how to utter. Therefore, whatſoever was propos'd for *Staples* at *Calis*, or *Abbeville*, our Merchants did not, or at leaſt would not underſtand it. But this diſcontentment did equally extend to the inhabitants of the Low-Countries, and eſpecially to *Antwerp*, where the chiefe Mart was. The Lady *Margaret* conſidering this alſo, and fearing leſt any Inſurrection might follow, ſends over, by the advice of the Emperours Counſell, the Provoſt of *Caſſells*, and one other, to joyne with *Don Hugo de Mendoça*, for the obteining, if nothing elſe, yet of a Truce and abſtinence from War. Theſe Ambaſſadours having obteined audience of the King, Mart. 29. 1528. *Mendoça* ſaid unto him; 1528. *March 29. Hall.*

Sire, The Emperour's Majeſty doth acknowledge himſelf ſo much bound to your Grace for the many favours receiv'd from you, ever ſince his Minority, that he wil by no means take the Defyance given by your Herauld, as a peremptory denuntiation of war, til he hath heard further of your pleaſure. Therefore, his Counſell hath appointed theſe two Noble perſons and my ſelf, to know your determinate Anſwer, and finall Reſolution herein. The King, pawſing awhile, as one that in his heart loved *Charles*, and yet was bound, by his late Treaty, to oppoſe him, Anſwered; *Of war I am nothing joyfull, And of war I am leſſe fearfull*. I thank God, as having both men and money in readineſſe, which I know other Princes lack; for all their high words; And therefore to war I could ſoon agree. Yet, before I make you a determinate Anſwer herein, I ſhall declare ſome part of my mind to you, and tell you accordingly, that, although your Maſter be a great Emperour, and mighty Prince, I cannot, nor may not, ſuffer him to bear down and deſtroy the Realm of *France*, which is our true Inheritance, and for which our Brother and Ally, the French King, payes us yearly a great Penſion and Tribute, wherefore we, of Juſtice and equity, muſt maintain that Land, out of which wee have ſo faire a Rent, and ſuch a profit. The Provoſt of *Caſſelles* replying hereunto, told the King; That the antient love and friendſhip which hath been betwixt your Realme and the houſe of *Burgundy*, *Flanders*, and the *Low-Countries*, is now ſo confirm'd and rooted in their hearts, that I aſſure your Grace, that, next their Soveraign Lord, they would ſooneſt live and die with you. In which regard hee hoped, that no New Allyance could corrupt and change this ſo long ſetled and inveterate

1528. Amity. Which yet we ſay not out of Fear, as being well furniſhed for War, but out of that true affection, which we have ever born you. Therefore, though we offer you choice of War, or Peace, yet the Emperour intends no more herein, than to leave you the abitrement of both. And thus much I will confeſſe out of my Inſtructions, that if you chooſe War, we have yet Commiſſion in fitting Termes to ſue for Peace; And, if you chooſe Peace, we have likewiſe Commiſſion to thank you for it, and to offer both us and ours at your command. *Hugo de Mendoça*, to ſecond this, ſaid, that, of very right, the Emperour and his Dominions ought to have your love and favour before the French King and his Nation. Since the French had never applyed themſelves to you, but in the time of their neceſſitie; whereas the love on our part hath been ever inviolable. This was an age, in which much Honour, and ſome Good-nature was to be found. Therefore our King, returning to his former affection to *Charles* (and the rather that he found ſo much was deferr'd to his mediation, in the affaires of *Francis*, as is above related) and, beſides, having an eye on the buſineſſes of *Scotland* (as will appear hereafter) and, howſoever, being deſirous to conſerve his Style and Dignitie of Arbiter, told them, that, as he well perceiv'd the intent of their comming, ſo he would be well advis'd, how to make them a fitting anſwer; ſaying, that, in the mean while he was content there ſhould be a Truce for a time; wherewith the Flemiſh Ambaſſadours returned home, well-ſatisfied that they had obteined this reſpite. The King, hereupon, adviſeth with his Counſailors; among whom, though thoſe, who adhered to *Woolſey*, did perſwade a Warre, yet the greater part (who did ſecretly diſaffect the Cardinall) told the King, That the Reſultance of Warre in the Low-Countries could be nothing but a grievance to his Subjects, a decay of Trade, a diminution of his Cuſtomes, and addition to the greatneſſe of *France*, who would have the advantage of all that was undertaken in this kind. Which being duly conſidered, it was thought fit to make an abſtinence from Warre for eight moneths, and untill it appear'd (upon conſultation betwixt the Emperours Ambaſſadours, and his) how a Generall peace might be made. Hereupon Letters were ſent, not only to *Spaine*, and *Flanders*, but to *France*, manifeſting the reaſons, why the King had, for a while, ſuſpended this Warre. In which Eſtate alſo the buſineſſe continued, till anſwer was brought from forraigne parts.

Hall.

The Biſhop of *Bayonne*, reſident here on the part of the French King, was no ſooner advertiz'd hereof, but he demanded audience; which being obteined, he ſaieth, That, though he doubted not, but his Highnes did well remember the late League, concluded betwixt him and his Brother the French King, which alſo was ratified and confirm'd by the three Eſtates of the Realme of *France*, by vertue whereof you have an Annuall Penſion and Tribute to a great value paid to you, in conſideration whereof, you have promis'd to defend the ſaid Realme againſt all perſons; yet, becauſe it is well knowne to many,

Hall.

that

that the Emperours Ambaſſadours have laboured the contrary, diſpoſing your Highnes (all they could) to infringe the ſaid League, I thought it my parr to put your Higneſſe in mind thereof, aſſuring your Highneſſe, for the reſt, that, whenſoever you ſhould begin to make a Warre upon the Emperour and his Subjects, it would be a perpetuall Obligation, not only on him, but on the whole French Nation. The King replied hereunto, that, though it were more eaſie to enter into Warres, than to end them with Honour and profit, yet that he would preſerve inviolable the League and Amity betwixt his Brother of *France*, and himſelfe. So that the King, your Maſter, needs not doubt, but that I will defend his Country to the uttermoſt of my Power; Though, I muſt tell you, that, when I could procure him an Honourable, and advantagious Peace, I ſhould think I had deſerv'd aſwell of him this way, as any other. Wherwith the Ambaſſadour departed well-contented, yet ſo, as he was in ſome more uncertainty concerning the intended Warre. Therefore, he ſollicites the Cardinall, as his Maſters beſt friend, to haſten the Forces, which our King had now in readineſſe for a Warre with the Low-Countries; But, as the favour of the Cardinall began now ſomewhat to decline, ſo found he not that expedition which he was wont to receive in his addreſſes. Howſoever, the Warre betwixt the French and Flemmings continued. In which this memorable accident is recorded. That a French Ship lying at *Margate*, being ſet on by a Flemming, and finding her ſelf too weake, the wind being fair for the River of Thames, packs on all her Sayles, and makes for *London*. The Flemming, as eagerly purſuing her, overtakes and boards her neer the Tower-Wharfe, which Sir *Edmund Walſingham*, Lieutenant of the Tower, perceiving, calls his Men together, and ſeized on them; where, though the Flemming boldly challenged his prize, yet the Kings Counſell, conſidering, that (in this place) both of them were under the Kings protection, it was thought fit to diſmiſſe them freely on either ſide. 1528. *Hall.* *Hall.*

It appeares before, how *Guyenne*, King of Armes, charg'd himſelfe with a Meſſage from *Charles* the Emperour unto the King his Maſter, conteining an affront and kind of challenge, which the ſaid *Charles* had formerly declared to the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*. *Guyenne* having now performed his part; *Francis* could no longer forbeare to take notice of it. Yet, becauſe it ſeems he did not ſufficiently apprehend the relation which the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux* made thereof, he requires of him more ample and cleere information. The Archbiſhop hereupon writes to *Charles*, and craves, that, under his hand, he would ſet downe what he told him by word of mouth; for the reſt, making ſome excuſe, that he did not remember it better. *Charles* anſwers him, and repeats the words; Shortly after which, *Francis* diſpatches *Guyenne* with a Cartell; in the delivery whereof I ſhall ſet downe the formes were uſed, the example being ſo rare. *Sand.*

Guyenne having obteined a ſafe conduct from *Charles*, who alſo commanded

1528. commanded one *Montalvo*, a Gentleman, for his more ſecurity, by the way, to accompany him, comes to *Monçon* in *Aragon*, where *Charles* then was, 7. of *June* 1528. Having gotten audience the next day, *Charles* ſitting in his Throne, and being well attended by his prime Nobility and Prelates, expects him. *Guyenne* comming hereupon to the lower end of a great Hall, puts on his Coate of Armes, and, after five low obeyſances made, caſts himſelf on his knees before *Charles*, and ſpeaks thus.

June 7. *June 8.*

Sire, I beſeech your Majeſtie, that, continuing the good uſage I have received hitherunto, you will give me leave to performe that, that belongs to my office, and that, this being done, I may have leave ſafely to returne. *Charles* anſwered; King of Armes, doe thy duty, and my will is, that thou be alwayes well Treated. Then *Guyenne*, riſing up, ſaid;

Sire, The King my Maſter, being advertiſed of the words you commanded me to tell him, and of that which, before and after, you have ſpoken againſt his Honour, deſires ſo much to juſtifie it, before all the world, (as in truth he may,) that he hath commanded me, for anſwer, to preſent you this Writing, ſubſcribed with his owne hand, which when your Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to peruſe, you will find, how intirely hee ſatisfies all. Moreover, your Majeſtie will bee pleaſed to give mee leave to returne to the King my Maſter, for I have no further Commiſſion. This being ſaid, he ſeem'd to offer a paper unto *Charles*. Before yet *Charles* would take it, he ſaid, King of Armes, ha'ſt thou Commiſſion from thy King to reade this writing thou bringeſt? *Guyenne* anſwered, that he had. Then *Charles* ſayd, King of Armes, I have heard that which you have ſaid, and will looke on the writing which you have brought, and will doe in ſuch ſort, that my honour ſhall be preſerved. And, for the King your Maſter, he will have enough to doe to keep his, it being a thing in a manner impoſſible. As for that which concerns my Juſtice, my Chancellor here ſhall deliver it. Then the Chancellor ſayd, His Majeſtie, holding himſelf to the Proteſtations made heretofore on his part, proteſteth here againe, that, for any thing that either now, or hereafter, he ſhall ſay, or doe, he doth not intend to prejudice or derogate from the Rights that belong unto him by the Capitulation of *Madrid*; and that, notwithſtanding any breach on this particular occaſion, it ſhall remaine in full force and effect. And that this Proteſtation ſhall be underſtood, as diſtributed and reparted in all the proceedings, that ſhall hereafter paſſe in this matter.

When the Chancellor had ſpoken this, the Emperour ſaid; King of Armes, although, for many reaſons, the King your Maſter be not capable of doing any Act in this kind, either againſt me or any elſe, yet, for the good of Chriſtendome, and avoyding of more effuſion of blood, and for giving an end to theſe Warres, and for no other reaſon, I doe inable him for this purpoſe; wherewith he tooke the

paper

paper that *Guyenne* held in his hand. Then *Guyenne* ſaid to him; *Sire*, If the Anſwer that your Majeſty ſhall ſend to the King my Maſter be the ſecurity of the Field, or Fighting place, and that you pleaſe to give it me, I have Commiſſion to bring it, and nothing elſe. Therefore, your Majeſty will be pleaſed not to force me to any thing elſe, but the ſaid ſecurity of the Field, in which the King my Maſter will aſſuredly preſent himſelf, with thoſe Armes with which he intends to defend himſelfe. And for me, your Majeſty will be pleaſed to let me depart. *Charles* anſwered; Your Maſter ought not to preſcribe me what I am to doe; I will doe what I have ſaid; for which cauſe, aſwell, as that ſomething may be in this paper, to which I may reply by ſome particular Meſſenger, I charge you to procure him, a ſafe conduct, ſince you would not come without mine; which *Guyenne* promiſed; wherewith the Emperour calling *Juan Aleman*, his Secretary, charg'd him to Record all that had been done there. After which *Guyenne* (who ſeem'd to have taken his leave) ſaid; *Sire*, I have another paper to preſent your Majeſtie by the hands of Seigneur *Aleman* your Secretary, if your Majeſtie be pleaſed to command him to receive it; which *Charles* likewiſe permitted. Whereupon all the principall perſons preſent, and laſtly *Guyenne* alſo, ſubſcribed their names unto the Record. This being done, the Emperour commanded his Secretary *Aleman* to read in an high voyce the Cartell delivered by *Guyenne*. 1528.

The Cartell of Francis *the Freneh King to* Charles *the Emperour.*

VVEe *Francis* by the grace of God King of *France*, Lord of *Genoua*, &c. To you *Charles*, by the ſame grace, Choſen-Emperour of the *Romans*, King of *Spaine*. We let you know that being advertis'd, how, in certeine Anſwers given to our Ambaſſadours and Kings of Armes, (which for negotiating a peace we ſent unto you) you, deſiring without reaſon to excuſe your ſelf, have accuſed us, ſaying, that you have our Faith plighted to you, and that hereupon contravening our promiſe we are departed out of your hands and power. For defending of our honour, which herein is, much againſt truth, impeached, we have thought fit to ſend you this Cartell; by which although we ſay, that no man under reſtraint can plight his Faith, and that, though this excuſe is very ſufficient, yet, as we deſire to give ſasisfaction to every one, and aſwell to our own honour, which we have kept, and will keep (God willing) to the death; We let you know, that, if either you have already, or ſhall hereafter lay to our charge any thing which may touch our Faith, or Liberty, or that we have done any thing, which a Cavalier that loves his honour ought not doe; We ſay unto you, that you have Lyed in your throate, and that as many times as you ſhall ſay it, you Lye. Being reſolv'd to defend our honour to the laſt period of our life.

And

1528. And ſince, againſt Truth, you have layed this Imputation on us, write not to us any more, but aſſure Us the Field, and wee will bring the Armes; Proteſting that, if, after this Declaration, you write to any part, or ſpeak any words againſt our honour, the ſhame of delaying the Combat ſhall bee yours, ſince, being come to theſe termes, all cauſe of writing ceaſeth.

Martii 28. 1528. 27. *Dated in our good Town and City of* Paris *Mart.*28. 1527. *before Eaſter.*

Underneath which was plac'd the little Seale of *Francis* in Wax.

Records. This being the ſubſtance of *Francis* his Cartell, was communicated beforehand to our King, who adviſed him only (as I find in our Records) not to give the Emperour that harſh word of the Lye. In the Paper delivered to the Secretary *Aleman*, a Relation was made of ſome paſſages between *Francis*, and the *Seigneur de Granvele*, Ambaſſadour of *Charles* reſiding in the French Court, in which *Francis* *Sandov.* pretended to excuſe his breach of promiſe, by the conſtraint and neceſſitie he was in, ſaying, among other things, that he yeelded not himſelfe to the Emperour, and therefore that he could not accuſe him of breach of Faith. It was alſo declared there, how *Francis* cauſed the * *Mart.* 28. Cartell above-mentioned to be * read publikely before the Emperour's Ambaſſadour. Moreover, *Francis* laboured to avoyd the imputation layd on him by *Charles* for defying him now, when yet he had made ſix or ſeven years war without ſending any ſuch Defy. To which therefore he anſwer'd, that the Ambaſſadours of *Charles* had defied him firſt, at *Dijon*, and therefore it would not ſeem ſtrange if hee defended himſelf. The reſt was little more than ſome proteſtations againſt the late Impriſonment of the Pope, the deteyning of his two Sonnes for Hoſtages, ſome Complement for *Henry* King of *England*, ſome excuſes for not having anſwer'd this buſineſſe ſooner; among which, the following, being ſomewhat extravagant, ſeems worth the relating: For, whereas *Charles* objected againſt him, that he kept his promiſe in *Madrid* better to *Francis*, than *Francis* had done to him, he ſaid he did not remember to have promiſed any thing there; for, concerning the Concord of *Madrid*, he ſaid, it was ſet down in Writing; howſoever that he held himſelf ſufficiently diſcharged from it, in regard he was not at liberty when he Signed it, nor afterwards ſet free upon his word: (which, in that caſe only, hee thought himſelf bound to obſerve,) for the reſt, profeſſing, he could call to mind nothing that might oblige him, but only that he ſaid he would in perſon aſſiſt *Charles* againſt the Turk, which hee was ready to do likewiſe with all his Forces; aſſuring further, that *Charles* ſhould not ſo ſoon have his foot in the ſtirrop for this purpoſe, but he would be before him in the Saddle. To all which the ſaid Ambaſſadour replied, hee had no commiſſion to heare, or Treat of theſe buſineſſes, and therefore deſired leave to depart, and ſafe-conduct, the Emperour his Maſter,

ſter having repeal'd him. Whereunto *Francis* anſwered, that the Emperour his Maſter had forc'd him to theſe courſes, and that he did eſteeme him ſo gentile a Prince, that, when he ſhould underſtand this anſwer I make him, hee would anſwer thereunto like a Gentleman, and not like a Lawyer: becauſe, if he did otherwiſe, he would ſend a Reply to his Chancellor, by an Advocate, a perſon of his quality, and an honeſter Man than he. For your particular, I have thought fit to let you know, that I ſhall cauſe you to be accompanied to the Frontiers of my Dominions, to the intent that I may receive my Ambaſſadours at the time that I diſmiſſe you. This was Signed by *Robertet* Secretary to *Francis*. 1528.

Hereupon *Charles* reſolves, by *Burgundy* his King of Armes, to ſend his Reply unto *Francis* bearing date *June* 24. 1528. *Junc.* 24.

The Cartell and reply of Charles *the Emperour, to* Francis *the French King.*

CHarles by the divine Clemency, Emperour of the *Romans*, King of *Germany* and of *Spaine*, &c. I doe let know to you *Fraucis*, by the grace of God, King of *France*, that, upon the VIII. of this Moneth of *June*, I received by *Guyenne*, your King of Armes, your Cartell, dated *Mart.* 28. which from a remoter place than *Paris* might have come hither in a ſhorter time; and conformable to that, which on my part was ſaid to your King of Armes, I anſwer to that which you ſay, That in certain anſwers given by me to the Ambaſſadours and Kings of Armes, whom for negotiating a Peace you ſent unto me, in which you allege, that, for excuſing my ſelfe, without cauſe, I have accuſed you; I reply, that I have not ſeen any King of Armes on your part, but him that came to *Burgos*, to denounce War againſt me. And as for my ſelfe, having err'd in nothing, there is no need to excuſe my ſelfe. But for you, it is your owne Faults that accuſe you. And whereas you mention the plighting of your Faith to me, you ſay true, when you underſtand thereby the Capitulation of *Madrid*; where it appeares, by certaine writings ſubſcribed with your owne hand, that you would returne to be my true priſoner, in caſe you did not accompliſh all, which by the ſaid Capitulation was promiſed. But, that I ſhould ſay as you mention in your Cartell, that you, having plighted your Faith unto me, did, contrary to your promiſe, goe away, and eſcape my hands, and power, they are words which I never ſaid, becauſe I never pretended to hold your Faith, ſo, as not to go away, but to return in the form that was agreed. And if you made this good, you ſhould neither be wanting to your Children, nor that which you owe unto your honour. And to that you ſay, that, for defence of your honor (which in this caſe ſhould, much againſt truth, be impeach'd,) you have thought fit to ſend your Cartell, by which you ſay, that although no Man under ward or reſtraint can plight

1528. his Faith, and that this excuſe is very ſufficient; Notwithſtanding, as you deſire to give ſatisfaction to every one, and as well unto your own honour, which you ſay, you have kept, and will keep (God-willing) unto the death, and thereupon doe let me know, that, if either I have already, or ſhall hereafter lay to your charge any thing which may touch your Faith or liberty, or that you have done any thing which a Cavallier that loves his honour ought not to doe, you ſay that I have Lyed in my throat, and, as many times as I ſhall ſay it, that I Lye. And that you are reſolv'd to defend your honour to the laſt period of your life:

To this I Anſwer, that, conſidering the forme of the Capitulation, your excuſe for being under reſtraint can have no place, but, ſince you make ſo ſmall account of your honour, I doe not wonder that you deny your ſelf to be obliged to accompliſh your promiſe; for your words cannot vindicate your honour. Therefore I have ſaid, and will ſay (without Lying,) That you have done *Laſchement* and *Meſchament*, in not keeping the Faith you gave me, according to the Capitulation of *Madrid*. And, in ſaying this, I doe not charge you with things ſecret, or impoſſible to prove, ſince they appeare by Writings, ſigned by your hand, which you can neither excuſe, nor deny: And if you will affirme the contrary, (ſince I have releaſed and enabled you only for this Combat) I ſay, that for the good of Chriſtendome, and for avoiding the effuſion of blood, and for putting an end to this Warre, and to defend my juſt demand, I ſhall, in my perſon maintaine againſt yours, that, that, which I ſay, is true. But I will not returne to you the Language you give me; ſince both your Actions (without that I or any elſe ſpake of them) make you a Lyar, and that it is more eaſy a far off to talk in this manner, than neer at hand. And, as for that which you ſay, that, ſince, againſt Truth, I have lay'd this imputation on you, that from henceforth I ſhould write no more, but that I ſhould aſſure you the Field; and that you will bring the Armes, I ſay, you muſt have patience a while, till I have layd your Actions open to you, and untill I have writ you this Anſwer, by which I ſay, that I accept the appointing of the Field, and that I am content to aſſure it on my part, by all the reaſonable wayes that can be deviſed; And, for this effect, and for the better expedition thereof, I doe now name the place for the ſaid Combat, to be upon the River, which paſſeth between *Fuentarabie* and *Andaja*, in that part, and after that manner, which by agreement on both ſides, ſhall be thought moſt ſecure and convenient. And, it ſeems that in reaſon you ought not to refuſe this, or ſay it is not ſecure enough, ſince there you were ſet Free, upon giving your Sonnes for Hoſtages, with your Faith and promiſe to returne. And conſidering as well that in the ſame River you did entruſt your perſon, and your Children; You may be confident now to hazard your owne only, Since I will as well hazard mine. And means ſhall be found out that, Notwithſtanding the Situation of the

the place, neither of us ſhall have advantage of the other. And for this purpoſe, aſwell as for the election of Armes, (which I pretend of right to belong to me and not to you) And becauſe in the Concluſion of this buſines no trifling or delay may bee admitted, we may ſend Gentlemen, on both parts to view the ſaid place; with ſufficient power to Treat and agree, aſwell concerning the ſecurity of the Field, as the choice of Armes, the day of Combat, and the reſt that belongs hereunto. And, if within the ſpace of XL. dayes after the delivery hereof, you neither anſwer nor advertiſe me of your intention herein, it will ſufficiently appeare, that the delay is on your part, which therefore ſhall be imputed, and layd to your charge, together with the default of not having accompliſh'd that which you promiſed in *Madrid*. And whereas you proteſt, that if, after this Declaration, I ſay or write words Contrary to your honour, that the ſhame of delay of Combat ſhall be mine, ſince when matters are brought to theſe termes, all Cauſe of writing ceaſeth: your Proteſtations might have bin well ſpared; ſince you cannot forbid me to ſay Truth, though it grieve you. And that aſwell I am aſſur'd that the ſhame of delaying the Combat will not reſt on me, ſince all the World may Witneſſe the deſire I have to ſee an end thereof. 1528.

At Monçon in Aragon June 28. 1528.

This alſo was certified under the hand and Seale of *Burgundy* King of Armes, who, together carryed, in a paper, the fourth Article of the Concord of *Madrid*. And, moreover, in a publique writing, declar'd that his Imperiall Majeſtie commanded him, with all ſpeed, to require an Anſwer thereof. And that he ſhould offer his ſervice for bringing of it, if *Francis* ſo thought fit. Yet if the ſaid King would not ſend it but by another, then that he ſhould aſſure *Francis*, on the part of his Imperiall Majeſtie, that the ſaid Meſſenger might come ſecurely; And that a ſafe-Conduct ſhould be made him if he deſired it; Although his Imperiall Majeſtie did not thinke it neceſſary for a King of Armes, as being a privileg'd perſon. And, beſides this, that he the ſaid *Burgundy* ſhould give to *Robertet* Secretary to the King of *France*, or any other, whom the ſaid King ſhould appoint, an Anſwer, in writing, to that which *Guyenne* gave in preſence of his Imperiall Majeſtie, and, by his conſent, to the Secretary *Aleman*. The Tenor of which writing being long, and conteyning little in it, but what is formerly ſet downe, I ſhall paſſe over. And the rather, that it took no more effect. Nevertheleſſe, I muſt not omit to ſay, that the excuſe of *Francis* was not generally approved, nor his Cartell thought juſt. For if a Priſoner of Warre may avoid his promiſe, becauſe he is under conſtraint, it would follow, that few or none would be taken, but rather kild upon the place; which would make the Warre not only more bloody and barbarous, but even deſtroy a principall part of that *Jus Gentium*, which in theſe caſes hath been inviolably obſerv'd in all times. So that if *Sandov.*

1528. *Francis* had excus'd his not returning by being a publique perſon, and had ſaid that his Obligation by Oath, when he was crown'd, unto his people and Kingdome was a greater tye than that of his particular honour; And, together, had alleged, that he could not obteine their conſent, either to performe his promiſe for reſtitution of *Burgundy*, or otherwiſe to goe ſingle out of his Kingdome; It was thought, by ſome, he might have Vindicated himſelf in great part, and, indeed, lay I ſome imputation on *Charles*, for demanding things impoſſible to performe. But I come to that which enſued; according to an Act which *Burgundy* gave under his hand and Seale, as Authentique, for the juſtifying of the Emperour his Maſters reputation.

Sandov.

July 1. This *Burgundy*, comming to *Fuentarabie*, ſends a Trumpet 1. *July* 1528. to Monſieur *de* St. *Bonnet* Governour of *Bayonne*, for the ſafe-Conduct which *Guyenne* had promiſed. The Governour excuſed himſelf, as not having Commiſſion; yet as *Burgundy* perſiſted in his demand, the ſaid Governour, about VIII. dayes afterwards, ſent him word, that his ſafe-conduct was ready, if he brought ſecurity of the Field to *Francis*; requiring further to know if his Commiſſion extended to any thing elſe. To which *Burgundy* anſwer'd, about VII. dayes after, that the Emperour his Maſter had commanded him not to declare his Meſſage to any, but *Francis*: and that, therefore, he had diſpatch'd a *Courrier* to his Imperiall Majeſtie to know what Anſwer I ſhould make, who hath commanded me, hereupon, to let you know, that I doe bring the ſecurity of the Field, and other things that concerne the Combat, and Anſwer to the Cartell of the King your Maſter. To which, the next day following, the Governour anſwered againe, that, if he brought the ſecurity of the Field, and nothing e'ſe, he ſhould advertize him, and he would preſently ſend a Gentleman to Conduct him to the King his Maſter. To which about IX. dayes after, *Burgundy* anſwer'd, that he did bring the ſecurity of the Field, and the reſt did concerne only the Combat, and the haſtning thereof; which being ſo, he ſaid he ought not to be denyed, or prohibited to do his office, ſince it was a thing never known, that any ſhould ſpeake to one, and yet not heare his Anſwer; as if it were enough, for defending of ones honour, to ſend a Cartell, without doing, or ſuffering any thing elſe. For which reaſon, and becauſe the Emperour is deſirous to ſhew that he is in earneſt, he did require him this time for all, that, without more delay, he might receive his ſafe-conduct, as *Guyenne* had in the like Caſe, and that, if he were delay'd, he proteſted that he had done all that was conveni ent for the diſcharge of the dignity of the Emperour his Maſter, which you know of what importance it is, and ſo expected his ſpeedy Anſwer. No anſwer being return'd hereunto in the ſpace of IX. dayes more, (notwithſtanding that the Governour had promiſed to ſend a Trumpet with an Anſwer) *Burgundy* thought fit to remember him of that promiſe, and therefore ſends a Trumpet againe;

to

to which (as the Spaniſh Hiſtory hath it) St. *Bonet* made no other Anſwer, but bid him returne no more, and that *Fueſſe con el diablo*; Yet, as *Burgundy* would not depart ſo, at laſt the Governour of *Bayonne* ſent him a Letter Dated *Auguſt* XVII. 1528. which declar'd, that the King his Maſter was offended with him, for having deferr'd the giving him ſafe-conduct ſo long, which therefore hee promis'd to ſend him when he deſir'd it; which *Burgundy* requiring out of hand, the Governour ſent him. Whereupon *Burgundy* (who put on his Coat of Armes aſſoone as he was in the French *Territories*) came to *Bayonne*, where he proteſted to the Governour, that the demanding ſafe-conduct ſhould be no derogation to his privilege belonging to him as King of Armes; and ſo, continuing his Journey, he came to *Eſtampes*, 2. *September*, where *Guyenne* attended him.; ſtaying yet there VII. dayes, before he was permitted to goe to *Paris*, (the King paſſing all that time in Hunting.) Being at length conducted to *Paris*, hee would have worne his Coate of Armes, but was not ſuffered, it being told him, it was *Coſa de un San Nicholas de Aldea*, which I interpret, A thing not to be ſhew'd but upon Holy-dayes or in a Countrey Church. 1528. *Auguſt* 17. *September* 2.

But *Burgundy* proteſting againſt this uſage, (as being contrary to the privileges of his place) thoſe who Conducted him went to the King, who, after ſome ſpace, return'd, bringing with them two Notaries, to Record what paſs'd; before whom they ſaid, that, if he deſir'd to enter into *Paris* in his Coat of Armes, he would be in great danger of the people; and therefore, if any inconvenience follow'd, he muſt not lay it to their charge. Notwithſtanding which, ſome perſons being ſent to ſecure him, he put on his Coat of Armes, and, the next day, obteined Audience of the King; Who in a great Sale (or Hall) ſate on his Throne, being attended by many Princes, Prelates, and Gentlemen; Our Ambaſſadours alſo being preſent, to whom (as I find in our Records) He then ſhew'd the Order of the Garter upon his leg, ſaying to them, that, ſeeing he went about an Act, wherein conſiſted the Honour of Knighthood, he thought he could not uſe a better Remembrance, than the ſaid Garter. *Burgundy* now beginning to make his obeyſance, the King, without giving him time to ſpeake, ſaid, King of Armes, haſt thou perform'd thy office as thou ought'ſt hetherunto? thou knoweſt what thou haſt written in thy Letters; doſt thou bring me the ſecurity of the Field, according to that which in my Cartell I writ to the Emperour thy Maſter? he relpied, *Sentior ſi*, or yeas, will you be pleaſed that I performe my office, and ſay what the Emperour commandeth me? The King anſwered hereunto, No, unleſſe you give me firſt a Patent ſign'd with your hand, that may containe the ſecurity of the Field, and nothing elſe. For thou knoweſt well the Contents of thy ſafe-conduct. The Herauld there beginning to ſpeake, and ſaying, *Sire*, The Sacred Majeſtie of the Emperour — The King interrupted him, and ſaid, I tell thee, that thou muſt not ſpeake to me of any thing,

becauſe

1528. becauſe I have nothing to do with thee, but with thy Maſter; yet when thou ſhalt have given his Patent, and that the Field may be well aſſur'd me, then will I give thee licence to ſay what thou wilt, and not otherwiſe. Then he ſaid, *Sire*, It was Commanded me, that I ſhould read it, and afterwards give it you, if you be pleas'd to give me leave ſo to doe; or that having given it you firſt, I ſhould afterwards doe what I am Commanded. Then the King roſe ſuddenly from his Throne, ſpeaking angerly; What? do's thy Maſter thinke to eſtabliſh new Cuſtomes in my Land? I will none of theſe Hypocriſies. He anſwer'd then, *Sire*, I am aſſur'd that the Emperour will doe all that a brave and vertuous Prince ought to doe. The King replied hereunto, that he thought ſo well of him, he did believe he would do ſo. Wherewith *Monſieur de Montmorency*, who was the *Grand Maiſtre*, began to ſay ſomewhat to the King, which the ſaid King of Armes underſtood not; but the King paſſionatly replyed, No, No, I will not give him leave, unleſſe I have the ſurety of the Field; without which (he ſaid) he ſhould returne as he came; and ſo bids the King of Armes ſpeake no more unto him. Yet he replyed, *Sire*, if you will not ſuffer me, I cannot doe my office, nor give you the Cartell of the Emperour, without your leave, which once again I aske; and if you will not give it me, becauſe I may not erre in my Relation, I pray you give me by writing, that you deny it, reſerving me yet your ſafe-Conduct to returne. Then *Francis* ſaid, I will that it be given you, wherewithall the Herauld departed. He then ſollicited *Montmorency*, the *Grand Maiſtre*, to obtaine leave for him once more to deliver the Emperours Cartell. Notwithſtanding which, he receiv'd no other Anſwer, but that the King would grant him no audience, ſince his Commiſſion was expir'd. Therefore that he might depart when it pleaſed him. Then *Burgundy* proteſted that the fault was not in him, and much leſſe in the Emperour his Maſter, and that the Emperour his Maſter would publiſh this in all places where he thought fit. Then the Secretary offer'd him a Relation of the buſineſſe, which yet he would not receive, in regard ſome paſſages were omitted, and particularly the harſh words, wich the King gave him. Wherewith *Burgundy* return'd, and, at his comming to Court, delivered this Relation to the Emperour under his hand and Seale: Which alſo I have follow'd, not that I would ſhew any partiality to either ſide, but that it is the moſt particular, that I could meet with, among the ſeverall Relations that are extant, and, for the moſt part, agreeing with them.

Charles now conſidering what remain'd to be done for diſcharge of his honour, brought the buſineſſe to his Counſaile of State and Warre; who all agreed, that the Refuſall of *Francis* to heare the Reply to his Cartell had given end to this buſineſſe; and, for the reſt, that it was ſufficient to certifie certain principall perſons, both at home, and abroad, of all theſe paſſages.

And this was the end of the Cartells and Pundonnores betwixt

theſe

theſe two great Princes; not for want of Courage, (in which both undoubtedly abounded) but for not being able to agree ſufficiently between themſelves concerning the Lawes of Duell, of which therefore men ſpake, in that age diverſly, according to their ſeverall affections; yet ſo, as few diſintereſſed perſons denyed, but that (notwithſtanding the punctualities of *Francis*) *Charles* had behav'd himſelfe like a Gentile Cavallier. 1528.

Whilſt our King and the French, were in that good intelligence which is above mentioned, it might ſeeme probable that *Scotland* ſhould be quiet: Their beſt ſupport ever comming from that Country. Yet ſuch was the power of the *Dowglaſſes* at that time, that they ſeem'd to ſway all things. For as they held a ſtrict guard about the King, they made uſe of his authority for their owne ends. And particularly the Earle of *Anguis* their chiefe. Nevertheleſſe, as Queen *Margaret* had lately obtained at *Rome* a Divorce from the ſaid Earle, and, thereupon, marryed *Henry Stuart*, (ſhortly after created Lord *Meſſen*,) ſhe drew many of the prime Nobility againſt him. Who yet attempting the Kings delivery by force, were defeated neer *Lithquo*, and the Earle of *Lenox* ſlaine. Howbeit the King by night ſlipping away from *Angus*, to the Caſtle of *Sterling*, reſolves to ſummon a Parliament, and exauctorate the *Dowglaſſes*; Sending a Letter alſo to our King, to this purpoſe, (as our Records tell us.) That the Earle of *Anguis*, being made one of the chiefe about his Perſon, had wrought the excluſion of the reſt, and got the whole guiding of his Perſon for two yeares; in which time many evill adventures happened. Moreover, that he conſpired his Slaughter. This being done, he appoints the Parliament to be held *September* 4. Where the *Dowglaſſes* being now deprived of their publike offices and places, not only refuſed to come, but indeavoured by all meanes to diſſolve this meeting. Therefore, hearing the King was departed out of *Edenbrough*, they ſent ſome Troupes of Horſe to ſeize on it; which likewiſe they had perform'd, but that *Robert Maxwell*, by the Kings Commard, prevented them. Hereupon *Anguis* retired to his own Caſtle, being about XIIII. Miles diſtant. The King underſtanding hereof, comes to *Edenbrough*; where, by Vote of the Parliament, the Earl of *Anguis*, *George* his Brother, *Archibald* his Unckle, and *Alexander Dromond*, their dear friend, were Condemned, and their goods confiſcate, and Proclamation ſent forth, that whoſoever receiv'd them in houſe, or otherwiſe reliev'd them, ſhould bee ſubject to the ſame puniſhment. Shortly after which *William* (an other Brother of the Earl, and Abbot of *Holyrood*) languiſh'd and at laſt dyed of griefe. Into whoſe place ſucceeded a Man, who, to avoid the Cryme of being a *Simoniack*, uſed this Notable trick, as *Buchanan* hath it, For, hearing that the ſaid *William* was at the point of death, he layes a great ſumme of Money, as a wager, with the King, that hee ſhould not have the Donation of the next Abby that fell. The King (though young) underſtood his meaning; and, as he wanted Money at

1526. *July* 20. 1527. 1527. *September* 4. *July* 25. *September* 4. *Buch.* *Buch.*

1528. at that time, was content to win the wager, and loſe the Abby. The *Douglaſſes* deſpairing now of mercy, ſpoile and forrage the Country even to the gates of *Edenbrough*; nor was all their prey by Land; for a ſhip, laden with pretious Merchandize, being driven by a tempeſt on that Coaſt, was rifled by them, and the chiefe Merchandize taken away; Among which, ſome quantitie of Cinnamon which
Buch. was left in the bottome of the Ship, being taken, the vulgar ſort, not knowing the uſe thereof, burnt it for fewell in their houſes, as *Buchanan* hath it. The more diſcontented ſort of the Kingdome hearing that the *Douglaſſes* were thus in armes, joyn with them. The King underſtanding this, and together finding that their Numbers and power did daily increaſe, advis'd to raiſe Forces for taking a Caſtle of the *Douglaſſes* (For which purpoſe he got Ordnance and Munition from *Dunbar*,) in which *John* Duke of *Albany* late Viceroy held Garriſon. Hee could not yet take the Caſtle.

Octob. Our King hearing of theſe ſtirs, ſends ſome Ambaſſadors in *October* 1528, to treat of an accommodation; Neither was *Francis* averſe, as deſiring to diſpoſe our King to a war againſt *Charles*. The difficulties yet, were ſuch, that all that could be obtain'd, was, a Truce for five years more, upon Condition, that the *Douglaſſes* ſhould deliver their Caſtles up, the King giving them ſome other Conditions; Which yet being not in all points obſerved, they were forced to forſake their Country, and fly into *England*, where our King entertain'd them with a Penſion, and, at all occaſions, mediated their Reſtitution; which at laſt (but not till the death of *James* the fift) he effected (as will appear:) Howbeit *Alexander Dromond* was received into favour; though, whether for his own merit, or to divide him from the *Douglaſſes* is uncertain, for *James Coluit*, one of their friends, and the late Abbot of *Holy-rood*, notwithſtanding (his bought Title) were baniſht from Court.

The buſineſſes of *Ireland* paſſed thus. The Earle of *Kildare* formerly-mention'd, being reſtored to his place of Deputy, was yet ſtill perſecuted by the Earle of *Oſſory*, upon pretext of favouring the Earl of *Deſmond*; who, upon the Treaty hee made firſt with the French King, and afterwards with the Emperour to attempt *Ireland*, was declared Traytor. This prevail'd ſo farre, that *Kildare* was ſent for to
1527. the Councell-Table 1527. where the Cardinall, his old Enemy, declaymed againſt him. But he wittily and boldly defended himſelfe,
F. Camp. Hiſt. Ecel. as our Hiſtory, and eſpecially *Campion* hath it at large. Howbeit hee was committed, and more Accuſations produced againſt him; and particularly, that the Invaſion his Brethren had made upon the Earle of *Oſſory*, now the Kings Deputy, proceeded from him; whereof alſo being convict, he was condemned, and reprived in the Tower. At which, the Cardinall offended, ſends the Lieutenant a Warrant for his Execution. But the Lieutenant, favouring *Kildare*, acquainted our King therewith; who, thereupon, not only reſpited his death, but ſome while after pardoned and ſent him home to his Country: Checking

Checking the Cardinall in the mean time not a little, for his presumption. 1528.

I shall now return to speak of the affaires of Religion in *Germany*, which *Luther* more than any of the other Reformers did govern, which credit also that he might dilate and conserve, (he had, a good while since, written to our King, a kind of Apologie for the disrespectfull Answer made to his Book; offering, for satisfaction, in some publike writing to acknowledge (together with his own presumption) the Kings singular worth. In this Letter, among other things, he saies he Understood that the King was not the Author of the booke, which, under his name, came forth against him, but certain Sophisters, who, to insinuate themselves into his favour, had put forth the Work under his name; and then calls the Cardinall, *Angliæ pestem.* He added also, that he was informed, to his great contentment, *ipsum & fastidire genus illud perditorum hominum, & ad Veri cognitionem animum adjicere*; After which, he inserts a briefe Remonstrance of his Doctrines, and begs a favourable Answer. Our King, having receiv'd this Letter, Answers it sharply, laying Inconstancy and levitie to the charge of *Luther*, and defending his own Book, and the Cardinall, whom, he saith, he should love the better henceforth; and then objects to him his late *incestum Matrimonium* with a Nunne. This Answer being also sent the Pope, and printed, Luther, who took nothing so ill at this time, as that he should be thought to change any of his Tenents and opinions, layes the fault on *Christierne* King of *Denmarke*, who had given him hope, that our King, being treated gently and respectfully, would embrace the Reformed doctrine: But now that he repented himself of this easie Language, though it were not new to him to lose his labour in this kind; for having written submissively and humbly heretofore to the Cardinall *Cajetan*, *George* Duke of *Saxony*, and *Erasmus*, he had found no successe thereof, but that they were so much the fiercer against him. Howsoever, as his Doctrines had made no little progresse in *Germany*, and that divers who did not manifestly declare themselves his Followers, did yet concur secretly in many of his opinions, *Charles*, for repressing those Tumults, (which alteration of Religion doth commonly produce) thought fit to call an Assembly of the Princes of the Empire, to bee held at *Spire*. For though the Decree made at *Wormbs* (where *Luther* was condemned) did yet stand in force, the Determinations did not yet appear so conclusive and satisfactory, that either side seem'd quieted therewith. 1525. *Sleid.* 1525. 1521.

The Princes meeting at *Spire* in *June* 1526. the Emperours Letters (dated from *Sevil* 23th of *March*) were read to them. Wherein he declared, that he would shortly goe to *Rome*, to be Crowned, and talk with the Pope concerning a Councill: In the mean time forbidding them to Innovate ought in Religion, but conform themselves to the Decree of *Wormbs*. But the Reformed Cities answered, that the Execution of the Decree of *Wormbs* would hazard a sedition among the 1526. *Jun.*

1528. people, and that, the Pope now gathering forces against the Emperour, there was little hope of obteyning from him a Generall Councill. Therefore, they desir'd the Emperour to permit a Nationall Councill of *Germany*, for the setling of Religion; or, if not, at least to suspend the Decree of *Wormbs*, till a generall Councill be call'd. Things thus tending to an open dissention, the Turk invading *Hungary* on the one part, and the French and Italians Confederating against *Charles* on the other, *Ferdinand*, (the Emperours Deputy in this Diet) thought fit to condiscend to a Decree to this effect; That there was great need of a Councill, either Generall, or of the German Nation; and that it should begin within a yeare, which the Emperour was to be intreated to grant. As concerning Religion, and the Decree of *Wormbs*, that, till one of those Councills bee call'd, every Prince and State so behave themselves, as they may give a probable account of their Actions, to God and the Emperour. After this, a violent war betwixt the Emperour and French, the sacking of *Rome*, and Captivity of the Pope, (as is before related) discomposing all things, the Lutherans (or as they stiled themselves the Evangeliques) increased in *Germany*, without that *Charles* thought it convenient to indeavour their suppression. Till at length, returning to good termes with the Pope, and an overture being made for an Accord with the French, he returns to the care of Religion, and, by Letters dated at *Valledolid* *August* 1. 1528. appoints a Diet at *Spire*, to Commence in *February* 1529. where though (he said) he could not, for his great occasions, be present, yet he had intreated his brother *Ferdinand*, *Frederick* the *Palatine*, and some others to appeare for him. This Diet yet, did not begin till *March* following: to which the discreet and peaceable *Melanthon* was, with much honour, brought by the Elector of *Saxony*. Many other Princes and great persons also came thither; among which not a few were unresolved enough in either beliefe, till controversies in Religion were better disputed, whereof yet they could find no end. For as long as in any Angle of the world there was either a new Opinion, to examine, or Antient errour, to reforme, they wanted not a just exercise for their Curiosity. At last the former Decree of *Spire* 1526. was examined; In which, because it was then agreed, that, as concerning the Decree of *Wormbs*, and matter of Religion (in the mean time) till one of these Councills were held, every Prince and State should so behave themselves, as they may give a probable reason of their Actions, to God and the Emperour; The Emperour now, alleging it was misunderstood by divers, and desiring that this might be interpreted, propos'd the setling thereof, in this manner.

Sleid.m.

1527.

Aug. 1.

March 15. 1529.

That all, who have obeyed the Emperours Edict at *Wormbs* hitherunto, should continue to obey it, untill a Councill were called, which was promis'd with all speed possible. That they who had so farre entertain'd any new Doctrine, that they could not without danger leave it, should yet stay there, without multiplying Opinions, or printing

New

New and Offenſive Bookes; (according to the Decree at *Noremberg* 1524.) That the Antient Tenent about the Euchariſt, and the Maſſe, ſhould be held. That they who would goe to the Maſſe ſhould not be hindered. That Preachers follow that interpretation of the Scriptures which the Church hath received and approved; abſtaining from Controverted points, which ſhould be determined by the Councill. In the mean while, that difference of Opinion in matters of Religion ſhould not be a breach of Peace, or occaſion of wrong on either ſide. That no Prince ſhould receive the ſubjects of the other into his protection. That they who did otherwiſe, ſhould be under the *Bann*, (or proſcrib'd.) But the Anabaptiſts were more ſhrewdly dealt with-all, it being agreed, that they, who with pertinacie did maintain that Doctrine, ſhould be put to death. 1528.

Many things yet were diſlik'd herein by the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, the Dukes of *Lunemburg*, the Landgrave of *Heſſen*, and divers others. Therefore they proteſted againſt it; and firſt they ſaid, That the formet Diet of *Spire* was more favourable, as permitting every one the exerciſe of his Religion, till a Councill in *Germany*, or, otherwiſe, a Generall Councill were call'd; and that there was no reaſon to vary from it, unleſſe another more Convenient were Accorded. That, in the Aſſembly of *Noremberg*, they had deliver'd many Grievances to the Popes Legat, for which yet no remedy was given, nor, indeed, could be expected, untill the ſaid Councill were call'd. As for the Maſſe, that it was ſufficiently convicted by the Miniſters of their Churches, and the Euchariſt after the true manner reſtored. Wherefore, that they could by no means admit, that either they or their Subjects ſhould be preſent at the Maſſe; ſince, when the uſe thereof might be received in their Churches, yet if two divine ſervices, ſo diſcrepant, ſhould be Celebrated in the ſame place, much ill example and ſcandall muſt follow. And for the point of the Euchariſt, that though there were difference among the Reformed, yet that none ought to be condemned, unheard. As for the Article, which preſcribeth the Goſpell to be interpreted according to the ordinary and received Doctrine of the Church, that it was well-ſtated, when the true Church were firſt defin'd, untill which, they would labour to interpret one place of Scripture by the other. That the laſt Decree at *Spire* was made for the ſake of Peace and Concord, but not this; and, therefore, that they altogether proteſted againſt it. In the mean while (untill this Generall or Provinciall Councill for *Germany* were call'd) they promis'd to doe nothing, that might juſtly be reprov'd. As for keeping of Peace, the taking of that which belongs to others, Anabaptiſts, and printing of Books, they ſaid, they knew very well what was to be done. *April* 19. 1529. 1526. 23. 1524.

This Proteſtation of the Princes being communicated to the chief Townes of *Germany*, (among which *Strasburg*, *Noremberg*, *Vlm*, *Conſtance*, *Roteling*, *Winſeim*, *Memingen*, *Lindaw*, *Kempten*, *Hailbrun*, *Norlingen*, *Sangall*, and divers others are numbred) they all

1528. joynd ſo together, that, the name of Proteſtants tooke thence its originall; which name therefore (properly taken) ſeems to imply no more, than one reſolv'd to embrace the above-mention'd Tenents, till ſome Lawfull Councill, either Generall or Provinciall, determined the contrary. *Ferdinand*, finding matters thus not to ſort to that effect he deſir'd, departs, out of the Aſſembly betimes, though much entreated by the Elector of *Saxony*, and the reſt, to ſtay, which he refuſing, they appeald to the Emperour, and future Councill.

1528. *Jan.* Let us now ſee what was done in *Italie* this while; The Pope, though eſcaped, was not yet ſuddenly provided with Counſell or Money. For as the Obligation he had to comply with the League, form'd in his defence, aſwell as deſire of Revenge, made him Correſpond with *Lautrech*, ſo feare of returning againe to impriſoment, caus'd him to proceed ſo warily, that one might doubt his intentions. Therefore he kept *Lautrech* ſtill in much ſuſpence; ſaying one while he deſired an Univerſall peace, then excuſed himſelfe for want of Men, Money, and Authority. Nevertheleſſe, if the ſeat of Warre might be transferred out of the Patrimony of the Church, he ſaid he would adviſe what was to be done. But here alſo, he knew not how to reſolve. For as the Warre of *Milan* was, in a manner, ended, ſo himſelf had an eye upon the Kingdome of *Naples*, and for *Florence*, it was his Native Countrey. Beſides, he was ſufficiently informed, that *Francis*, when he might have hope to recover his Children by faire meanes, would not aſſiſt him. All which reaſons made him ſo temporiſe, even to the giving ſuſpition of deſerting the League, whereof himſelf was Author. Hereupon *Lautrech* ſtaid at *Bononia*, attending both Men to reinforce his Army, and further inſtructions. But as *Charles* and *Francis* came to no agreement, ſo he was commanded to proceed with his Army; In which Sir *Robert Jerningham*, Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber both to King *Henry*, and *Francis*, had the command of 200. Horſe, paid by our King. *Bell.* Whereupon the Imperialliſts, knowing how much it concern'd them to defend the Kingdome of *Naples*, retir'd thither, with a ſmall remnant of their Army. Where they had enough to doe, both as they were to reſiſt the French, and as the people, deſirous of Novelty (after their giddy manner, when either they thinke themſelves oppreſt, or that, otherwiſe, they hope for a milder Government) were ready to revolt, which alſo appear'd ſo much, that, long before *Lautrech* came to divers Townes, they yielded themſelves, ſending their keyes a dayes Journey before them. *Bell. Febr.* The firſt that made head againſt them, was the Prince of *Aurange*. But as his forces were much inferiour to the French, he, at laſt, retir'd to *Naples*; where yet he was ſo hated by *Hugo de Moncada*, and the Spanyards, that he was in danger of having the Gates ſhut againſt him. *Lautrech* now, purſuing his good fortune, beſieges *Melfi*. But as a number of Labourers and Husbandmen, unapt for war, were ſhut in it, ſo their fears and noyſes, while the Souldiers defended the Walls, made them retire to the

the Caſtle, as thinking they had other enemies within. Whereof the French taking advantage, entred, and ſack'd the Town, making the Prince of *Melſi*, his Lady, and children Priſoners. After which, divers other places yeelded to the French, till they came to *Naples*, which was *April* 17. or as others ſay *May* 1. 1528. And now their Army ſeem'd terrible; both as it was reinforc'd by ſome Regiments of Suiſſe, and as the Inhabitants of *Naples* favour'd them. While that of the Spaniards was no greater, than what the walls of *Naples*, and ſome little places in the Confines thereof did hold. Howbeit, as *Lautrech* conſidered that divers brave Commanders for the Imperialiſts were of this number, he did not think fit to inveſt the Town by Land, till he had block'd it up by Sea. Therefore *Philippino Doria*, Lieutenant to *Andrea Doria*, was commanded, with eight Galleys, to ride before the Haven. This troubled much the beſieged, for all the hope they had either of Victuals or Reliefe was on that part. *Hugo de Moncada*, conſidering this, puts forth with a few Galleys in that Port againſt *Doria*, and begins a furious Fight; the ſucceſſe whereof was, that he loſt, at once, both victory and life, and about 700 more with him; *Alfonſo de Avalos Marquis del Vaſto*, *Aſcanio de Colonna*, and ſome others of Note, being taken priſoners. This as it added great Courage to the French, ſo it occaſioned ſome benefits to the Imperialiſts, both as it tooke away the Competition betwixt *Moncada* and the Prince of *Aurange*, (who now commanded in chief,) and as it opened a way (as ſhall appeare afterwards) for gaining *Andrea Doria* unto the Emperours ſervice. 1528. *April* 17.

The ſiege continued yet foure Moneths; *Lautrech*, as being Maſter of the Field, deſiring rather to take the City by famine, than by the ſword. And now the victuals were almoſt all conſum'd; When the Prince of *Aurange* thought fit to ſend *Hernando de Gonzaga* with about 5000 Foot, and 700 Horſe, with divers Carts, to forrage and get proviſion, but they alſo were defeated, and the Carriages taken from them. Howbeit *Naples* held out ſtill.

This while *Antonio de Leyva* recovers *Pavia*, *Novarra*, and *Biagras*, and divers other places, taken by *Lautrech*; and ſo joyn'd with the Duke of *Brunſwick*, who came with 15000 Germans, and 500 Horſe, to ſerve the Emperour. Theſe two agreeing together to beſiege *Lodi*, found ſuch gallant reſiſtance, that they were at laſt conſtrained to deſiſt, and the rather, that they heard, the *Count de St. Paul*, with a ſtrong Army of Suiſſe and French, was on his way to relieve it. Beſides, the Germans, who came with *Brunſwick*, having not their pay at the time appointed, did for the moſt part return, ſo that the French, by joyning with the Duke of *Urbin*, made themſelves quickly maſters of the Field, recovering again all the places *Antonio de Leyva* had taken, and together with them the Fatall *Pavia*. But ſee upon what Engines Fortune now turn'd! *Philippino Doria*, Victorious and Triumphant, being come to *Surrento*, to cure his hurt Souldiers, and repaire his Galleys, *Lautrech* ſends *Giovanni Joakim* to require

1528. require the Prisoners, as being taken in the name, and for the service of the King his Master. *Philippino*, though receiving this Message with great indignation, yet dissembled it for the present, saying only, he could determine nothing, without acquainting his Uncle *Andrea Doria*, whose Lieutenant he was. But this was only to get time. For he expected a Reward, before he would leave his Prisoners. Which also, or at least the hope of it, *Lautrech* should have given, before hee demanded them. This error therefore cost deare. For *Philippino*, who took pay chiefly to give proofe of his Vertue, and therefore would serve but for a time (now almost expired) was not to bee treated in this fashion. As the French found soon after. For, employing his thoughts at this present more how to gain his own liberty, than to leave his Prisoners, He found means to retire himself to a place of more surety; Where, upon private Conference with his Prisoners, he found, that he could make more profit of them from the Spanish, than the French side. In conclusion, *Andrea Doria* also being solicited by the Prince of *Aurange* to change Master (assoon as his terme was out) he begins to listen; and the rather that so good conditions were offer'd him from *Charles*; and, particularly, an Estate in the Kingdome of *Naples*. Hee would not yet leave the French abruptly, nor before hee had gotten some pretext for it. Therefore he sent to the French Court, to demand satisfaction for the Ransome of the Prince of *Aurange*, taken before *Marseilles*, and others during the siege of *Pavia*. Hee also requir'd that *Genoua* might be restor'd to its superiority over *Savona*. Which demands being brought to the Chancellor *du Prat* and dislik'd, it was thought fit to send *Antoine de la Roche-Fouchault*, with Commission to seize on the Person and Galleys of *Doria*. Notice whereof being secretly given him, *Doria*, leaving the French Galleys to their new Commander, withdrew himself with his own, to the Emperour's service; who, for obliging him the more, promised to restore *Genoua* his native Country to its former liberty, and to make him Generall of the Imperiall Navy. Thus did the French lose *Doria*, only because they knew not how to use him according to his Condition, it behoving them, as he was generous, to have dealt more gently with him; and as Mercenary, more cautiously; especially, when he might make so much benefit by revolting to the other side.

Jan. 10. While this Treaty was on foot, *Pietro Lando*, with thirty Venetian Galleys, blocks up *Naples* by Sea: so that now it seem'd impossible for it to hold out; yet the hand of God is above all. For a kind of *Sandov.* Pestilence, (which *Sandoval* calls *Negra* or black) so universally seized on the French, that they diminished daily in great numbers, and among them * Sir *Robert Jerningham*: whose company, therefore, was given to Master *John Carew*, his Lieutenant, who yet dyed there *Aug.* 15. of the same disease. At last also *Lautrech* himself, (A brave Commander, but withall noted to be so opinionate, that he would, alone, have the glory, or shame of all his actions) dyed of the disease, and huge numbers of others; which so disheartned the French, that the weak

* *April* 25.

remain-

remainders, wanting (beſides their health) Money, victuall, *&c.* raiſed the Siege, and retir'd homewards. And thus, ſucceſſively, were two great Armies conſum'd with the Plague, without other force; as it uſually happens, when people, not acquainted with the Temper, Wines, and Fruits of a Country, live licentiouſly. They could not yet retire ſo quietly, but that the Imperialiſts follow'd them, and took divers Priſoners, and, among others, the old and weak *Pietro Navarra*. The Marquis of *Saluçes*, who undertook (after *Lautrech*) the government, yet held *Averſa* for ſome while; though, at laſt, hee was conſtrained to yeeld it together with himſelfe. In ſequence whereof all other places the French held in thoſe parts were ſurrender'd, ſave a few the Venetians fortified. *Genoua* alſo was conſtrained to yeeld it ſelf, and ſhake off the French yoke, by the means of *Andrea Doria*, who hearing that the plague had chaſed almoſt all the Inhabitants thence, enters it by Sea, and forceth *Theodoro de Trevulci* to a Compoſition, by which he was to forſake the Town. The *Genoueſi*, hereupon, were reſtor'd to their former liberty, and *Savona*, not long after, taken by them. The Count St. *Paul*, finding affaires thus to goe ill on the French ſide, thought to repaire them by ſurpriſing *Milan*, upon intelligence with certain Citizens there. But bringing proviſion of Victuals only for twenty four hours, and no Artillery, he gave off his enterpriſe, and retir'd to *Alexandria*, with intention to paſſe there the reſt of the Winter, 1528. 1528.

As the Plague deſtroyed the French in *Italie*, the ſweating ſickneſſe conſum'd very many in *England*; it ſeeming to be but the ſame Contagion of the aire, varied according to the Clime. It was firſt known in *England*, 1486. then 1507. then 1517. and now 1528. when it ſo raged, as it kil'd ordinarily in five or ſix houres ſpace, invading even the Kings Court, where not only Sir *Francis Pointz*, Sir *william Compton*, and Mr. *William Cary* (two of the Kings Bed-Chamber,) dyed of it; but the King himſelf was not without danger.

In *Germany* alſo it did much harme, killing many, and, particularly, interrupting a Conference at *Marpurg*, betwixt *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, concerning the Euchariſt. *Sleid. l. 6.*

I ſhall now come to the buſineſſe of the Divorce; ſo much vexed by our Writers, that, for ſatisfaction of the Reader, I have extracted a Relation thereof out of thoſe Originalls, and Authentique Records, that I ſhall preſume to recommend it, for more than an ordinary piece of Hiſtory.

Our King had now, for many years, enjoyed the Vertuous Queen *Katherine*, without that either ſcruple of the Validity of their Match, or outward note of unkindneſſe had paſt betwixt them. Nevertheleſſe, as, preſently after the Birth of the Princeſſe (who alone of all their Children ſurvived) *Luther* and others, controverted the Authority, and extent of the Papall Juriſdiction, ſo in this Kingdome, the Diſpenſation of *Julius* the ſecond for the aforeſaid Marriage, being, privately, queſtion'd, many of our learned Men concluded it void, 1516. 15.

as

1528. as being granted in a Caſe prohibited *Jure Divino*, and therefore indiſpenſable. This again, whiſpered in the Eares of many, begot ſuch a muttering, as, being brought to the King, made Him think what Hee was to doe. For though Hee knew that a keeping of the Succeſſion doubtfull was one of the ill Arts by which Princes Conſerve themſelves; yet, as a deſire to have Poſterity, which might ſucceed Him in the Crown, prevail'd over all other Conſiderations, Hee reſolv'd to clear this point by all fitting degrees, and the rather, that hee knew the ſame objections had been made (though wrongfully) to *Edward* the Fourth, and his Children. And certainly (as it appears to me by many Circumſtances,) it was, in the beginning, as much as He could, in favour of the Princeſſe his Daughter. So that, although the Biſhop of *Tarbe* (being ſent by *Francis* 1527. to Conclude the Alternative formerly ſet down,) did object openly againſt her Legitimation, as being got by the King upon his Brothers Wife, it did not much move Him. But, ſeeing it now grown a publique doubt, he thought it more notorious, than could be ſuppreſt. Neither did Hee believe that *Charles* would be greatly ſcandalized at it; ſince, to avoyd the Treaty of *Windſore*, Himſelfe had alleg'd ſome things to this purpoſe. All which again (as *Polydore* relates) was ſecretly fomented by *Longland* Biſhop of *Lincolne* (his Majeſties Confeſſor,) at the inſtigation of the Cardinall; who both hated the Emperour, and was averſe from the Queen, by reaſon of her reproving his looſe, and inordinate life. Though (what ever *Polydore* ſaith,) it will appear hereafter, that *Wolſey* indeavour'd not, finally, the Divorce. Howſoever, on ſome, or all of theſe cauſes, the King was much perplext, as knowing how deeply this affaire concern'd himſelf, his Poſterity, and Kingdome. And becauſe, it was eaſie to collect of what Conſequence any Rumour this kind might be, He not only ſent to our Ambaſſadours in *Spaine*, as is ſaid before, to ſilence the noiſe thereof, but uſed all means poſſible both to appeaſe thoſe violent Jealouſies the Queen had conceiv'd, and to ſatisfie his people, at leaſt untill himſelf had looked further into the Buſineſſe. In which certainly his Intentions privately were to proceed; For beſides his diſpatching his Secretary *William Knight*, Doctor of Law, to *Rome*, (whom yet he commanded to adviſe with our Cardinall by the way, being then in *France*,) Hee took information ſometimes about his preſent Condition, and ſometimes (it is probable alſo) about ſuch Ladyes as might furniſh him a choiſe for a Geniall, and ſecond bed. In which number the Dutcheſſe of *Alançon*, Siſter to *Francis*, is the firſt I find mentioned, whoſe Picture (as *Hall* ſaith) was ſent over, about this time. Neither did the Cardinall, being certified of theſe paſſages, omit to comply at leaſt in apparance with him, and therefore write to the King, that the beſt way to obtain his deſire, was, to tell the Emperour plainly, that unleſſe he ſet the Pope free (at this time in priſon, as is formerly mentioned) hee would proceed in the Divorce upon his own, and his Clergies Authority. After which, he ſent for *John Clark*, Biſhop of *Bath*, (then

1525. *Hall.*

1527.

July 29. 1527.

Aug. 30.

(then reſident Ambaſſadour in *France*) and commended him to the King, as a Perſon to whom hee might diſcover himſelf; and, together, deliver'd his opinion: Firſt, That, becauſe the Party would appeale, the buſineſſe could not be determined in *England*, unleſſe the Pope would give him abſolute Authority, *in omnibus Caſibus*, (a Minute whereof, to be ſent to *Rome*, I have ſeen.) Secondly, That ſhee ſhould be perſwaded, *ad ingreſſum Religionis*. And, laſtly, if neither of thoſe could be effected, it ſhould be thought of, *Quid poſſet clam fieri quoad forum Conſcientiæ*? Concerning which points, the Biſhop of *Bath* at his return ſpeaking, (as I find in an Originall from the ſaid Biſhop to *Wolſey*) the King replyed, My Lord of *Bath*, the Bull is good, or it is naught; If it be naught, let it be ſo declar'd, and if it be good, it ſhall never be broken by no by-wayes for me. Whereupon, the Biſhop repreſented, that the Popes Captivity hindered all ſuits in that Court, and, howſoever, that the Proceſſe would be ſo ſlow, as it could not be determined in ſix or ſeven years. Beſides, that there muſt be Three diſtinct Sentences given in it, by three divers Judges, the two laſt to be choſen for the adverſe party. Laſtly, that after all this, the Sentence may be recall'd; *Quia ſententia contra Matrimonium, nunquam tranſit in rem Judicatam*; Adding, in Concluſion, as the knot of the buſineſſe, that the party would Appeale. To which the King anſwer'd, he thought She would not appeale from the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhops of *Rocheſter*, *Ely*, and *London*; as for the tediouſneſſe of the ſuit, ſince he had patience eighteen years, that He would ſtay yet foure or five more; ſince the opinion of all the Clerkes of his Kingdome, beſides Two, were lately declared for him; adding, that he had ſtudied the Matter himſelf, and Written of it, and that he found it was unlawfull, *de Jure divino*, and undiſpenſable. Buſineſſes ſtanding thus, and no probability of the Queens fruitfulneſſe, ſince the Princeſſe *Mary*'s Birth, appearing; and the rather, that Spaniſh women are obſerved to be ſeldome Mothers of many children; He reſolves to have recourſe to the Pope; Comforting himſelf, for the reſt, that no other difficulty appeared in removing all theſe inconveniences, than the obtaining a Diſpenſation to diſſolve that Marriage, which a Diſpenſation only had at firſt made. He knew the ſame key that lockt, could unlock. Therefore he thought fit to ſend to *Rome*, both to repreſent the dangerous Condition of himſelf, his iſſue and Kingdome, and to ſolicite the Pope for a Licence to marry another. And the rather, that ſo many Circumſtances had made the Bull and Breve, upon which the firſt Marriage was grounded, to be ſuſpected. The proſecuting whereof therefore (in a Diſpatch Dated 25th of *December* 1527) was recommended, by the Cardinall, to Sir *Gregory Caſalis*, an Italian; Which alſo he was requir'd to urge ſo farre, as to ſay, that our King could impute the puniſhment God had layd on him in taking away his Iſſue Male, upon nothing ſo much, as the unlawfulneſſe of this Marriage; which learned Men did alſo generally ſo deteſt, as they held it to be more than

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Records.

Records.

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laritie

larities I have the rather ſet down, that it might appeare, how the difficulties, that the Pope made in this buſineſſe, ſeemed to proceed chiefly from humane conſiderations. Which alſo is much confirmed by a diſpatch from *Gregory Caſalis* 13 *Jan.* 1528. where (on the Popes part, and in his name) he ſaith, that if the Kings Conſcience be ſatisfied (which he alone can beſt tell) his Courſe were *ut ſtatim Committat cauſam, aliam uxorem ducat, litem ſequatur, mittatur pro Legato, &c.* and, that this was the onely way for the King to attain his deſires: though yet he intreated, this adviſe might be taken, as proceeding from the Cardinall *Sanctorum quatuor*, and *Simonetta*, and not from himſelf. And this, certainly, as it may be thought a politique adviſe, ſo would it have prov'd ſafer and eaſier for both, than a Commiſſion for two Legates; which as it took up more time on the Kings part, ſo it cauſed a like danger and inconvenience to the Pope. Howſoever, it appear'd afterwards, that the King, either out of tenderneſſe of Conſcience, or conſideration of the hazard he ſhould run, if the Pope would not confirme this Act, thought not fit to allow thereof; but choſe rather to demand a larger Commiſſion than that which Doctor *Knight* obtained, the procuring whereof alſo hee committed to *Stephen Gardiner*, Doctor of Law, and Secretary to *Wolſey*, and *Edward Fox*, Provoſt of Kings Colledge in *Cambridge*; Not neglecting, in the mean time, both to inſtruct the Pope in his cauſe, and do him all the good offices he could with Chriſtian Princes, and States, and particularly the Venetians, concerning the reſtitution of *Ravenna* and *Cervia*; though yet it tooke not ſuch effect as was hoped. Neither did our King forget, by a Letter of Cardinall *Wolſey*'s to the Protonotary *John Caſalis*, to deſire him to acquaint the Pope with ſome domeſtique and private paſſages; which (though out of the reſpect I bear to that vertuous Queens memory) I cannot but mention ſomewhat unwillingly, yet muſt not omit, both for the ſake of that truth that ought to be in Hiſtory, and as it ſeems to contain ſome Motive of the Kings intentions. I ſhall ſet down the words in Latin as they are extant in our Record. *Sunt nonnulla ſecreto Sancto Domino Noſtro exponenda, & non credenda literis, quas ob Cauſas, morboſq; nonnullos, quibus, abſque remedio, Regina laborat, & ob animi etiam conceptum ſcrupulum, Regia Majeſtas nec poteſt, nec vult, ullo unquam poſthac tempore, eauti, vel ut uxorem admittere, quodcunq; evenerit.*

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Jan.

Febru.

Gardiner and *Fox*, receiving their inſtructions in *Febr.* 1528. repair'd firſt to *Francis*; from whom they readily obtain'd a promiſe to cooperate puiſſantly with the Pope, for effectuating the Kings deſire, as alſo a perſwaſory and menacing Letter in caſe of refuſall to the Pope; For complying wherewith alſo the Biſhop *Staphylæus* was ſent by him to *Rome* not long after. Our Ambaſſadours having given the King account hereof, proceeded in their Journey to *Italie*, and comming at laſt to *Orvieto*, where the Pope then was, they found him lodged in an old and ruinous Monaſtery, his outward chamber altogether unfurniſh'd, and his Bedchamber-hangings, together with his

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1528. Bed, valued by them (as the Originall Letter hath it) at no more then twenty Nobles. The Pope yet receiv'd them lovingly; though not without the anxiety of one who could neither ſafely grant, nor deny the requeſt of a King, to whom he ſo much owed whatſoever liberty he enjoyed. Their inſtructions for the preſent, were only yet, to thank him for the Commiſſion and Diſpenſation granted in this buſineſſe to Doctor *Knight*, and after intruſted to *Gambara* his Agent here (ſucceſſor unto *Melerior Langu*, who was firſt Authorized by the Pope, to give Queen *Katherine* notice of this affaire, together with the Popes ſecret intention therein.) They added further, that by *Gambara*, as alſo by Sir *Gregory Caſalis*, our King had gladly underſtood, how all defects, upon due remonſtrance, ſhould be ſupplied and amended. They were charged alſo, from the Cardinall, privately, to proteſt in his name, that he was no Author of this Counſell. After which they were deſired, by him, to proceed to the merit of the Cauſe, and Qualities of the Gentlewoman (being, as I take it, Miſtris *Bolen*.) The perplexed Pope, who knew well how much the Spaniard was intereſſed herein, heard them at this time with more feare, then at another time hee would have granted their requeſt. Therefore, together with an ambiguous Anſwer, which he gave them by word of mouth, he ſent, in Cifer, a Letter to our King, of ſo much irreſolution, that it needed no other cover. Howſoever, as the Commiſſion of our Ambaſſadours was to ſtay till further order was given, they ſeemed to take all in good part. At laſt our able Negotiators, urging the aforeſaid and many other Motives to the Pope, and he again finding the French and Confederate Army puiſant and victorious in the Kingdome of *Naples* at that time, made no difficulty to grant a full Commiſſion to two Legats, to Heare and Determine the Cauſe in *England*, being (according to the Kings deſire) *Wolſey* and *Campegius* (not long ſince made Biſhop of *Salisbury*) Beſides, it ſeems he granted this following Pollicitation, or promiſe, Dated at
July 23. *Viterbo*, *July* 23. 1528. which yet, being no Originall-peece, but an antient Copy, extant among Sir *Robert Cottons* Records, I ſhall mention but according to the credit it may deſerve from the equall Reader, only I muſt not omit to ſay, that, as divers Originall diſpatches, both before and after, give ſome touches of it, and that the Date for the reſt is added, ſo it may challenge better credit then to be thought a Minute, and much leſſe a Counterfeit and ſuppoſed peece, which alſo is the more probable, that the Pope granted ampler Teſtimonies than this, in favour of the Divorce; However they were either controll'd again, or detain'd in the hands of his Miniſters, after that ſort, that our King might well take notice, but neither Copy nor advantage of them.

The

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The Pollicitation.

Promeſſio Pontificis in Negotio Regis.

Cum nos Clemens, divina providentia illius nominis Papa ſeptimus modernus, juſtitiam ejus cauſæ perpendentes, quam thariſſimus in Chriſto filius noſter Henricus Octavus Angliæ Rex illuſtris. Fidei Defenſor, & Dominus Hiberniæ de ejus Matrimonii nullitate, tanquam notorium, publicum, & famoſum, apud nos expoſuit, quod cum thariſſima in Chriſto filia noſtra Catharina, claræ memoriæ Ferdinandi Hiſpanearum Regis Catholici filia, nulliter & de facto contraxiſſe, & conſummaſſe affirmat, leges tam divinas quam humanas in ea parte noterie transgrediendo, pro-ut revera ſic transgrediebatur, ad dilectos nobis in Chriſto filios, Thomam, & Laurentiam miſeratione divina Sanctæ Ceciliæ, & Sanctæ Mariæ in tranſtyberim reſpective titulorum, noſtri & Apoſtolicæ ſedis in Regno Angliæ prædicto Legatos de Latere, Commiſſionem ſub certa tunc expreſſa forma, (quam pro hic inſerta, & expreſſa haberi volumus, & habemus) emiſcerimus, ac eoſdem noſtros in ea parte vicegerentes ac competentes Judices deputaverimis, pro ut ſic etiam tenore præſentium effectualiter & pleniſſime conjunctim & diviſim committimus & deputamus, quo animi noſtri, eidem Henrico Regi in juſtitia illa quam celerrime adminiſtranda propenſionem certius & clarius atteſtimur ſecurioremque reddamus de judiciorum Labyrintho longo varioq; ambitu in cauſis (ut nunc ſunt mores) juſtiſſimis, non una fere ætate explicabili; deniq; at proceſſus per eoſdem deputatos noſtros juxta & ſecundum tenorem dictæ commiſſionis habitus & factus fiendus ut aut habendus, validus & firmus ac inconcuſſus maneat; Promittimus, *&, in verbo Romani pontificis, pollicemur, quod ad nullius preces, requiſitionem, ſeu inſtantiam, merove motu, aut aliter ullas unquam literas, brevia Bullas aut reſcripta aliave quæcunq; per modum vel juſtitiæ, vel gratiæ, aut aliter quæ materiam emiſſarum ante hac in cauſa prædicta commiſſionum commiſſioniſve predictæ proceſſuſve per hujuſmodi deputatos noſtros juxta & ſecundum tenorem dictarum commiſſionum commiſſioniſve prædictæ habiti & facti habendive aut fiendi inhibitorium, revocatorium, aut quoviſmodo præjudicialem quacunq; ratione contineant, quæve dictarum commiſſionum commiſſioniſve ſeu proceſſus hujuſmodi plenam perfectam finalem & effectualem executionem remorentur, impediant, aut in aliquo contrarientur, illave aut eorem aliqua revocent, aut eiſdem vel eorum aliquibus in toto vel in aliqua parte eorundem prejudicent, concedemus; Sed datas a nobis eiſdem deputatis noſtris commiſſiones & commiſſionem hujuſmodi, proceſſumq; per hujuſmodi deputatos noſtros juxta & ſecundum tenorem dictarum commiſſionum commiſſioniſve prædictæ habitum & factum, habendumq; & fiendum ſua pleniſſima vi authoritate, robore & efficacia realiter & cum effectu conſervabimus, rati habebimus, tuibimur, & defendemus. Deniq; omnes tales literas, brevia, bullas, aut reſcripta, quæ dictarum commiſſionum commiſſioniſve*

1528. *ſioniſve proceſſuſve antedicti executionem, aut ejuſdem virtute decreta, definita, & pronunciata per eoſdem deputatos noſtros confirmare poſſint aut valeant, abſq; mora, recuſatione, aut difficultate quacunq; de tempore in tempus realiter & cum effectu valida & efficacia dabimus & concedemus. Et, inſuper, promittimus, & in verbo Romani Pontificis pollicemur, quod præmiſſa vel eorum aliqua nullatenus infringemus, nec aliquid contra ea vel eorum aliqua directe vel indirecte, tacite vel expreſſe, principaliter vel incidenter, quovis quæſito colore vel ingenio, Niſi Vi vel Metu coacti, vel Dolo aut Fraude ad hoc inducti, attemptabimus aut faciemus; Sed ea omnia & ſingula firma, valida, inconcuſſa & inviolabilia patiemur, & permittemus. Ac inſuper, ſi (quod abſit) aliquid contra præmiſſa vel eorum aliqua quovismodo faciamus aut attemptemus, illud pro caſſo, irrito, inani & vacuo omnino haberi volumus & habemus, ac ex nunc prout ex tunc, & ex tunc prout nunc, caſſamus, annullamus, & reprobamus, nulliuſq; roboris aut efficaciæ fore vel eſſe debere pronunciamus, decernimus, & declaramus. Datum Viterbio, die xxiii Julii Milleſſimo Quingenteſſimo Vigeſſimo Octavo: Pontificatus noſtri Anno Quinto.*

Ita eſt Clemens Papa ſeptimus antedictus.

This while, the Queen who underſtood well what was intended againſt her, laboured with all thoſe paſſions which Jealouſie of the Kings affection, ſence of her own honour, and the legitimation of her Daughter could produce; laying, in Concluſion, the whole fault on the Cardinall; who yet was leſſe guilty than the Queen thought, or *Polydore* would make him. I will not deny yet, but, out of due regard to his Maſters Intereſts (ſo neerly concern'd in this great affaire) he might comply with the Kings deſires, but to be the ſingle Author of a Counſell, which might turn ſo much to his prejudice, when the King ſhould dye, is more than may eaſily be believ'd, of ſo cautious a perſon as *Wolſey*. And this Innocence, perchance, was the reaſon that he neither ſuſpected himſelf to be ſo much abhorr'd of the Queen, nor to ſtand in that danger of her practiſes; which yet procurd at laſt his ruine. The firſt who gave the Cardinall notice of the Queens diſpleaſure (as I find by a Letter of his dated at *Feverſham* 5 *July* 1527. then in his Journey towards *France*) was the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; the conſequence whereof he ſo much apprehended, that hee thought fit to uſe all means for ſatisfying her. Therefore he preſently labour'd with the Arch-Biſhop to perſwade the Queen, that, whatſoever ſhe heard in this kind, was intended only for clearing the ſurmiſes of the Biſhop of *Tarbe*, formerly mentioned. Hee writ alſo to our Ambaſſadours in *Spain*, to quench all rumours there, upon the ſame pretext. But the Queen had ſent thoſe Agents abroad, (and, amonſt them, one *Abel*, her Chaplain) who both inform'd her of all that paſſed, and ingaged the Emperour to aſſiſt her to the uttermoſt of his power. Therefore the Pope ſtood more and more ſuſpen-

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ded. The pace of *Campegius* (the promiſed Legat) alſo appear'd ſtaggering and ſlow, and all that might fruſtrate the King's intentions, was ſecretly practis'd. This while the Cardinall, (who out of the King's deſign's would ever produce and ſubrogate ſome particular end of his own, whereof, either in point of glory or profit, he might make advantage) had ſo diſpoſed this of the Divorce, as thereby to mediate the Popes entire delivery, not only from the Guards, but even feare of the Emperour. Again, as, during the Popes reſtraint, he had (under pretence that it was the beſt expedient for the Kings purpos'd Divorce) projected a meeting of Cardinalls at *Avignon*, for ſetling the government of the Church, where hee himſelf intended to be preſent; So, now, ſince the King liked not that courſe, and that the Pope was free, he perſwaded him to erect ſome Cathedrall Churches in *England*, at the price of throwing down more Monaſteries. Whereby it appears, both how buſie this Cardinall was, and how much he ſtudied his own ends. For as hee knew this would pleaſe the King (who began to thinke that Religious perſons might ſerve God aſwell in defending the Kingdome, as praying for it,) ſo he aſſured himſelf the Authority thereof would be derived on him chiefly, and the Pope, in the mean time, obnoxious; while hee could not but feare how far thoſe Innovations might extend. When this project therefore was mov'd to the Pope, I find by a Letter of the Protonotary *John Caſalis*, *Oct.*30. 1528. that he anſwered, gravely, he liked the deſigne well; but that hee would proceed deliberatly; becauſe it was *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*. Therefore he deſired the two Legats (for *Campegius* was by this time come) might be joyn'd in determining this buſineſſe, and that All the Revenues of the Monaſteries, might be conferred on the new Biſhops; and that the two Legats, having adviſed with the Pope hereof, ſhould afterwards nominate them. So that it ſeem'd the Pope held it fitting to comply with the King a little at this time, ſince *Gardiner* told him plainly, that he had in his Inſtructions theſe words to tell him, *Neceſſe eſt ſupprimi pro ſereniſſimi Regis Collegio Monaſteria cujuſcunq; ordinis*; In concluſion, a Bull was granted for applying the Revenues of ſome ſmall Monaſteries for maintenance of the Kings Colledges in *Cambridge* and *Windſor* Caſtle; the Copy whereof is extant in Sir *Robert Cottons* Library. It may be doubted yet, whether theſe Apprehenſions, that were now, in more then in one kind, given the Pope of our King's declining the abſolute Authority of the Church of *Rome*, did diſpoſe the Pope more to oblige or diſoblige him. For, though the Pope had reaſon to feare, leſt hee ſhould loſe his antient Juriſdiction in this Kingdome, if he denyed; yet he might doubt as well, that in adhering too much to that ſide, hee might offend the Emperour ſo farre, as to hazard the loſſe of his own. He therefore, at once, treats with the Emperour of a perfect peace and amity, and together of recovering *Cervia* and *Ravenna*, and of effecting certain other deſignes which he had in *Florence*; and grants (as is above ſaid) in apparence

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*Octob.*30.

*Novemb.*2.

1528. a large Cõmiſſion to *Wolſey* and *Campegius*; Yet, in effect, ſo reſtrain'd, as the Emperour might ſee it was not out of his power to check, or revoke it. And this was all that Sir *Gregory Caſalis*, and *Stephen Gardiner*, after much importunity, could obtein. They moved the Pope alſo to Canonize *Henry* VI. (which I find was formerly propos'd to *Alexander* VI. by *Henry* VII.) to which the Pope anſwer'd, that if the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and Biſhop of *Wincheſter* (who had examined the matter in *partibus*) did ſend the Proceſſe thither, as their Commiſſion required, the Canonization ſhould follow ſhortly after. Buſineſſes ſtanding thus, our King thought fit to ſend Sir *Francis Bryan*, Knight, and *Peter Vannes* (an Italian, and his Secretary for the Latin Tongue) to *Rome*. Their Inſtructions in generall (being ſigned with the Kings own hand) were to diſſwade the Pope from entring into any League with the Emperour, whoſe deſigne was (hee ſaid) to deveſt the Pope of his Means, and Authority, by the forcible bringing in of one *Angelo* a Cordelier to be Pope, who ſhould not intermeddle with Secular Juriſdiction, and the Patrimony of the Church; which therefore the Emperour would take to himſelf and uſurpe. For preventing whereof, the King wiſhed him to keep a Guard, offering in his own and *Francis* name, to contribute thereunto. They were commanded alſo, to ſearch privately for a certain pretended Breve, in *Rome* (ſaid to be a Supplement or Confirmation of the Bull of *Julius* the ſecond, and authorizing the Marriage with Queen *Katherine*) ſince it was not to be found in the Kings Records. Furthermore, they were requir'd to diſcover (in the name of a third perſon) whether, if the Queen enter'd a Religious life, the King might have the Popes Diſpenſation to marry again, and the Children be legitimate, and what Precedents were for it? Secondly, whether if the King (for the better inducing of the Queen thereunto) would promiſe to enter himſelfe into a Religious life, the Pope might not diſpenſe with his Vow, and leave her there? Thirdly, if this may not be done, whether he can diſpenſe with the King to have Two Wives, and the Children of both legitimate? Since great Reaſons, and Precedents, eſpecially in the old Teſtament, appear for it. All which they were to doe with that ſecreſie, and circumſpection, that the cauſe might not bee publiſhed, proponing the King's caſe alwaies therefore as another mans. Laſtly (as in all other Inſtructions) ſome kind of Menaces were to be added. But perſwaſions and terrors wanted not on the other ſide; which did ſo much more prevaile with the Pope, as the danger was more immediate and preſſing on the Emperours part, than on our Kings. Therefore our Ambaſſadours were ſo farre from obteining any thing, but what was formerly granted in the Commiſſion to Cardinall *Wolſey*, and *Campegius*, that they found the Pope now more than ever diſpos'd to favour the Emperour. Inſomuch that they obſerved daily new delayes, and reſtrictions in him. Some whereof (beſides the evidence in our Records) *Sanders* doth confeſſe, while he ſaith, that the Pope, by foure ſeverall Meſſengers to

1494. *Ant. Brit.*

Novemb.

Sander. Schiſm. Angl.

to *Campegius* (now on his way) gave him in charge; First, that hee should make easie Journeys. Secondly, that, when he came to *England*, he should labour all he could to reconcile the King and Queen. Thirdly, that, if this could not be effected, he should perswade her to enter a Monastery, and take on her a Religious life. Lastly, that, when this could be obtain'd, he should give no Definitive sentence for the Divorce, without expresse commandement from him, *& hoc* (saith he) *summum & maximum sit tibi Mandatum. Campegius* thus instructed, protracts all things, whereat though our King seem'd scan laliz'd, as suspecting it came from unwillingnesse; yet, being an active Prince, he made use of that time, to negotiate in *Spaine* for recovering the *Breve*, (of which above) commanding the Bishop of *Worcester*, and Doctor *Edward Lee*, by all means to procure it. At length (and not before the beginning of *October* 1528. *Campegius* comming through *France*, and being conducted thence into *England*, by *John Clark*, Bishop of *Bath*, our Kings Ambassadour there, came to *London*. Where, being, by our Cardinall presented to the King, hee publikely acknowledged in the name of the Pope, Cardinall, Clergy, and people of *Rome*, that our King was *Liberator Urbis*. Shortly after, obtaining audience of the Queen, he took occasion both to acquaint her with her danger, and to perswade her thereupon to renounce the world, and enter into some Religious life. For which many pretexts wanted not (as I find in our Records) she having been observed, since the Commission obtained, to allow Dancing and pastimes more then before. And that her countenance not only in Court, but to the people, was more cheerfull then ordinary; whereas (it was alleaged) she might be more sad and pensive, considering the Kings Conscience was unsatisfied, and that he had refrained her bed, and was not willing the Lady Princes, her Daughter, should come in her company. But the offended Queen, replying peremptorily, that she was resolved both to stand to that Marriage the Roman Church had once allowed; and, howsoever, not to admit such partiall Judges as they were, to give sentence in her cause. *Campegius* writes to *Rome*, both to informe the Pope hereof, and to desire farther Instructions. The answer whereunto, the Pope yet so long deferr'd, that very neere six Moneths pass'd before the two Cardinalls sate in their Commission.

1528.

Octob.

This while, the Bishop of *Worcester*, and Doctor *Lee*, having given the Emperour an Overture of the Divorce, did, (by a Letter Dated at *Saragosa*, *April* 5. 1529.) return our King this Answer, on the Emperours part. That hee was sorry to understand of the intended Divorce, adjuring our King (for the rest) by the Sacrament of Marriage, not to dissolve it. Or, if he would needs proceed therein, that the hearing and determining of the businesse, yet, might be referr'd to *Rome*, or a Generall Councill, and nor be decided in *England*. Adding further, that he would defend the Queens just cause. Wherewith, the pretended-Originall Breve was produc'd, and a transsumpt,

April 5. 1529.

1529. or Copy thereof (ſigned by three Biſhops) offer'd them, to ſend to *England*; but the Breve it ſelf was denyed, for feare (as he ſaid) of miſcarrying. To which our Ambaſsadours anſwered, That our King was a Prince of that piety, that he ought not to be Adjur'd; and for the Breve, that it was a Jewell belonging to the King and his Queen only, and not to be deteined by any other from them. And, for Appealing to *Rome*, it needed not; ſince Authority of determining that buſineſse, was already given from thence to Cardinall *Wolſey* and *Campegius*. Beſides, that, in cauſes Matrimoniall, the preſence of the parties to be examined, being required for the moſt part, the Emperour might eaſily imagine how unfit it was for the King and Queen perſonally to goe to *Rome*, eſpecially at that time. After this, the Emperour commanding the Breve to be read, the Ambaſſadours required a Notary to be allowed them, for ſetting down the whole paſſage of this buſineſſe, together with their Proteſtations. But no Notary but the Emperour's being permitted, the Ambaſſadours were forc'd to accept him, deſiring notwithſtanding their allegations might be ſet down apart. Hereupon the Emperour told the Ambaſſadours, that he would ſend an expreſſe Meſſenger to our King, to intreat him to continue his Match, and, in caſe of refuſall, to proteſt againſt the Divorce. Our Ambaſſadours yet perſiſted ſtill in urging the Emperour, for his own ſake, to ſend the Breve for *England*; leſt the Judges, wanting ſight thereof, ſhould proceed againſt the Queen, or otherwiſe, that he would ſend the ſaid Breve to the Pope. The Emperour replied, that therefore he would not ſend it. For if it miſcarried, the Judges might then proceed as they would, but for ſending it to the Pope he would adviſe. And that, if matters were now as they were heretofore, he would not fear to ſend it to *England*. By a Letter alſo, the twentieth of *April* 1529, they certifie the King, that the Emperour intended to ſend both to *England* and *Rome*, to make his Proteſtations againſt this Divorce; and that hee would not ſend the Originall Breve. Furthermore, that he requir'd our King, according to an Article of a former Treaty, to fall upon *Francis*, as a perturber of the Publike Peace. Laſtly, becauſe the ſaid Ambaſſadours had heard, and conſider'd, at large, the Breve, they ſent their objections againſt it. Which, being one of the grounds of the Kings proceeding in this great Affaire, I have thought fit punctually to ſet down, as they are extant in the Originall Letter, written in Cipher, and thus to be read, as I find it diſcipher'd in our Records.

April 20.

Octob 2. 1518.

That, where it is pretended, the Bull and the Breve to be impetrate in one day, either they were impetrate in one ſute, and by one man; and then it is not to be thought, but that this ſute, being of ſo great importance, was committed to ſuch a one, as could perceive, that the Bull, not conteining ſo large Diſpenſation as the Breve, is ſuperfluous, (ſuppoſing the Breve to be neceſſary.) If the one were impetrate after the other, and the ſutes made by one man, it is hard to think that one man, being inſtruct in the ſute for both, would put the Diſpen-

Diſpenſation of leſſe moment in a Bull, and of greater moment in a Breve, ſeeing the one might be as facilly impetrate as the other, and that the Diſpenſation in Lead is more durable to remain, and, That the two Kings were bound to impetrate Bulls, and not Breves, whereof he or they that had ſuch Commiſſion, (as it ſeemeth) could not be ignorant. And if theſe ſutes were made by divers perſons, and by ſeverall Commiſſions, there is no reaſon can be alleged (the impetration being in one day,) why to two ſeverall perſons ſeverall Commiſſions ſhould be given herein, the thing requiring no haſte, the Marriage following five or ſix years after, but more likely is, if the Breve were then obteined indeed, that it was procured by ſecret practiſes, not known to all parties *quorum intererat ſcire & conſentire*; for, both the parties conſenting, I think there can be no ſufficient cauſe alleged, why, the thing being done by common conſent, the Breve rather then the Bull ſhould have larger diſpenſation; for what needed two divers ſutes, with divers Commiſſions, if both the parties were agreed upon the ſutes? eſpecially the impetration of both being in one day. 1529.

Secondly, ſuppoſing to be true, that Maſter *Abel* ſaith, the Queen to have ſworn, *quod nunquam fuit cognita a Principe Arthuro*; the cauſe of the impetration for ſo much, is vain, (*viz.*) *quod Regina cum Arthuro principe matrimonium carnali copula conſummaverit.* If this be true, it appeareth that he that ſued the Breve had no Commiſſion of the parties, for they would not give him Commiſſion to impetrate diſpenſation for cauſe not true.

Thirdly, ſuppoſing to be true, that Maſter *Abel* ſaith to me, that the Queen never heard of ſuch Breve, before the Emperours Orators there preſented it to her; how can it ſtand, that is reported in the Breve, *quod impetratum eſt Breve ad Reginæ inſtantiam?*

Fourthly, if your Highneſſe had made inſtance and ſupplication for the ſame Breve, it is not to be thought that it ſhould be ſo far out of your Remembrance, the cauſes of impetration being ſuch, as your Highneſſe might and could, anon, reduce it to the ſame.

Fiftly, if it were impetrate at the inſtance of your Highneſſe, and of the Queens Grace, no cauſe is, why it ſhould be ſent into *Spaine* to King *Fernando*, (as the Emperou's folkes firſt ſaid, but now ſwarve) and not to your Highneſſe, and the Queens grace. If any will ſuppoſe, that it was done by your conſent, no reaſon agreeth, why you ſhould conſent thereto, and not rather keep it in your own hands, than ſend it to the cuſtody of another. And yet, if you did conſent, it cannot be thought, but that it ſhould remain in your remembrance, as the firmity of your Marriage, and diſcharge of your Conſcience, with other things, touching highly your ſucceſſion, ſtanding therein; And it may be ſuppoſed moreover, that ſome writing of the Depoſite thereof ſhould remain there, which is not found.

Sixthly, conſidering that, the King of moſt noble memory, your Father, then alive, your Highneſſe not being at the date of the Breve

1529. paſt xv. or xvi. years of age, [*for ſo the Cifre is; though as King* Henry *was then but xii, and ſomething more, I conceive thoſe figures were Ciphers only, ſignifying his true age: unleſſe perchance the Cipherer or Deſcipher did otherwiſe miſtake it;*] It may be well ſuppoſed that your Highneſſe was not then much to ſollicite the impetration of ſuch things. And that, if any ſuch Breve ſhould have been impetrate, that time, that rather it ſhould have been done at the inſtance of the King, your Father, than of your Highneſſe. And although then it might have been impetrate in your Highneſſe name, yet it could not have been done there without knowledge and conſent of the King yout Father, and alſo at his ſetting forth. And, if any his intervention and conſent had been in this matter, he would not have bound King *Fernando*, and likewiſe have been bound himſelf, to get Bulls of Diſpenſation. And ſurely it may be thought that, if the King your Father conſented, *Don Fernando* of *Spain* did the ſame, ſo that it cannot bee doubted, but that as they ſay here they have two Bulls reſerved in their Archives, ſo ſhould alſo this Breve have been, which indeed was not there found, as hereafter ſhall be ſhewed, nor any ſuch is found in your Highneſſe Archives. Wherefore it may be well reckoned, that there was no ſuch obteined by the conſent of the King your Father.

And ſo, Seventhly, maketh the Breve ſuſpect, that the Emperour's folks firſt ſaid, that it was found in *Archivis Regum Hiſpaniarum*, as appeareth in my Lord Cardinalls Graces Letters, and now, forgetting themſelves, the Emperours Chancellor, and *Perenot* have confeſſed to us, that it was found among the Writings of Doctor *de Puebla*, which was Orator of *Spain*, in *England*, in the Kings dayes of moſt noble memory your Father. Which contrariety maketh to appeare that they do not upright. Of a Nephew of Doctor *Puebla*'s being there, I have written in our Common Letters the fifth of *April*, and now do again: by whom peradventure ſome light might be had.

Eighthly, who ſo conſidereth the high renowned wiſdome of the King your ſaid Father, and his great ſage Counſell, men of ſingular wiſdome and learning for all purpoſes, may well conceive, that, or ever any Diſpenſation for Marriage to be had between your Highneſſe and the Queen were ſent for, that her Grace was examined *an eſſet cognita a Principe Arthuro an non*? And that *ſi faſſa eſt*, that the two Kings would have provided therefore *Diſpenſationem in Bulla*, as they were bound. And on the other ſide, *ſi negavit ſe fuiſſe cognitam, nihil erat opus Brevi quoad, &c.* And for the ſecond part of the Breve, I cannot ſuppoſe that your Highneſſe, in that time, which the date of the Breve pretendeth (your Highneſſe being then not much more than xii. or xv. years of age, and the King your Father living) needed no diſpenſation in that party. And if none needed then, why ſhould your Highneſſe then make inſtance for any, which is ſuppoſed in the Breve?

Ninthly, if this Breve were impetrate in the dayes of Doctor *de*

Puebla;

Puebla; the being thereof ſo long in his hands, and the manner of keeping of the ſame, giveth new conjecture that is a thing caſſat; for the thing being of ſo much importance, touching ſo nigh your Highneſſe and the Queen, why ſhould hee keep it? ſpecially ſo long? for he lived in *England* after the date of the Breve, five or ſix years, and dyed there, not long after the King your Father. Who can think that ſuch a King, and ſuch a Councell, would have ſuffered the Breve to be out of their hands, in his hands, all that time, if the Breve had been known to them neceſſary for this Matrimony, and of any value? And, as I ſaid, the manner of keeping thereof ſeemeth to confirme the ſame; which manner of keeping I conjecture of two things; One, that it was not kept in a caſe of Tinn, after the manner of Breves; for only in a paper they did exhibit it to us twice. Another, that, in the Superſcription it appear'd ſlubbered, by reaſon of often handling, peradventure lying among ſo many his Writings and old Letters; wherefore, although it were then impetrate, yet it ſeemeth that hee tooke it as caſſat, and voyd, peradventure as ſurreptitiouſly obteined of his own head, without any Commiſſion or conſent of the parties. 1529.

Tenthly, another ſuſpition is, that, although the Emperours Chancellour and *Perenot* ſay, they have divers Letters and Writings of the ſaid *Puebla*'s, concerning both the Firſt marriage, and ſecond of the Queenes; yet, becauſe they uttered not that they have any thing ſpecially concerning this Breve, (which they would not have forgotten to ſay, for ſo much as it maketh for their purpoſe, if there had been any ſuch) moved upon that ſuſpition, I demanded of them, and divers times to the ſame, whether they had any ſpeciall Letters concerning this Breve? they could not, ne did not ſay that they had; but the Emperour's Chancellor anſwered, that the Breve was enough. Whereupon may be gathered, that his anſwer implyed, that they have none other.

Eleventhly, if any ſuch Breve were impetrate at that time, by the knowledge and conſent of both the Kings; likely is, that either of them ſhould have one. Let them then here bring forth the Breve *ex Archivis ſuis*. If they will ſay, this is it; what likelihood is it, that it ſhould be ſent into *England*, to come into *Spain*? for this Breve, if it were in Doctor *de Puebla*'s cuſtody, came out of *England* after his death, with other his Writings; which I think his Nephew there, (if he confeſſe that it was found amongſt other his Uncles Writings) will alſo confeſſe. I ſay, why it was ſent into *England*? it is not to be doubted, but *Don Fernando* had an Ambaſſadour in the Court of *Rome*, which might eaſilier and neerer way have ſent it into *Spaine*. Wherefore, if they cannot, out of their Archives, bring forth any ſuch Breve, their diligence in cuſtody of ſuch things ſuppoſed, and well deprehended in the Cuſtody of two Bulls, (for ſome of the Secretaries ſaid to me that they have two) they may, of this, gather (themſelves) that there is no ſuch, ne any other-where, of any effect and value.

The

1529. The twelfth ſuſpition againſt the Breve is in it ſelfe; that, whenſoever it was impetrate, it was not duly impetrate, may be gathered of divers things in the ſame, and about the ſame; the hand of ſome learner, and not of one exercis'd in writing of ſuch things; and ſome defaults in the writing; ſuch, as my Lord of *Worceſter* ſaith, hee hath not ſeen committed in any Breve. And, as he truſteth to prove, the Date ſhall utterly condemne the Breve. And theſe exceptions were, as I find in another Letter, dated from the ſame Ambaſſadours to the
April 20. Cardinall: Firſt, that there were Raſures in it. Secondly, divers hands. Thirdly, Names falſe-written, as *Artherus pro Arthurus.* Fourthly, the Date falſe; as being *Decem.* 26. 1503, which, according to the date of Breves, beginning 25. *Dec.* was almoſt a year before *Julius* II. was Pope. It was obſerved, likewiſe, that the Seale ſwell'd in the middle, and appear'd like ſome old Seal newly clap'd on. And thus much out of theſe diſpatches of thoſe able negotiators the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Edward Lee* the Kings Almoner; who, ſend-
April 23. ing the tranſumpt of the Breve to the King *April* 23, by a Letter 12
June 12. of *June* following, alſo certified our King of the ſending of *Gonçales Fernando* the Emperours Chaplain to the Earle of *Deſmond* in *Ireland* (which hath relation to that I have formerly ſaid of him) together with the return of a Chaplain of the ſaid Earls in his company; the Emperour ſeeming to take this intended Divorce ſo much to
Aug. 19. heart, that he thought fit to give our King this Jealouſie. Shortly after which I find alſo the Biſhop of *Worceſter* repealed.

This while, the common people, who with much anxiety attended the ſucceſſe of this great affaire, ſeem'd, betwixt pitty to Queen *Katherine*, and envy to *Anne Bolen*, (now appearing to be in the Kings favour) to caſt out ſome murmuring and ſeditious words; which be-
Nov. 8. ing brought to the King's eares, he thought fit to proteſt publikely in
1528. an Aſſembly of Lords, Judges, *&c.* call'd to his Palace of Bridewell, That nothing but deſire of giving ſatisfaction to his Conſcience, and care of eſtabliſhing the Succeſſion to the Crown in a right and undoubted line, had firſt procur'd him to controvert this Marriage: being (for the reſt) as happy in the affection and vertues of his Queen, as any Prince living. To confirme which alſo, he cauſed *Anne Bolen* to depart the Court, in ſuch an abrupt and diſcontented faſhion, that ſhe determined to abſent her ſelfe altogether. Neither could ſhe bee induced (as *Sanders* hath it) to come to the King any more, till her Father was commanded (not without threats) to bring her thither. Who by repreſenting the common danger to them both, obteined at length (though not without much difficulty) the conſent of his unwilling Daughter to return; Where yet ſhe kept that diſtance, that the King might eaſily perceive how ſenſible ſhe was of her late diſmiſſion.

May. It was now mid-*May* 1529, when our King, underſtanding how the Pope intended a ſtrict League with the Emperour, and judging wiſely alſo, that *Francis*, upon the reſtoring of his Children, might eaſily be

be drawn from him, did reſolve, without relying any longer on either of their promiſes, to take the beſt courſe he could, for giving a Concluſion to this buſineſſe. And the rather, that matters ſeem'd daily more and more indiſpos'd for that concluſion he deſir'd. For though *Campegius*, according to the order he had from the Pope (as I find by a diſpatch of *John Caſalis*, *Dat. Dec.* 17. 1528.) did both perſwade the Queen to a Divorce, and diſſwade the King from it, as having either way the end he propos'd: yet he fail'd in both. Nor would hee (as I find in the ſame diſpatch) let goe out of his hand the Decretall Bull mentioned before, being the Abſolute deciſion of the Cauſe; (the Diſpenſation being relative to the Queens entring into Religion, or other diſſolution of the Marriage) in regard (as the Pope pretended) it was gotten by the importunity of Cardinall *Wolſey*, with intention, that it ſhould be ſhewed to the King, and Cardinall only, as an *arrha* or token of his good will, and afterwards burnt; proteſting nevertheleſſe to the ſaid *Caſalis*, that hee deſired the Cardinalls ſhould proceed according to their Commiſſion, but that the *Bulla Decretalis* ſhould by no means be ſhewed to any of the Kings Counſellors, or other perſon whatſoever, though upon Oath of Secreſie; it being ſufficient that the King and Cardinall had ſeen it already, in *Campegius* hand. How our King yet was ſatisfied with this evaſion of the Popes, appears not to me by any Record, more, than that he ſtill ſollicited the Pope, that it might be exhibited publikely. Howbeit the Pope, who had farre other thoughts, told our Agents, that he kept the *Bulla Decretalis* ſecretly, aſwell from all his Cardinalls; as fearing leſt the Emperour ſhould call him to a Councell for it. For the more caution, taking order that the Memory of it ſhould be razed out of all his Archives. And, not ſtaying here, (as I find by our Records) He commanded one *Franceſco Campana* (his ſervant) into *England*, on pretence to conferre with the King and Cardinall, but indeed to charge *Campegius* to burn the Decretall. For colouring of all which, Hee finally objected to our King, that he had not kept promiſe with him, about the Reſtitution of *Cervia* and *Ravenna*. Our King conceiving hereupon, that all theſe difficulties the Pope made, proceeded from the feare which he had of the Emperour, ſends to Sir *Francis Bryan*, and *Peter Vannes* again, to renew his offer of a Guard of a Thouſand or two Thouſand Men, to be kept at the coſt of the French King and his, whereof the *Conte de Turenne*, and Sir *Gregory Caſalis* ſhould be Captaines; and, in the mean while, that a Generall Peace ſhould be treated of. But whether the Pope, as being late enough offended with the Guard which the Emperour put on him, would not now accept them from any other Prince; or that he thought them too ſlender to defend him; or that it would argue partiality to doe any thing on theſe terms; or that otherwiſe he had made his private Peace with the Emperour; (which certainly was the truth) I do not find the Pope accepted this offer. Howſoever, hee ſeemed ſtill to feare the Emperour; Inſomuch that, by a Diſpatch from *Gregory Caſalis*, Dated

1529.

Decem. 17. 1528.

Decem. 15. 1528. *Concil. Trid.*

1529. Dated *January* the third, One Thousand, five Hundred Twenty nine,
Jan. 3. I find the Pope for the better making both his own, and a Generall Peace, especially betwixt *Charles* and *Francis*, (which also followed at *Cambray* this year) declar'd to Cardinall *Wolsey*, he thought it necessary to goe himselfe in person into *Spain*, and that Cardinall *Wolsey* should go along with him; not yet as Pope and Cardinall, but as two Legats, or Ambassadours, for concluding a Peace. But this Journey (if at least it were really intended) was interrupted by the sickneſse of the Pope, which was thought so desperate, that our Cardinall *Febr.* 7. wrote to *Stephen Gardiner* (then at *Rome*) that, by all means, hee should procure the Papacie for him, being (as affaires then stood) the most indifferent and equall that could bee found in Christendome. To which purpose also, besides our Kings Recommendations, the Cardinall had obteined the French Kings Letters, written with so much earnestneſse for him, that, though the Convalescence of the Pope did frustrate this designe; *Stephen Gardiner* yet was wished to keep the Letter *in omnem eventum*. I find also, Order was given, that if *Wolsey* could not be chosen, the Cardinals which were for him (being a third part of the whole number) should put in a Protestation, and departing the Conclave, should in some secure place proceed to an Election, notwithstanding any to bee made at *Rome*. But, whether the Pope having notice of this untimely ambition of our Cardinall, were now offended with him, or that otherwise his ingagement to the Spaniard (whereof, in a Dispatch from the Pope to the Emperour *July* 21th, 1528, that came to our King's hands, there is mention) did hold himself; I find after this time the Pope more averse than ever. Therefore, notwithstanding a designe of his, that Cardinall *Wolsey* and *Campegius*, having finished the businesse of the Divorce, should afterwards goe to conclude an Universall Peace, yet all that past in this affaire afterwards (on his part) was little more then illusion. Which Sir *Francis Bryan* discovering, in a Dispatch to our King, plainly told him, no good was to bee done; which our King also beleeving, had commanded *Gardiner* to threaten the Pope with his sollicitation of the Princes of *Almaine*. Among whom I find particularly *George* Duke of *Saxony* (the Lutherans in vain opposing it) to have perswaded the Divorce. *Gardiner*, hereupon, useth more then one menace; though so much in vain, that, for a Conclusion, he advised our King to proceed upon the Commission given to the Legats, the Pope being (as he alledged *April* 21, 1529.) so aw'd by the Cæsareans, as he had rather suffer much in anothers name; than do any thing in his own. To incourage him the more also, *Gardiner* calls the Breve false and counterfeit, as being not to be found in the Registers at *Rome*. Moreover, for seconding this advise, *Gardiner*, by another Letter, *May* 4. which, sayes there was danger of recalling the Commission given to *Wolsey* and *Campegius*; Which was confirmed by divers other Letters from our Agents. Whereof *Gregory Casalis*, in a Dispatch of 13 *June* following, gives

Febr. 7.

Records, *Fox*. *Harpsfield*.

July 21. 1528.

May 5.

April 21.

April 21.

May 4.

June 13.

a reaſon, in theſe words of the Pope; who, being at that time more ſlackly relieved from the Confederates than he thought, and divers of his Subjects (for the reſt) in Armes againſt him, ſaid, *Malle ſeſe in præceps dari, &, Cæſari a Stabulo, nedum a Sacris inſervire, quam inferiorum hominum, ſubditorum, Vaſſalorumq; rebellium injurias ſuſtinere.* The Remedy whereof he expected only from the Emperour. So that not only feare, but even hope making him obnoxious, he did, for more than one reaſon, encline to the Emperour. Our King alſo, being well inform'd hereof by certain excuſatory Letters from *Rome*, and that a Treaty betwixt the Pope and Emperour (whereof there ſhall be mention) was already upon Terme of Concluſion, and an Interview appointed; gave order firſt to recall *Gardiner* and *Bryan*; yet ſo as he neglected not, at the ſame time, to ſend *William Bennet*, Doctor of Law, to *Rome*, to hinder the Advocation of the cauſe; whereof he was ſo Jealous, that he intercepted not only thoſe Diſpatches which were ſent to *Rome* from *Campegius*, or any elſe, but even thoſe intelligences which Queen *Katherine* ſhould give to her Aunt the Lady *Margaret*, Governeſſe of the Low-Countries. So that now our King, finding his Conſcience unſatisfied, his Nobilitie in ſuſpence, and the people murmuring at theſe procraſtinations in an affaire that ſo much concern'd the Succeſſion, Charged the two Cardinalls to proceed; as being ſatisfied by a particular Diſcuſſion of this buſineſſe before Arch-Biſhop *Warham*, and divers the learnedſt men of both Univerſities, at *Lambeth*, that his cauſe was faire. 1529. *May* 20.

And now, publike notice of a ſolemne hearing being given, the Court was appointed to ſit; the Queen chooſing Arch-Biſhop *Warham*, and *Nicholas Weſt* Biſhop of *Ely*, Doctors of the Law, and *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Henry Standiſh* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, Doctors of Divinitie, her Counſell, *&c.* according to the permiſſion the King gave her in that behalf. The paſſages whereof, out of an Antient and Authentique Record in Parchment, ſubſcribed by the three Notaries (uſed in this buſineſſe); and remaining in the Cuſtody of that great Antiquary, Sir *Henry Spelman*, Knight, I ſhall ſet down, with as much particularity, as the context of my Hiſtory will ſuffer. *Jan.* *Febr.* *March.*

The place appointed for hearing and determining the Cauſe, was a great Hall in Black-Fryers in *London*, (commonly call'd the Parliament-Chamber.) The time, the thirty firſt of *May*, 1529. The Judges, the two Cardinalls above mention'd, whoſe Commiſſions I have thought fit to ſet down at large. *May* 31.

Clemens Epiſcopus ſervus ſervorum Dei, dilectis filiis Thomæ Sanctæ Cæciliæ Eboracen. & Laurentio ſanctæ Mariæ in tranſtyberim de Campegio nuncupatis preſbyteris Cardinalibus in Regno Angliæ noſtris & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatis de latere Salutem, & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Sane ad aures noſtras ex plurimorum fide-dignorum relatione frequenter perlatum eſt, de validitate illius matrimonii quod chariſſimus in Chriſto filius noſter Henricus Anglie Rex illuſtris. fidei defenſor &

1529. *Dominus Hiberniæ cum charissima in Christo filia nostra Catharina Regina sedis Apostolicæ dispensatione prehensa contraxisse & consummasse dinoscitur, subortam nuper in partibus illis quæstionem, quæ licèt in publicum Ecclesiæ judicium deducta hactenus non fuerit, causæ tamen tam magni gravisque momenti exitus, vizt. quem justitia & æquitas dederit, animos istic omnium sic habet suspensos, ut celerem ac maturam definitionem requirat, non sine maximo discrimine proteland. Cum itaque nos, quos ad justitiam in judicio & veritate, omnibus ex æquo subministrandum Servum Servorum Deus constituit, facti veritatem per nos ipsos inquirere ac Causam hanc examinare non valemus, Considerantes præterea quod factum, ex quo jus oritur, illic certius quam hic, tum etiam citius expeditiusq; cognosci poterit, Cupientesq; præsertim in Regno illo sedi Apostolicæ semper devotissimo, omnem dissentionum materiam extingui, & dulcissimum illum pacis amorisq; intestinum concentum felicissimamq; charitatis Harmoniam multos jam annos constantem retineri, ac in posterum conservari, dictamq; proinde super præfato matrimonio causam in judicio justitia & veritate decidi, certumq; firmum validum & maturum, quod maxime expedit, finem sortiri; Circumspectioni vestræ ad audiendum ea omnia & singula quæ dicti matrimonii vires, dispensationisve Apostolicæ cujuscunq; coram vobis producendæ aut exhibendæ validitatem aut invaliditatem contingant, deq; & super omnibus illis ac aliis quibuscunq; materiis, allegationibus & causis dictum matrimonium aut dispensationem concernent. seu tangentibus cognoscend. necnon in causa dicti matrimonii & validitatis dispensationis, vocatis partibus, summarie & de plano, sine strepitu & figura judicii procedendum, dispensationes quascunq; Apostolicas, prout illas validas efficaces & sufficientes, invalidasve inefficaces minus sufficientes surrepitias aut arreptitias, aut alio quocunq; modo inervat. inveneritis, tales illas esse, & haberi debere pronunciandum & declarandum, dictumq; matrimonium similiter, si ab alterutra parte petatur, pro ut animo conscientiæque vestræ juris ratio persuaserit, validum justum & legitimum, ac firmum esse, aut e contra invalidum injustum & illegitimum, nullumque fuisse & esse; pro validojusto legitimo & firmo, aut e contra, invalido injusto & illegitimo, nulloq; haberi debere, definiendum, sententiand. & decernandum; ac in eventum improbatæ dispensationis & declarationis nullitatis matrimonii, summarie & de plano sine strepitu & figura judicii, ut præfertur, sententiam divortii judicialiter proferend. denique tam Henrico Regi, quam Catherinæ Reginæ præfatis, ad alia vota commigrand. Licentiam in domino & facultatem tribuendum. Vobis conjunctim, & altero vestrum nolente aut impedito, divisim, citra omnem personæ aut Jurisdictionis gradum, omni recusatione & appellatione remotis, vices & omnem auctoritatem nostram committimus & demandamus. Vos etiam conjunctim, & altero vestrum nolente, aut impedito, divisim, ut præfertur, ad ea omnia quæ in hac commissione continentur dumtaxat exequenda expedienda, ac plenæ finaliq; executioni demandanda, Vices-gerentes nostros etiam ex certa nostra scientia creamus, & deputamus, ita, ut in præmissis, quod nos authoritate et potestate*

nostra

noſtra facere poſſemus, id etiam vos facere poſſitis. Vobis quoque tam prolem ex primo matrimonio ſuſceptam, ſi id ita expedire Viſum fuerit, quam ex ſecundo matrimonio ſuſcipiendam, legitimam decernend. pronanciand. & promulgand. legitimitatem etiam utriuſq; prolis, cenſuris & pœnis Eccleſiaſticis quibuſcunque, per modum decreti aut ſanctionis perpetuæ, muniendi & vallandi omnibus validioribus & efficacioribus modis & formis quæ de jure concipi & excogitari poterint, ex certa noſtra ſcientia, authoritate Apoſtolica, tenore præſentium, poteſtatem pariter & authoritatem concedimus, Non-obſtantibus Conciliis generalibus, Apoſtolicis conſtitutionibus, & ordinationibus editis, cæteriſq; contrariis quibuſcunq;. Dat. Viterbii, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Milleſimo Quingenteſimo Viceſimo Octavo. Sexto Id. Junii, Pontificatus noſtri Anno Quinto. 1529.

After the Commiſſion was read, our Chronicles with one conſent ſay, the King was Call'd, and appear'd perſonally in Court, at whoſe Feet the Queen proſtrated her ſelf, demanding Juſtice, right, and pitty, *&c.* But now to come to the Record. I find the King and Queen were by *Longland*, the Kings Confeſſor cited to appeare upon 18th *June* next enſuing. The King (for obſerving his time,) gave *Richard Sampſon*, Dean of his Chappell, and *John Bell*, Doctor of the Decrees, a Commiſſion ſealed in green Wax, and dated at *Greenwich*, xv. *June*; by which he conſtituted them his Proctors, with Authority to refuſe or accept the Court and Judgement of the two Cardinalls, and, if need were, to Appeale; allowing them alſo to ſubſtitute other Proctors; binding himſelf finally *ſub Hypotheca & obligatione Bonorum*, to ratifie what they ſhould doe. But the Queen, uſing a ſhorter way, appear'd in perſon, proteſting yet againſt the Cardinalls, as incompetent Judges; requiring further, that this her Proteſtation might be Recorded, and ſo departed preſently out of the Court. This while the Cardinalls, who took into their Commiſſion *John Longland*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*; *John Clerke*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*; *John Iſlip*, Abbot of *weſtminſter*; and Doctor *John Taylor*, Maſter of the Rolls; ſent unto the Queen Letters Monitory; declaring, if ſhe appear'd not, they would notwithſtanding proceed to execute their Commiſſion; for which purpoſe the above-mentioned Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, was employed, but ſhe, refuſing, is pronounced Contumacious.

May 31. *Hall. Holling. Godwin. Stow.*

June 15.

June 18.

June 25.

Certain Articles were then put in by the Legats, againſt our King, and Queen *Katherine*, the principall ſubſtance wherof was, that Prince *Arthur* did Marry, and Carnally know Queen *Katherine*, confirming alſo this Marriage by Cohabitation with her till his death. After which, King *Henry* being his brother, did Marry the ſaid Lady *Katherine*, *Anno Domini* 1509. *in facie Eccleſiæ*, and had Children by her; which Marriage yet, being as well *Divino* as *Eccleſiaſtico jure* prohibited, and (unleſſe it may be otherwayes made good) to be reputed in it ſelfe *nullum omnino et invalidum*, had cauſed huge ſcandall, both in the Clergie and people of *England*, and of many other places,

1529. insomuch that it hath come to the Popes eares, who taking notice hereof, gave Commission to those Cardinalls to heare and proceed in this businesse, according to the importance of it.

June 28. This being done, the Queen is cited a second time to appeare, which she refusing, is pronounc'd again Contumacious. This hindered not the Court yet to proceed, and appoint Doctor *Taylor*, Arch-Deacon of *Buckingham*, to examine the Witnesses; while themselves, calling for the Dispensations that were alleg'd in favour of this Marriage, a

July 5. certain Bull and Breve were exhibited, which I have thought fit to set down at length as they are extant in the same Record.

The Bull being *sub plumbo*, *more Romana Curiæ*, was an originall, but the Breve was only a Copy subscrib'd and sign'd with the hand of *Juan Vergara*, a Canon of *Toledo*, and publike Notary, *authoritate Apostolica*; and with the Seales of *Balthazar de Castiglione*, the Popes Nuntio, and the reverend Father in God *Alfonsus de Fonseca*, Arch-Bishop of *Toledo*.

The Bull.

IUlius Episcopus servus servorum Dei dilecto filio Henrico carissimi in Christo filii Henrici Angliæ Regis illustris. nato, & dilectæ in Christo filiæ Catharinæ carissimi in Christo filii nostri Ferdinandi Regis ac carissimæ in Christo filiæ nostræ Elizabeth Reginæ Hispaniarum & Siciliæ Catholicorum natæ illustribus, Salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem. Romani Pontificis præcellens authoritas concessa sibi desuper utitur potestate, prout personarum negotiorum & temporum qualitate pensata id in domino conspicit salubriter expedire. Oblatæ nobis nuper pro parte vestra petitionis series continebat, Quod cum alias tu filia Catharina, & tunc in humanis agens quondam Arthurus carissimi in Christo filii nostri Henrici Angliæ Regis illustrissimi primogenitus pro conservandis pacis & amicitiæ nexibus & fœderibus inter carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Ferdinandum, & carissimam in Christo filiam nostram Elizabeth Hispaniarum & Siciliæ Catholicos ac præfatum Angliæ Reges & Reginam, matrimonium per verba legitime de præsenti contraxissetis illudq; carnali copula forsan consummavissetis, Dominus Arthurus prole ex hujusmodi matrimonio non suscepta decessit, Cum autem sicut eadem

dem petitio ſubjungebat, ad hoc ut hujuſmodi vinculum pacis & amicitiæ inter præfatos Reges & Reginam diutius permaneat, cupiatis matrimonium inter vos per verba legitime de præſenti contrahere, ſupplicari nobis feciſtis, ut vobis in præmiſſis de opportune Diſpenſationis gratia providere de benignitate Apoſtolica dignaremur; Nos igitur, qui inter ſingulos Chriſti fidelis, præſertim Catholicos Reges & principes, pacis et concordiæ amœnitatem vigere intenſis deſideriis affectamus, voſq; et quemlibet veſtrum a quibuſcunq; excõmunicationis ſuſpenſionis & interdict. aliiſq; Eccleſiaſticis ſententiis cenſuris & pœnis a jure vel ab homine, quavis occaſione vel cauſa, latis, ſi quibus quomodolibet innodati exiſtitis, ad effectum præſentium duntaxat conſequendum, harum ſerie abſolventes, & abſolutos fore cenſentes, hujuſmodi ſupplicationibus inclinati, vobiſcum, ut impedimento affinitatis hujuſmodi ex præmiſſis proveniente ac conſtitutionibus & ordinationibus Apoſtolicis cæteriſq; contrariis nequaquam obſtantibus, Matrimonium per verba legitime de præſenti inter vos contrahere, & in eo, poſtquam contractum fuerit, etiamſi jam forſan hactenus de facto publice vel clandeſtine contraxeritis, ac illud carnali copula conſummaveritis, licite remanere valeatis, authoritate Apoſtolica tenore præſentium de ſpecialis dono gratiæ diſpenſamus, ac vos & quemlibet veſtrum, ſi contraxeritis (ut præfertur) ab exceſſu hujuſmodi ac excommunicationis ſententia quam propterea incurriſtis, eadem authoritate abſolvimus, Prolem ex hujuſmodi matrimonio ſive contracto ſive contrahendo ſuſceptam forſan vel ſuſcipiendam legitimam decernendo. Proviſo quod tu (filia Catharina) propter hoc rapta non fueris; volumus autem quod ſi hujuſmodi matrimonium de facto contraxiſtis, Confeſſor, per vos & quemlibet veſtrum eligendus, pœnitentiam Salutarem propterea vobis Injungat, quam adimplere teneamini. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam noſtræ abſolutionis diſpenſationis & voluntatis infringere, vel ei auſu temerario contraire; ſi quis autem hoc attemptare præſumpſerit, 1529.

1529. rit, Indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri & Pauli Apoſtolorum ejus ſe noverit incurſurum. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Milleſimo Quingentiſimo tertio. Septim. Cal. Januarii, Pontificatus noſtri anno primo.

The Breve, together with the aſſeverations of thoſe who ſubſcribed it.

NOs Balthazar de Caſtiglione Mantuan. Apoſtolicæ ſedis notarius, in Hiſpaniarum Regnis, terriſq; & locis temporali dominio Sereniſſimorum Principum Caroli in Imperatorem electi & Johannæ Regis & Reginæ Catholicorum Subjectis ejuſdem Sedis Nuncius, & Alfonſus de Fonſeca miſeratione dominica Archiepiſcopus Toletan. Hiſpaniarum Primas, ac Regnorum Caſtell. Archicancellarius, Univerſis & ſingulis ad quos præſentes literæ pervenerint, & quos noſſe fuerit oportunum, Salutem in domino. Noveritis, quod literas quondam Sanctiſſimi in Chriſto patris ſe. re. Julii Papæ ſecundi in forma Brevis ſub annulo Piſcatoris, ſanas & integras, non viciatas, non cancellatas, nec aliqua parte ſui ſuſpectas, ſed omni prorſus vicio & ſuſpitione carentes, pro parte Sa. Caſ. & Catholicæ Majeſtatis Caroli divina favente Clementia E. Ro. Imperatoris, & in ejus præſentia nobis præſentatis cum ea qua decuit reverentia recepimus. Quarum quidem literarum tenor erat in exteriori ſupraſcriptione talis. Dilecto filio Henrico, chariſſimi in chriſto filii noſtri Henrici Angliæ Regis Illuſt. nat. Illuſtriſ. & dilectæ in chriſto filiæ Catharinæ chariſſimi etiam in Chriſto filii noſtri Ferdinandi & chariſſimæ in Chriſto filiæ noſtræ Elizabeth Reginæ Hiſpaniarum et Siciliæ Catholicorum natæ Illuſt. Interius vero talis.

Julius Papa ſecundus. Dilecte fili et dilecta in Chriſto filia, Salutem et Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Romani Pontificis præcellens authoritas conceſſa ſibi deſuper utitur poteſtate, prout (perſonarum negotiorum et temporũ qualitate penſata) id in Domino conſpicit ſalubriter expedire. Oblatæ nobis

nuper

nuper pro parte veſtra petitionis ſeries continebat, quod cum alias tu filia Catharina, et tunc in humanis agens quondam Arthurus Cariſſimi in Chriſto filii noſtri Henrici Angliæ Regis Illuſtriſ. primogenitus, pro conſervandis pacis et amicitiæ nexibus et fœderibus inter præfatum Angliæ et Cariſſimum in Chriſto filium noſtrum Ferdinandum Regem et Cariſſimam in Chriſto filiam noſtram Elizabeth Reginam Catholicos Hiſpaniarum et Siciliæ, matrimonium per verba legitime de præſenti contraxeritis, illudq; carnali copula conſummaveritis, quia tamen dominus Arthurus, prole ex hujuſmodi matrimonio non ſuſcepta, deceſſit, et hujuſmodi vinculum pacis et connexitatis inter præfatos Reges et Reginam ita firmiter veriſimiliter non perduraret, niſi etiam illud alio affinitatis vinculo conſoveretur et confirmaretur: ex hiis, et certis aliis cauſis, deſideratis matrimonium inter vos per verba legitime de præſenti contrahere: Sed quia deſiderium veſtrum in præmiſſis adimplere non poteſtis, diſpenſatione Apoſtolica deſuper non obtenta, Nobis propterea humiliter ſupplicari feciſtis, ut vobis providere in præmiſſis de diſpenſationis gratia & benignitate, Apoſtolica dignaremur. Nos igitur qui inter ſingulos Chriſti fideles, præſertim catholicos Reges & Principes, pacis & concordiæ amœnitatem vigere intenſis deſideriis affectamus, hiis & aliis cauſis animum noſtrum moventibus, hujuſmodi ſupplicationibus inclinati, vobiſcum, ut aliquo impedimento affinitatis hujuſmodi ex præmiſſis proveniente non obſtant. matrimonium inter vos contrahere, & in eo, poſtquam contractum fuerit, remanere libere & licite valeatis, authoritate Apoſtolica per præſentes diſpenſamus: &, quatenus forſan jam matrimonium inter vos de facto publice vel clandeſtine contraxeritis, ac carnali copula conſummaveritis vos et quemlibet veſtrum ab exceſſu hujuſmodi ac excommunicationis ſententia quam propterea Incurriſtis, eadem authoritate abſolvimus, ac etiam vobiſcum ut in hujuſmodi matrimonio ſic de facto contracto remanere, ſeu illud de novo contrahere inter vos libere & licite valeatis, 1529

1529. ſimiliter diſpenſamus, Prolem ex hujuſmodi matrimonio ſive contracto ſive contrahendo ſuſcipiendam legitimam decernend. volumus autem, ſi hujuſmodi matrimonium de facto contraxiſtis, Confeſſor, per vos & quemlibet veſtrum eligendus, pœnitentiam, quam adimplere teneamini, propterea vobis injungat. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum ſub annulo Piſcatoris, die xxvi. Decemb. Milleſimo Quingenteſimo tertio. Pont. noſtri Anno primo. Sigiſmundus.

Decem. 26. 1503.

Quibus quidem literis diligenter per nos Balthazarem de Caſtiglione tanquam nuncium Apoſtolicum, & Alfonſum de Fonſeca tanquam loci ordinarium, inſpectis, & perlectis, Quia eas ſanas & integras, ac omni prorſus vicio & ſuſpitione (ut præmittitur) carentes Invenimus, Ideo, ad requiſitionem expreſſam præfat. Cæſar. & Catholicæ Majeſtatis, tam ſuo quam conjunctorio nomine Sereniſſimæ Dominæ Catherinæ Reginæ Angliæ ſuæ cariſſimæ materteræ & conſanguineæ, aſſerent. ipſius requirent. & prædict. Reginæ intereſſe, ob eternitatis memoriam, & ne vetuſtatæ prædictum originale depereat, utq; de illius tenore ubi opus fuerit edoceri poſſit, & in locis in quibus, ob bellorum viarumq; diſcrimina, non liceat tuto ipſum originale diſpenſationis tranſmittere aut committere, ejuſdem Maieſtatis requiſitioni, tanquam juſtæ & rationabili, annuentes, eaſdem literas exemplari & tranſumi ac in publicam formam redigi mandavimus; decernentes & volentes ut huic præſenti tranſumpto publico plena fides deinceps adhibeatur, in locis omnibus ubi fuerit oportunum, perinde ac ſi originales ipſæ literæ exhiberentur. Quibus omnibus uterq; noſtrum authoritatem noſtram interpoſuimus, & decretum. Et, ad ampliorem evidentiam præmiſſorum, præſens inſtrumentum manu noſtra uterq; ſignavimus. Idemq; Sigillorum noſtrorum Juſſimus appenſione communiri. Dat. Toleti die duodecima Decemb. Anno a Nativitate domini Milleſimo Quingentiſimo xxviii. Præſentibus ibidem illuſtribus & generoſis viris, Dominis Henrico comite a Naſſau, Marchione de Zenete camerario ſupremo, Don. Johanne Manuele

Manuele, Don Laurentio de Gorreuodo comite Pontisvallium Militibus velleris aurei, Carolo de Popeto Domino Dela chaulx, Lodovico a Flandria Domino de Prato, & Nicholao Perrenot Domino de Grande villa, omnibus conſiliariis prædictæ ſacræ Cæſ. & Catholicæ Majeſtatis teſtibus ad præmiſſa vocatis ſpecialiter atq; rogatis. Baldezar de Caſtilione nuncius & Collector Apoſtolicus. A. Toletan. Et ego Johannes Vergara Canonicus Toletan. in ſacra Theologia magiſter, publicus Apoſtolica authoritate notarius, Qui præmiſſis omnibus, una cum prænominatis teſtibus interfui, hoc publicum inſtrumentum ſignavi, & ſubſcripſi, in teſtimonium veritatis, per eandem Cæſ. Catholicam Majeſtatem rogatus & requiſitus. 1529.

Againſt theſe Diſpenſations the following Objections were uſed. *July 9.*

I. THat the Peace and Unity betwixt *England* and *Spain* was firme before the granting of the Diſpenſation, which yet was alledged as a Cauſe.

II. That the ſaid Diſpenſation, as being grounded on this pretext, muſt be held ſurreptitious, *Henry* VIII. being then not above thirteen, and conſequently unable for Marriage, which alſo if the Pope had known before-hand, or that otherwiſe it had been repreſented to him, he would not have eaſily granted any ſuch Diſpenſation.

III. Becauſe it was pretended that *Henry* VIII. had deſired the Match only for maintaining Peace betwixt the two Kingdomes; whereas (being then not above thirteen) he muſt be thought uncapable of ſuch thoughts.

IV. That though this Diſpenſation might once bee thought to have his force and vertue, yet ſeeing the motive of granting it was grounded upon the above-mentioned Peace, and that one of the ſaid Princes died before the ſolemniſing of the ſaid Marriage, the cauſe of the Diſpenſation muſt be held voyd.

V. That, ſuppoſing the objection of Affinity were taken away by vertue of the ſaid Diſpenſation, yet the objection *de publica honeſtate* was not cleered.

VI. That the Breve above-mentioned appears by the Tenor of it to contain many falſhoods and ſuſpitions, and particularly that the ſtyle, inditing, as alſo many clauſes and circumſtances differ from the Bull, ſo that it may be thought forged ſince the time of the queſtions moved concerning this Matrimony; as by comparing them together may be manifeſtly gathered.

1529. This alſo was urged by theſe reaſons;

1. That, in the Regiſter Book of the Breves at *Rome*, no ſuch Breve is found, or any Argument that ſuch a Breve was made.

2. That, likewiſe, neither in the Chartophylacio or Paper-Chamber of the King, no ſuch Breve is extant, nor otherwayes, in the private treaties of the Marriage, any mention is made thereof.

3. That, in the date of the ſaid Breve, as it is exemplified, the yeare of our Lord is diſcrepant from the vulgar account; for whereas the ſtyle of the Court of *Rome* begins alwayes from the Nativity of our Lord, this ſeems to be a year before *Julius* was made Pope.

Jul. 12. All which objections were deliver'd to the Kings Proctor, that hee might anſwer to them.

Whereupon Witneſſes being ſummon'd to appear *July* 12.

Thomas Duke of *Norfolke*,	*Robert* Viſcount *Fitz-water*,
Charles Duke of *Suffolke*,	*John* Biſhop of *Carlile*,
Thomas Marquis *Dorſet*,	Sir *David Owen*,
George Earle of *Shrewsbury*,	Sir *John Huſſey*,
Thomas Viſcount *Rochfort*,	Sir *Richard Weſton*, Knights,

With divers others, preſented themſelves to be examined by the Arch-Deacon of *Buckingham*, above-mentioned.

July 14. In the mean-while, theſe two Articles were added to the former, as ſerving to ſtrengthen the Objections above mentioned.

1. That the year for Popes Breves begins *December* 26. and the year for Bulls 25th of *March*.

2. That, in all Marriages contracted within the Kingdome of *England*, the forme hath been in words, *De præſenti, ego accipio te, &c.*

Buſineſſes being thus ripe for examination of Witneſſes, the Depoſitions of two ancient Ladies, who excus'd themſelves by their infirmity from appearing in perſon, were publikely read.

July 19. 1. The firſt, being *Mary* Counteſſe of Eſſex, ſaid little, but in generall terms.

2. But *Agnes* the old Dutcheſſe of *Norfolke*, who was preſent at the Marriage at St. *Pauls* in *London*, declared the age of Prince *Arthur* at the time of his ſaid Marriage, to be about fifteen; and moreover, did poſitively affirme, that ſhe ſaw Prince *Arthur*, and the Lady *Katherine*, alone, in bed together, the next night after their Marriage. Which therefore, as alſo a following Depoſition of the Viſcounteſſe *Fitz-water*, may ſerve to anſwer *Sanders* his tale, where hee ſayth, a grave Matron was put into the ſame bed with him, to hinder the Prince from knowing her Carnally.

Sand. de Schiſm. Ang.

3. *George* Earle of *Shrewsbury* depos'd, the Marriage was celebrated at St. *Pauls*, *Decimo ſeptimo Henrici Septimi*, 1501. adding further, that Prince *Arthur* was born at *Wincheſter*, *ſecundo Henrici ſeptimi*: and that he beleev'd the Prince knew his Lady carnally, both as being able ſo to do, as alſo becauſe himſelfe knew his Wife being not ſixteen.

4. *William*

4. *William Warham*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, being examined, 1529.
proteſts, not to reveale any Secrets of the Queen, as being her ſworn Counſellor. For the reſt, as he anſwered warily to the queſtions propounded him concerning the validity of the Match, inſomuch that he refer'd himſelfe therein to the Judges, who were to determine it; ſo yet he made no difficulty to confeſſe that he approv'd it not at firſt; which alſo he declar'd, not only in a Conteſtation which he had with *Richard Fox*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who perſwaded it, but in certain words to King *Henry* the Seventh himſelf, whom hee told plainly, that the Marriage ſeem'd to him neither honourable, nor well pleaſing to God. Adding further, that becauſe the ſaid King *Henry* VII. appear'd not much inclin'd to the Marriage, that he the ſaid Deponent intreated him to perſwade his Son Prince *Henry*, to proteſt that he would not take the Lady *Katherine* to Wife, and that he ſhould renew this Proteſtation when he came to the Crown; which alſo he the ſaid Deponent believeth was made. Notwithſtanding, that when the Bull of Diſpenſation was granted, that he the ſaid Deponent contradicted it no more; and that the murmuring of the people on that occaſion was quieted, till the Kings Conſcience being troubled, revived it again.

5. Sir *William Thomas*, Knight, depoſed, Prince *Arthur*, and the Lady *Katherine* lived five moneths, partly about *London*, and partly at *Ludlow*, in houſhold together as man and wife; and that hee heard Sir *William Wodall*, who was at the Princes Chriſtning ſay, that hee was above fifteen, at the time of his Marriage, and the Lady *Katherine* elder.

6. Sir *Anthony Poynes*, Knight, depoſed that Prince *Arthur* was above fifteen at the time of his Marriage.

7. *Thomas* Marquis *Dorſet* depoſed, he ſaw a Regiſter of the Nativity of the Kings Children; by which he found Prince *Arthur* was born the 20 *September* 1486. and, that at the time of his Marriage (which 1501.
was upon a Sunday, in *November*, *Decimo Septimo Henrici ſeptimi*,) He was of a good and Sanguine complexion, and able, as he ſuppos'd, for that purpoſe.

8. *Robert* Viſcount *Fitz-water* depos'd, the Prince was then about fifteen, and Queen *Katherine* elder, and that, the next day after being in bed together, (which he remembred after they entered to have been ſolemnly bleſs'd) he waited at breakfaſt on Prince *Arthur*, where *Maurice St. Johns* did carve, and he the Lord *Fitz-water* gave drinke; at which time the ſaid *Maurice* demanding of the Prince how hee had done that night? the Prince anſwered, I have been in *Spain* this night.

9.10.11. *Thomas* Lord *Darcy*, *William* Lord *Montejoy*, and *Henry Guldeford*, Knight of the Garter, ſaid little, but by way of publike report.

12. *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk* depoſed, that he was in the Biſhop of *London*'s Pallace, the morrow next following the day of Marriage, and that he waited there upon the Prince at Breakfaſt, confirming

1529. moreover in effect, the words of *Maurice St. John*, before ſet down. Futrhermore, he added that the Shroveride following the Marriage, (which was in *November* preceding) the ſaid Prince began to decay, and grow feeble in body; which grew, as the ſaid *St. John* related, by reaſon the ſaid Prince lay with the Lady *Katherine*.

13. *David Owen* depoſed, that Prince *Arthur* was born at *Winchester, ſecundo Henrici Septimi*; which he knew, becauſe he was at the Chriſtning.

14. *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, Lord Treaſurer of *England*, depoſed, that he being the day of the Marriage in the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace, and the morrow after, at the Prince's Breakfaſt, heard the Prince's words to *Maurice St. John*, when he ſaid hee had been that night in the midſt of *Spain*; by which words, as alſo becauſe Prince *Arthur* was a Gentleman of a good Complexion, and nature, and above fifteen, he beleeves that he carnally knew his Lady; becauſe himſelf alſo at the ſame age did carnally know and uſe; and he believes this the rather, that he heard from Credible perſons, that the ſaid Prince *Arthur* did lie with the ſaid Ladie *Katherine* five or ſix nights afterwards.

15. *Anthony Willoughby*, Knight, depoſed, that being, the morrow after the Marriage, in the Princes Privy Chamber, the ſaid Prince ſpake afore divers Witneſſes theſe words, *Willoughby*, give me a cup of Ale; for I have been this night in the midſt of *Spain*; After which he ſaid, Maſters, it is a good paſtime to have a Wife, which words hee repeated alſo divers other times. Moreover, he heard ſay they lay at *Ludlow* together the Shrovetide next following.

16. *Nicholas* Biſhop of *Ely* ſaid, he could depoſe nothing concerning the *carnalis copula*, but that he doubted of it, becauſe the Queen often *ſub teſtimonio conſcientiæ ſuæ*, ſaid to this Deponent, that ſhee was never carnally known of Prince *Arthur*, though otherwiſe hee muſt confeſſe them both to be *legitimæ ætatis* at the time of their Marriage. Hee doubted further, whether the Cardinalls were competent Judges, an appeale being made from them.

17. *Richard Sacheverell*, Knight, depoſed, the people ſaid commonly, that it was unfit one brother ſhould marry the other brothers Wife.

18. *Thomas* Viſcount *Rochefort*, depoſed, that hee heard divers of Prince *Arthur*'s followers confirme the words he uſed, of his having been in *Spain* the night of his Marriage. Moreover, he heard ſay, that King *Henry* viii. was perſwaded by his Confeſſor, about two yeares ſince, to abſtain from the bed of the Lady *Katherine*, leſt hee ſhould offend his Conſcience.

19.20.21.22.23. Sir *Richard Weſton*, and Sir *John Huſſy*, Knights, depos'd the age of King *Henry* the eighth was thirty eight upon the Eve of the Feaſt of St. *Peter*, and St. *Paul* laſt; which Viſcount *Rochefort* alſo confirm'd, ſaying the place of his Birth was *Greenwich*, and the year was 1491. and day the twenty eighth of *June*; which

Robert

Robert Viſcount *Fitz-water* confirmed alſo, adding, that King *Henry* the Seventh died two dayes before the Feaſt of St. *George*, twenty yeares ſince; With whom *David Owen*, Servant and Counſellour to King *Henry* the Seventh agreed, ſave only, that he ſaid it was three dayes before the Feaſt. 1529

24. *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke* depoſed, that *Pedro de Ayala* or *Allea*, and Doctor *de Puebla*, Ambaſſadours from *Spain*, were much in favour heretofore with *Henry* the Seventh, and that *Henry* the Seventh died before the Marriage betwixt his Son Prince *Henry*, and the Princeſſe *Katherine*, and Queen *Iſabel* or *Elizabeth* her Mother dyed alſo before that time.

25. *William Warham*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and Counſellour to *Henry* the Seventh, and *Henry* the Eighth, for 36 years laſt paſt, depoſed, that he conceived *Henry* the Eighth to be under thirteen at the time of the Diſpenſation granted; becauſe King *Henry* his Father told him that he was *impubes*, after that time. Whereupon this Deponent replyed to the King, that any Proteſtation hee ſhould then make would be of no force, and therefore he ſhould make it again one or two dayes after his comming to *annos pubertatis*.

26.27. *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*, and *Thomas* Marquis *Dorſet*, examined again, ſaid little but what was formerly ſet down.

28. *Pedro Mates, Utriuſq; Juris doctor*, Native of *Barcelona* in *Spain*, who had lived in the Court of *Rome* thirty years, *in exercitio cauſarum*, depoſed, that the date of years there is computed after three divers manners; So that Judgements, Contracts, and laſt Wills bear date from the Nativity 25 *December*; *Literæ Apoſtolicæ ſub plumbo* xxv. of March; *Literæ Apoſtolicæ per Breve ſub annulo piſcatoris cereæ rubeæ impreſſo ſcribuntur ſimpliciter & abſolute abſq; expreſſione ipſius domini aut Nativitatis, aut incarnationis, ſed ſolum Anno M.D.&c.* Yet ſo that he conceiv'd it began alwaies *a Nativitate ſcilicet xxv. Decembris*, neither doth he know any thing to the contrary, except the Popes Secretary alter the ſtile.

29. *Nicolaus Ruſticus* of *Lucca* in *Italie*, ſayth, that *Annus Domini in Brevibus Apoſtolicis* is computed from the Nativity of our Lord.

30.31.32.33.34.35.36. *Thomas* Viſcount *Rochefort*, *Henry Guilford* Knight, *Thomas* Marquis *Dorſet*, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, *William Falke Notarius publicus*, *John Taverner*, and *John Clamport*, being examined, depoſed, the formes of Marriages are alwaies *in verbis de præſenti*, in *England*.

37. The Lady *Elizabeth*, Wife to Viſcount *Fitz-water*, depos'd, that ſhe ſaw the Lady *Katherine* and Prince *Arthur* in bed together, which was bleſt, and that ſhe left them alone together.

Hereupon the Depoſitions were publiſhed, and the Kings Proctor ſummon'd to receive thoſe Acts and Writings he deliver'd into the Court; but he not appearing, is pronounc'd Contumacious. *July* 17.

The Commiſſioners yet proceeded to require the ſight of the *Archiva* and Record concerning this buſineſſe, for which purpoſe

Thomas

1529. *Thomas VVriotheſly*, and *Thomas Tong*, Kings of Armes, had been employed; Theſe men certified that Prince *Arthur* died in the Caſtle of *Ludlow* the ſecond of *April*, 1502. and that his Brother *Henry* was born the 28th of *June* 1491. and that the Marriage betwixt Prince *Arthur* and the Lady *Katherine* was the 14th of *November*, 1501.

1527. *April* 5. & 6. This being done, a Depoſition of *Richard Fox*, Biſhop of *VVincheſter*, taken by Doctor *VVoolman*, *April* 5. and 6. 1527. was read. The moſt ſubſtantiall part whereof was, that he conceiv'd, Doctor *Puebla* did firſt motion this Match, and that more than one Bull was impetrated for diſpenſing therewith, whereof two remain'd in *England*, one or two were extant in *Spain*, but all of the ſame Tenor, and gotten without asking the conſent of *Henry* the Eighth. Furthermore, that he did not remember that *Henry* the Eighth, when hee came to age, did expreſly conſent to, or diſſent from the intended Marriage, yet that he believed that a Proteſtation was made in the name of *Henry* the Eighth to this effect; That notwithſtanding any Contract or tokens mutually ſent, or cohabitation in the houſe of King *Henry* VII, he would not hold himſelf bound to ratifie this Act done in his non-age; And that this Proteſtation is to be found *inter protocolla Magiſtri Ryden*, then Clerke of the Councill, before whom it was made. As for the perſon by whom this Proteſtation was made, *coram Magiſtro Ryden Notario publico; credit quod vel ipſemet, vel Magiſter Thomas Ruthall tunc Secretarius domini Regis, & poſtea Epiſcopus Dunelm. vel Mr. Doctor Weſt tunc conſiliarius ejuſdem domini Regis & nunc Epiſcopus Eliens. fecit eandem proteſtationem nomine domini noſtri Regis Henrici Octavi moderni; præſentibus tunc ibidem Comite de Surrey tunc Theſaurario Angliæ & poſtea Duce Norfolciæ ac domino doctore Peobella, & coram ſæpe-dicta clariſſima Domina Catharina, ut recolit, ac infra Ædes Epiſcopi Dunelm. vulgariter nuncupat.* Dureſme place. Adding further, that our King was not preſent there, that he remembers. Furthermore, that upon conference had betwixt *Henry* the Seventh and himſelf, he found it was the intention of that King, that his ſonne *Henry* ſhould marry the ſaid Lady *Katherine*, although he deferr'd the Solemnization of this intended Matrimony, by reaſon of ſome diſcord which was at that time betwixt him and the King of *Spain*, for the calling back of the Dowry. Hee added moreover, that King *Henry* intended not (that he knew) to marry the Mother of *Charles* the Fift, but his Aunt *Margaret*, Dutcheſſe of *Savoy*.

This Examination being compleat, and ſet down by *Andrew Smith* Notary, the ſaid Doctor *Woolman* required him to ſubſcribe his hand; which was refus'd by the ſaid Biſhop, both becauſe he was blind of both eyes, as that he was not admitted to take any Counſell or adviſe about it. But Doctor *VVoolman* preſſing him on the Kings part, that he ſhould ſubſcribe his name, hee at laſt aſſented, out of the Reverence he bore to the King, and that he never contraven'd him in any thing. Whereupon he ſubſcrib'd his name *April* 8. the yeare above

above mentioned, being 1527. After which also another Instrument of this Tenor was produced. 1529.

Augustinus Spinola tt' Sancti Cyriaci in thermis presbiter Cardinalis, Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Camerarius, Universis & singulis præsentes literas Inspecturis, Salutem in domino. Rationi convenit & congruit honestati, ut de his quæ a Romanis Pontificibus processerunt, & quæ in eorum archivis & registris scripta, & registrata sunt, cum ab aliquibus petitur, testimonium veritatis perhibeatur; hinc est, quod nos Universitati vestræ tenore præsentium fidem facimus & attestamur, in libris & Registris cameræ Apostolicæ, viz. in libro Registri Brevium Anni primi, secundi, & tertii felicis recordationis Julii Papæ secundi, vidimus & legimus quasdam literas Apostolicas, in forma Brevis ejusdem Julii Papæ secundi (ut moris est) Registratas, quarum tenor successive sequitur et est talis. Charissimo in Christo filio nostro, Angliæ Regi illustri. Charissime in Christo fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Accepimus literas tuæ serenitatis, in quibus nobis gratias agis, quod oratoribus tuis honorifice obviam proditum sit, quod nos eos benigne audierimus, ac liberali responso oportunisq; gratiis et favoribus prosecuti fuerimus: facis (fili Charissime) pro solita pietate, ut ea etiam tibi sint grata, quæ a nobis præteriri non solent. Declaravimus nostris bonis in te mentis affectum verbis & rebus quibus potuimus, Declarabimus & quotidie magis, ita exigente tuæ serenitatis in nos & sanctam Apostolicam sedem devotione et observantia singulari. De dispensatione matrimoniali nunquam negavimus, nec ullam suspitionem præbuimus, quo minus eam facere vellemus, ut aliqui minus vere dixerunt. Sed respondimus, nos expectare in illa concedenda tempus magis accommodatum, ut consultius et maturius fieret, cum hujus sanctæ sedis et utriusque partis honore. Eam itaq; cum expediverimus, ut deliberavimus, ad tuam serenitatem (magni enim momenti est) per dilectum filium Robertum Shirbonnen. Decanum sancti Pauli Londoniens. unum ex oratoribus tuis, qui maxima doctrina modestiam, fidem, diligentiamq; præ se tulit, mittere cogitamus; duplici ratione; Cum quod per eum secrete & tutissime perferretur, tum ut talem virum tantaq; virtute & probitate præditum Serenitati tuæ diutius præservemus, ut ejus fide & opera diutius frui possit. Romæ enim sine vitæ periculo diutius esse non potest, propter aeris intemperiem & æstus Intolerabiles. &c. Dat. Romæ apud sanctum Petrum, VI. Julii Millesimo Quingentesimo Quarto, Pontif. nostri primo. July 6. 1504.

The rest, having little materiall, save that mention is made how the Cardinall *Sancti Petri ad vincula*, the Popes Nephew, was made Protector of the English, I have purposely omitted, that I may insert another Letter of the Popes of 22 of *February*, 1505. the Tenor whereof is this;

Charissimo in Christo filio nostro Henrico Angliæ Regi illustri. Charissime in Christo fili noster, Salutem & Apostolicam benedict. Intelleximus a dilecto filio G. Cardinali Sancti Petri ad vincula tui Regniq; tui protectore, nostro secundum carnem nepote, & a venerabili fratre nostro Silvestro

1529. *Silveſtro Epiſcopo Wigorn. tuæ ſerenitatis apud nos oratore, literas diſpenſationis matrimonialis tantopere ab eis, nomine tuæ ſerenitatis, petitas, ex Hiſpaniis ad te miſſas fuiſſe. Fili Cariſſime, nos diſpenſationem illam Inſtantibus Cardinali & Epiſcopo prædictis, tua potiſſimum contemplatione, conceſſimus, ac ſuper ea, ſub Bulla plumbea literas expediri fecimus, ut ad tuam ſerenitatem per Cardinalem & Epiſcopum antedictos ſtatuto tempore mitterentur. Sed cum claræ memoriæ Elizabeth Hiſpaniarum Regina Catholica finem hujus mortalis vitæ ſibi inſtare cerneret, impenſa & maxima cum inſtantia per oratorem ſuum nobis humiliter ſupplicaſſet, ut pro conſolatione ſua duplum dictarum literarum ei concedere dignaremur, quod hanc conſolationem ſibi Dare vellemus ut de hujuſmodi diſpenſatione certior facta æquiori animo ab ipſa vita migraret: Noſque pietatis Chriſtianæ & noſtræ in illam charitatis paternæ eſſe putavimus non defraudare ipſam Reginam jam-jam morituram deſiderio hujus rei, in qua etiam ſubditis et Regnicolis illis bonam ſpem conjunctionis tuæ ſerenitatis poſſet afferre præſertim quod idem orator rem hanc ſecretam futuram pollicebatur, (quod ab eo non ſervatum moleſtiſſime ferimus) Bullam igitur Originalem apud nos ſervatam ſerenitati tuæ, una cum Enſe, quo te pro tua ſingulari virtute, & in ſanctam ſedem Apoſtolicam pietate donand. merito duximus, per eundem Epiſcopum Wigorn. nobis probatum & charum decrevimus mittere, a quo ſerenitas ipſa tua uberius intelliget cauſas ejuſdem Bullæ hactenus apud nos retentæ, & nonnulla alia ſibi per nos commiſſa negotia. Nec miretur majeſtas tua, ſi de hac re nihil cum Ipſis Cardinali & oratore communicavimus, nunquam enim putavimus fore, ut ab oratore dictæ Reginæ deciperemur, & litera diſpenſationis prædict. ad te ex Hiſpaniis mitterentur, quas ut ſolum Reginæ tam periculoſe ægrotanti pro ſolamine ſuo oſtenderentur duplicari conceſſeramus. Nam, præterquam tuæ ſerenitati de nobis & ſancta Romana Eccleſia benemeritæ gratificari cupimus, ipſis e Cardinali & Epiſcopo oratori tuo meritam fidei & diligentiæ laudem in tuis negotiis promovendis dare debemus. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum die vigeſima ſecunda Februarii, Anno Milleſimo Quingen. eſimo quinto, Pont. noſtri Anno ſecundo.*

1505. Febr. 22.

And that theſe are true Copies, *Auguſtinus Spinola*, at the inſtance of King *Henry* the Eighth, and by the commandment of the Pope, did certifie under the hand and Seale of his office the twenty ſeventh of *January*, 1529.

In ſequence whereof, the Commiſſioners took Oath of the Kings of Armes, that the Copies they delivered were true, appointing further the next wedneſday, *ad concludendum*. Upon which day (being 21. *July*) the Commiſſioners being ſate, *John Hughes*, Promoter, appear'd before them, and ſignified that there is found a certain Proteſtation made by our King, when he came to ripe years, in the preſence of Notaries and Witneſſes, and ſubſcrib'd with the hand of the ſaid King (at that time Prince of *Wales*) and ſome Counſellers of King *Henry* the Seventh, which he ſaid were much to the purpoſe of

Jul. 21.

the

the buſineſſe then in queſtion. Whereupon the Commiſſioners receiv'd the ſaid Proteſtation *in præſentia dicti Magiſtri Ricardi Sampſon Procuratoris Regis, & in contumaciam Reginæ*; Commanding further, that it ſhould remain *penes acta ſua.* 1529.

In Dei nomine Amen. Coram vobis Reverendo in Chriſto Patre & domino domino Ricardo dei & Apoſtolicæ ſedis gratia Epiſcopo Wintonienſi, Ego Henricus Walliæ Princeps, Dux Cornubiæ, & Comes Ceſtriæ, dico allego & in his ſcriptis propono, Quod licet ego minorem ætatem agens & intra annos pubertatis notorie exiſtens, cum Sereniſſima domina Katharina Hiſpaniarum Regis filia, Matrimonium de facto contraxerim, qui quidem Contractus quamvis obſtante ipſa minore ætate mea de ſe jam Invalidus, Imperfectus, nullius efficaciæ aut vigoris extiterit; Quia tamen annis pubertatis & matura ætate mea jam ſupervenient. contractus ipſe per tacitum conſenſum, mutuam cohabitationem, munerum aut interſignium dationem ſeu receptionem, vel alium quemcumq; modum Jure declaratum forſan exiſtimari ſeu videri poterit apparenter validatus aut confirmatus; Ea-propter, Ego Henricus Walliæ Princeps prædictus, jam proximus pubertati exiſtens, & annos pubertatis attingens, Proteſtor, quod non intendo eundem prætenſum contractum per quæcumq; per me dicta ſeu dicenda, facta aut faciend. in aliquo approbare, validare, ſeu ratum habere; ſed nunc in præſenti, non vi, dolo, nec prece inductus, ſed ſponte & libere, nullo modo coactus, contra huiuſmodi contractum reclamo, & eidem diſſentio, voloque & omnino intendo ab eodem contractu matrimoniali prætenſo melioribus modo & forma quibus de jure melius validius aut efficacius potero vel poſſim penitus reſilire, & eidem expreſſe diſſentire, prout in præſenti contra eundem reclamo, & eidem diſſentio. Proteſtorq; quod per nullum dictum, factum, actum, aut geſtum per me aut nomine meo per alium quemcumq; quandocumq; aut qualemcumq; impoſterum faciendem, agendum, gerendum, aut explicandum, Volo aut intendo in præfatum contractum matrimonialem, aut in dictam dominam Catherinam tanquam ſponſam, aut uxorem meam conſentire. Super quibus vos omnes teſtimonium perhibere volo, requiro, rogo, atq; obteſtor. Per me Henricum Walliæ Principem.

Lecta fuit & facta ſupraſcripta proteſtatio, per præfatum Sereniſſimum Principem Dominum Henricum, coram Reverendo in Chriſto patre & domino domino Ricardo permiſſione divina Winton. Epiſcopo, judicialiter pro tribunali ſedent. & me Notarium infra ſcriptum ad tunc præſentem in ejus actorum ſcribam in hac parte aſſumente, & teſtium infraſcripterum præſentiis. Anno Domini 1505. *Indictione Octava, Pontificatus Sanctiſſimi in Chriſto patris & Domini nostri Julii divina providentia eo nomine Papæ ſecundi Anno ſecundo, Menſis vero Junii die xxvii, quo die Dominus Sereniſſimus Princeps proximus pubertati, & annos pubertatis attingens erat, ut tunc ibidem aſſerebat, In quadam baſſa camera infra palatium Regium Richemondiæ, in parte occidentali ejuſdem palatii ſituat. Super quibus omnibus & ſingulis præfatus ſereniſſimus Princeps me Notarium præmemoratum Inſtrumentum conficere, & teſtes infra nominatos teſtimonium perhibere requiſivit Inſtanter* June 7. 1505.

1529. *ſtanter, & Rogavit. In quorum omnium & ſingulorum fidem & teſtimonium, præfatus ſereniſſimus Princeps ſupra, & teſtes, ut præmittitur, rogati & requiſiti, ſua nomina propriis manibus infra ſcripſerunt. Ita eſt ut ſupra, quod ego Johannes Raed manu & ſigno meo manuali atteſtor.*

Giles Daubney, C. Sommerſet.
Thomas Rowthale, Nicholas Weſt.
Henry Marny.

Among whom *Nicholas VVeſt*, above-named, now Biſhop of *Ely*, in preſence of the Commiſſioners, acknowledged and confeſſed that this Proteſtation was ſubſcribed with his own hand. Whereupon the Commiſſioners, in *contumaciam Reginæ*, did, in the preſence of the above-mention'd Proctor, continue and Prorogue the Court, till Friday next following, warning the ſaid Proctor alſo to be there. *July 23.* Upon which day, being the twenty third of *July*, the Court being ſet, the Promoter above-mentioned ſignified unto the Commiſſioners, that all that was requiſite for the inſtruction and information of their underſtanding and Conſciences, had been judicially propos'd and exhibited to them, and remain'd in their cuſtody. And that therefore this day was aſſign'd, and appointed for concluding the buſineſſe. Notwithſtanding becauſe Cardinall *Campegius* alledged and proteſted in *verbo veri Prælati*, that a certain general Vacation, which he termed *Ferias generales meſſium & vindemiarum*, was obſerved in the Court of *Rome* every yeare, before the ſaid Friday; and becauſe hee and his Colleague were bound to follow the ſtile of the ſaid Court in the Proceſſe of the above-mention'd cauſe; Therefore the ſaid Judges, in the preſence of the Kings Proctor, and in *contumaciam Reginæ*, did prorogue the concluſion of this buſineſſe, untill the Firſt of *October* next following, warning the Kings Proctor then to appeare, and receive a concluſion of this buſineſſe as ſhould be according to Juſtice. All which paſs'd in the preſence of *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, and divers other perſons.

And thus much out of the Record formerly mentioned; which I have with more particularity ſet down, that it is ſo rare and unuſuall a caſe to find a Prince ſubmit himſelf, in his own Kingdome, to the Judgement of two perſons, whereof the one was a ſuſpected ſtranger, the other in birth, but of the meaneſt of his Subjects; and after all this, to receive no other Fruit hereof, but delay and inſatisfaction; as appears not only by this abrupt Diſmiſſion, but by a ſudden Advocation of the Cauſe, to the Pope, inhibiting further proceedings here (as will appear) ſhortly after; the conſequences whereof extended further yet then our King then thought, or the Pope could eaſily have imagined.

Theſe proceedings were ſubſcribed by the Notaries *VVilliam Clayburgh*, Doctor of both Lawes *Protonotarius Apoſtolicus*, *Florianus Montinus*,

Montinus, and *Richard Watkins*, who acknowledged the raſures, interlineations, and lines in the Margent, together with the number of the leaves in the Parchment book (being 69.) To which alſo Letters teſtimoniall from *Nicholas Wootton*, Doctor of the Lawes, and the Biſhop of *Londons* Officiall, having the Seale of the office, were annexed. After all which, a Diſpenſation, written by a later hand, and in looſe paper, was found in the ſaid book. Though that alone ſhould not have induc'd mee to publiſh it, had I not ſeen it already printed in a Booke call'd *Anti-Sanderus*, and met, in our Archives, ſome diſpatches that make it probable. 1529.

The Tenor of the Bull is this.

CLemens Epiſcopus Servus Servorum Dei, Chariſſimo in Chriſto filio noſtro Henrico Angliæ Regi Illuſtri, Fidei defenſori, Salutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Exponi nobis nuper feciſti, quod alias tu & dilecta in Chriſto filia Catharina, relicta quondam *** fratris tui germani, non ignorantes vos primo affinitatis gradu invicem fore conjunctos, matrimonium per verba alias legitime de præſenti, nulla ſaltem canonica ſeu valida diſpenſatione de ſuper obtenta, quamvis de facto contraxiſtis, illudq; carnali copula conſummaſtis, ac prolem ex hujuſmodi matrimonio ſuſcepiſtis, excommunicationis ſententiam incurrendo: Et cum Majeſtas tua in hujuſmodi matrimonio abſq; peccato remanere nequeat, & ne diutius in hujuſmodi peccato & excommunicationis ſententia remaneat, deſideret ab hujuſmodi excommunicationis ſententia a judice Eccleſiaſtico competente abſolutionis beneficium obtinere, ac matrimonium ipſum nullum & invalidum fuiſſe, Tibiq; licere cum quacunq; alia muliere, alio non obſiſtente canonico, matrimonium contrahere, declarari, & in eventum declarationis nullitatis matrimonii hujuſmodi tecum diſpenſari ut cum quacunque alia muliere, etiam ſi illa talis ſit, quæ alias cum alio matrimonium contraxerit, dummodo illud carnali copula non conſummaverit, etiam ſi tibi alias ſecundo vel remotiori conſanguinitatis, aut primo affinitatis gradu ex quocunq; licito ſeu illicito coitu conjuncta, dummodo Relicta dicti fratris tui non fuerit, ac etiam ſi cognatione

1529. ſpirituali vel legali tibi conjuncta extiterit, & impedimentum publicæ honeſtatis juſtitiæ ſubſiſtat, matrimonium licite contrahere, & in eo libere remanere, & ex eo prolem legitimam ſuſcipere poſſis. Quare pro parte tui, aſſerentis ex antiquis Chronicis Regni conſtare, in ipſo Regno quamplura graviſſima bella ſæpe exorta, & Chriſtianam pacem & concordiam violatam fuiſſe, propter impios homines ſua deteſtanda regnandi & dominandi libidine excitatos, confingentes ex juſtis & legitimis quorundam progenitorum & anteceſſorum tuorum Angliæ Regum nuptiis procreatos illegitimos fore propter aliquod conſanguinitatis vel affinitatis confictum impedimentum, & propterea inhabiles eſſe ad Regni ſucceſſionem, inde miſerandam Principum ac Procerum & populorum ſubditorum ſtragem ſecutam fuiſſe; Nobis fuit humiliter ſupplicatum, ut Regni tui tuorumq; Subditorum tranquillitati & paci inprimis conſulere & tantis malis obviare, ac alias in præmiſſis, oportuna remedia adhibere de benignitate Apoſtolica dignaremur. Nos qui omnium Regum præſertim majeſtatis tuæ ob ejus quamplura immenſa in nos & hanc ſanctam ſedem, in qua permiſſione divina ſedemus, collata beneficia, dum ab iniquiſſimis peſtilentiſſimorum hominum conatibus, qui eam, partim viribus & ſcelerata audacia, partim perverſa doctrina labefactare moliebantur, ſtrenuiſſime cum viribus & gladio tum calamo & eruditione tua vindicare indies non ceſſat, petitiones, præſertim ſalutem animarum concernentes, quantum cum deo poſſumus, ad exauditionis gratiam libenter admittimus, eorumq; honeſtis votis favorabiliter annuimus, ex præmiſſis & nonnullis aliis cauſis nobis notis, hujuſmodi ſupplicationibus inclinati, tecum ut ſi contingat matrimonium cum præfata Catharina alias contractum nullum fuiſſe & eſſe declarari, teq; ab illius vinculo legitime abſolvi, cum quacunq; muliere, ipſaq; mulier tecum, dummodo a te propter hoc rapta non fuerit, etiam ſi mulier ipſa talis ſit, quæ prius cum alio matrimonium contraxerit, dummodo illud carnali copula non fuerit conſummatum, etiam ſi illa

tibi

tibi alias ſecundo aut remotiori Conſanguinitatis,aut primo affinitatis gradu, etiam ex quocunq; licito vel illicito coitu proveniente, invicem conjuncta, dummodo relicta dicti fratris tui non fuerit, ut præfertur, etiam ſi cognationis ſpiritualis aut legalis & publicæ honeſtatis juſtitiæ impedimentum ſubſiſtat & tibi conjuncta exiſtat, matrimonium licite contrahere, Et poſtquam contractum fuerit, in eo ſic contracto, etiam ſi illud inter te & ipſam mulierem jam de facto publice vel clandeſtine contractum & carnali copula conſummatum fuerit, licite remanere valeatis,authoritate Apoſtolica & ex certa noſtra ſcientia & de Apoſtolicæ poteſtatis plenitudine, tenore præſentium diſpenſamus, prolem inde forſan ſuſceptam & ſuſcipiendam legitimam fore decernent. Non obſtant. prohibitionibus Juris divini, ac conſtitutionibus & ordinationibus aliis quibuſcunq; in contrarium editis, quibus, in quantum Apoſtolica authoritas ſe extendit, illis alias in ſuo robore permanſuris, quo ad hoc ſpecialiter & expreſſe derogamus. Diſtrictius inhibentes, &, in virtute ſanctæ obedientiæ expreſſe mandantes, ſub interminatione divini judicii, ac ſub pœna anathematis, aliiſq; Eccleſiaſticis ſententiis cenſuris et pœnis, quas ex nunc prout ex tunc & e converſo ferimus et promulgamus, in his ſcriptis, ne quiſquam impoſterum ullum impedimentum pro contractus Matrimonialis non conſummati, Conſanguinitatis in ſecundo aut ulteriori gradu, affinitatis primo ut præfertur, cognationis ſpiritualis aut legalis ſeu juſtitiæ publicæ honeſtatis impedimentis prædictis adverſum liberos tuos quos ex quocunq; Matrimonio vigore præſentium contrahendo Dei benignitate ſuſceperis palam vel occulte in judicio vel extra illud allegare proponere aut objicere, ſeu verbo vel facto diffamare præſumat, aut quocunq; modo atemptet. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam noſtræ diſpenſationis, decreti, derogationis, inhibitionis, & mandati infringere vel ei auſu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare præſumpſerit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri et Pauli Apoſtolorum ejus 1529

1529. ſe noverit incurſurum. Dat. In Civitate noſtra Urbevetan. Anno Incarnationis dominicæ Milleſimo Quingenteſimo viceſimo ſeptimo. Decimo Sexto Kal. Januarii. Pont. noſtri Anno Quinto.

1527.

While theſe things paſs'd thus in *England*, the Queen found means to inform the Lady *Margaret*, Regent of the Low-Countries, of the whole proceſſe; who thereupon ſends word of it, to *Charles* and *Ferdinand*, intreating them to aſſiſt their Aunt; Which they accorded, diſpatching their Orators to the Pope, whom alſo the Queen conſtituted her Proctors in the Court of Rome; giving them Commiſſion to tender to the Pope a Copy of the Bull, Breve, and her Declaration that ſhe was never carnally known by Prince *Arthur*. Shortly after *July.* which the ſaid Orators, in the Queens name, made a Proteſtation againſt the two Legats now in *England* (every page ſubſcrib'd with Queen *Katherines* own hand) intreating, the Pope to Advoke the Cauſe, to Annull the proceedings in *England*, to Warn the King to deſiſt his ſute, or at leaſt to try it at *Rome*, *&c.* or, otherwiſe that they would ſeek their Remedies elſewhere. The Pope being thus preſſed at *Rome*, and having now concluded a Treaty with the Emperour at *Barcelona* July the 3. 1529, about three weekes before the Cauſe *July 3.* was prorogued by *Campegius*, could no longer, either with the Safety of his perſon, or Dignity, favour our King; ſo that what excuſes ſoever (in the frequent diſpatches hee made about this time) were given to our King, yet were they little more than Complement and evaſion, till, finally, declaring himſelf more openly for the Emperour, he ſigned an Advocation of the cauſe to himſelf, inhibiting *July 15.* further proceedings, under great penalties. And herein (as our Agents did obſerve) the Popes principall Miniſters did not a little concurre; that the benefit of deciding thereof might fall upon them. In vain therefore did our Agents (being Sir *Gregory Caſalis*, and Doctor *Benet*) both by repreſenting the defection of our King from the Roman See, and the ruine of the Cardinall of *Yorke*, labour to ſtay theſe proceedings. For the Inhibition was brought into *England*, about the beginning of *September*, the King then being in his Progreſſe; and be- *Sept.* cauſe it was ſent to the Queen to make her benefit of it, the King (by *Stephen Gardiner* now his Secretary) ſends to *Woolſey*, to perſwade the Queen to let this Inhibition (or as he calls it a Citatory Letter) ſleep, it containing matter prejudiciall to his perſon, and not to be publiſhed to his ſubjects: And that it will be ſufficient for the Ceſſation of the proceſſe that the Pope by Letter to *Woolſey* (*July* 19.) hath ſignified his Advocation of the cauſe. Nevertheleſſe, if the Queen will needs have the Inhibition executed, then that it ſhould be privily executed, upon the two Legats: (rather than bee divulged in *Flanders*) which it ſeemes was done accordingly. Howbeit, ſhortly after the Advocation was granted, the Pope, conceiving that the cenſures and penalties

penalties mentioned in the Inhibition would not bee well taken by our King, diſpatched a Breve to him of *Aug.* 29. which for the better ſatisfaction of the Reader, I have thought fit to tranſcribe out of the Originall, and inſert here. 1529 *Aug.* 29.

Angliæ Regi.

CHariſſime in Chriſto fili noſter ſalutem, &c. Dudum vertente cauſa inter Serenitatem Tuam & Cariſſimam in Chriſto filiam noſtram Catharinam Angliæ Reginam Illuſtriſſimam, de & ſuper fœdere matrimonii; Nos, inſtantibus apud nos oratoribus tuis, cauſam ipſam, Dilectis filiis Thomæ Sanctæ Cæciliæ, & Laurentio Sanctæ Mariæ in Tranſtiberim tt' presbyteris Cardilibus noſtris & Apoſtolicæ ſedis legatis de latere commiſſimus, in qua ad nonnullos forſan actus proceſſum eſt; Poſtmodum, Cariſſimo in Chriſto filio noſtro Carolo Hiſpaniarum Rege Catholico in Imperatorem Electo, & Regina ipſa ad nos reclamantibus, & aliis etiam legitimis cauſis animum noſtrum moventibus, cauſam ipſam ad Nos Advocavimus, & eam audiendam, ac nobis & ſacro venerabilium Fratrum noſtrorum S.R.E. Cardinalium Collegio referendam atq; decidendam commiſſimus; In qua ad Inhibitionem fortaſſe proceſſum eſt. Cum autem nuper acceperimus Inhibitionem ipſam ſub Cenſuris & pœnis fuiſſe factum; Nos, quorum Intentionis nunquam fuit, neq; eſt, perſonam tuam de nobis ac de Apoſtolica ſede ſemper optime meritam aliquibus cenſuris & pœnis quomodolibet innodari; Celſitudini Tuæ ſignificamus, cenſuras ipſas præter mentem & intentionem noſtram a Judice ſive commiſſario emanaſſe: Et propterea Cenſuras & pœnas prædictas, quoad perſonam Tuam, nullas nulliuſq; roboris vel momenti fuiſſe & eſſe decernentes. Cauſam vero ipſam uſq; ad feſtum Nativitatis Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſt. proxime futurum jam ſuſpendimus, prout per præſentes ſuſpenſam eſſe volumus. Fecimuſq; in illa, quantum pro noſtra in te charitate, cum Deo facere licuit, ut, quum pro ſtimulo conſcientiæ cauſam te moviſſe cognoſci-

1529. cognoſcimus, illam,quæ tanti eſt,eadem quoq; ratione altius cogitando, poſthabitis moleſtiis atq; odiis quæ naſcuntur ex litibus,cum animi tui pace componere poſſis. In quo nos adjutores ſemper habiturus es, Majeſtatem T. hortantes in Domino ut interim Reginam ipſam pro ipſius Conſcientiæ tuæ Securitate maritali affectione tractare non deſinas, Quemadmodum Celſitudinem Tuam pro virtute ſua facturam confidimus. Dat. Romæ die 29 Aug. 1529. Anno 6.

Before yet theſe Breves were ſent, the Pope, wiſely conſidering that by the diligence of our Agents, not only the firſt Minutes of them were ſent to *England*, but alſo that his Treaty with the Emperour was more notorious than that it could be hidden, thought fit to adver-
July 18. tiſe our Cardinall, That the League betwixt him and the Emperour was made, *pro temporum ratione, & rerum Chriſtianarum utilitate*; exhorting him therefore to do good offices with the King, which alſo
Sept. 23. he explicated in another diſpatch, *September* 23. wiſhing that Ayd might be ſent againſt the Turke. All which being contrary to the Kings preſent deſignes, could not upon what termes ſoever be repreſented, without much offence, and ill conceit of Cardinall *Woolſey*. The King believing that underhand hee held intelligence with the
Polyd. Virg. Pope, to the prejudice of his affaires. Which *Polydore* alſo affirmeth; ſaying, that he writ privatly to the Pope to ſuſpend the Cauſe, till they could bring the King to ſome better temper. This alſo I believe was confirm'd in the Kings mind, by ſome notice he might have, of a joynt Diſpatch (a Minute whereof is extant in our Records) from *Woolſey* and *Campegius*, during their Seſſion, whereby they deſired the Pope to avoke the Cauſe, in caſe it grew ſo doubtfull that they could not determine it; both as they would be free from the trouble and danger, and as they conceived he might better helpe the King *ex plenitudine poteſtatis*; who perchance (as they ſaid) would be content therewith, if the Pope would promiſe to end the matter, ſhortly afterwards to his ſatisfaction. But as this was, in part, done without our Kings knowledge, and that, for the reſt, it left the buſineſſe in more perplexitie and irreſolution than ever; So the King
Cavendiſh. Life of Card. Woolſey. who (I find by *Candiſh*) had recovered ſomething under the Cardinalls hand, which he urged againſt him, began to frown; whereof alſo the Courtiers took that notice, as now his fall was voyced every where. Though yet it was not in that precipice, but that the King admitted him ſtill to no ſmall degrees of his wonted Acceſſe and favour. Howbeit, as the Cardinall was now in his Decadence, all theſe ſteps did but lead unto his ruine. To which also the ſecret ill offices of the angry Queen, and deſpighted *Anne Bolen* did contribute; who, though hating one another, did conſpire to his deſtruction. The Cauſes on the Queens part are touch't before, which alſo were not a little

tle ſet forwards by the induſtry of the Emperour. And for thoſe of Miſtris *Anne Bolen*, beſides her unkind Diſmiſſion from the Court (which ſhe conceiv'd to have been the Cardinalls adviſe) another inveterate grudge made her inreconcileable. The Relation whereof, being taken out of a Manuſcript of one Maſter *George Cavendiſh*, Gentleman-Uſher to the Cardinall, I have thought fit to inſert. This Gentlewoman, being deſcended, on the Father's ſide, from one of the heirs of the Earles of *Ormond*, and on the Mothers from a Daughter of the houſe of *Norfolke*, was from her childhood, of that ſingular beauty and towardneſſe, that her Parents took all care poſſible for her good education. Therefore, beſides the ordinary parts of vertuous inſtructions, wherewith ſhee was liberally brought up, they gave her teachers, in playing on muſicall Inſtruments, ſinging, and dancing; Inſomuch, that when ſhe compoſed her hands to play, and voice to Sing, it was joyned with that ſweetneſſe of countenance, that three Harmonies concurr'd; likewiſe, when ſhe danced, her rare proportions varied themſelves into all the graces that belong either to Reſt or Motion. Briefly, it ſeems the moſt attractive perfections were eminent in her. Yet did not our King love her at firſt, nor before ſhe had liv'd ſome time in *France*, whither, in the Train of the French Queen, and company of a Siſter of the Marquis *Dorſet*, ſhee went *Anno Domini* 1514. After the death of *Lewis* the Twelfth, ſhee did not yet return with the *Dowager*, but was received into a place of much Honour with the other Queen, and then with the Dutcheſſe of *Alancon*, Siſter to *Francis*, where ſhe ſtayed, till ſome difference grew betwixt our King and *Francis*; therefore, as ſaith *Du Tillet*, and our Records, about the time when our Students at *Paris* were remanded, ſhe likewiſe left *France* as is formerly related; her Parents thinking not fit to ſuffer her to ſtay there any longer. All this while therefore no argument of extraordinary affection towards her was diſcovered in our King. So that though it be probable, that ſhe were at the Inter-view betwixt the Kings and Queens (neere *Guiſnes*) above-mentioned, yet ſhe left not the French Court. But, at laſt, being come hither, and, about the twentieth year of her age, received into our Queens ſervice, however the King might take notice of her, the Lord *Henry Percy* yet, (the Earle of *Northumberland's* eldeſt Sonne) appear'd firſt enamour'd of her; Inſomuch, that at all times when he repair'd to Court, in the train of our Cardinall, (whom he attended in ordinary) his addreſſes were continually to her; whereof hee made that uſe, as at length, hee obtained her good will to Marriage. So that in what kind ſoever the Kings affection might manifeſt it ſelfe, neither was ſhe ſo ſatisfied of it, as to think fit to relinquiſh this advantageous offer, nor the Lord *Percy* aware that he was oppos'd by ſo puiſſant a Rivall. But this Treaty, (which proceeded to little leſſe than a Contract,) comming at laſt to our Kings ears, the danger he found himſelf in of loſing a beauty hee had contemplated ſo long, that it was become his deareſt object, made him reſolve to acquaint the

1529.

Cavend. Life of Card. Wolſey.

1514.

1521.

1520.

Camden, Elizab.

1529. Cardinall with his love to her; wiſhing him alſo to diſſwade the Lord *Percy* from it. The forward Cardinall, hereupon, both violently dehorts the Lord *Percy* from the Gentlewomen, and uſeth all Arts to inſinuate himſelf into her good opinion and favour. But Miſtris *Bolen*, whether ſhe were ignorant, as yet, how much the King loved her, or, howſoever, had rather be that Lords Wife, than a Kings Miſtris, took very ill of the Cardinall this his unſeaſonable interruption of her Marriage. The Cardinall alſo fearing the Revenges of that ſex, and, for the reſt, being unwilling to come to ſharper termes with the Lord *Percy* than he had already us'd, deſires the King to write to the Earle of *Northumberland*, to come up; Alleging there was no ſuch way to preſerve the Gentlewoman for himſelf, and together to conceal his love, as to uſe a cunning diſſwaſion of the Marriage to the Earl; whereby alſo he might be induc'd to interpoſe his fatherly Authority for diſſolving of the Match. Hereupon the Earle repairing to Court, the Cardinall firſt, and afterwards the King diſcover'd the cauſe of his ſending for, in every kind, but withall in ſuch covert and ambiguous termes, that betwixt unwillingneſſe to diſparage the Gentlewoman, and the inforcing divers reaſons why the Lord *Percy* ſhould not Marry her, the Earle was not without ſome hazard of miſapplying the Kings affection to himſelfe. Howſoever, he ſo checkt his ſonne, that feare of diſpleaſing his Father, became at length the Predominant paſſion. So that it neither ſerv'd him to declare the merits of the Gentlewoman, nor to tell his Father, that his promiſe, before Witneſſes, had ingag'd him further, than that he knew well how to come off: The apprehenſion of the Kings diſpleaſure having wrought that impreſſion in the Earle, that hee would take no denyall or excuſe on his ſons part, till he had made him renounce all his pretences to her; which alſo he urged ſo farre, as at length his ſon conſented to marry the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s Daughter. But the hatred which Miſtris *Anne Bolen* conceiv'd againſt the Cardinall concluded not ſo; nor indeed could ever end till ſhe had procur'd his finall Ruine. And this is the trueſt relation of Miſtris *Anne Bolen*, that I have been able to gather out of thoſe Records and Manuſcripts that have come to my hands. So that now I ſhould have proceeded with my Hiſtory, were I not conſtrained (in a ſort) to vindicate both her Honour, and her Progenitors from thoſe foule Calumnies which in a book of *Nicholas Sanders*, an Engliſhman, *De ſchiſmate Anglicano* are caſt upon them.

Sand. de Schiſm. Angl. This Author, though learned, yet more credulous than becomes a man of exact judgement, reports, out of one *William Raſtall*, a Judge (in his life of Sir *Thomas Moore*) that Miſtris *Anne Bolen* was the Kings Daughter, by the Wife of Sir *Thomas Bolen*, while, *ſub ſpecie honoris*, hee was employed by the King, Ambaſſadour in *France*; and that this Gentlewoman comming to the age of fifteen, was deflowred by ſome domeſtiques of her Fathers, and then ſent to *France*; where alſo ſhe behav'd her ſelf ſo licentiouſly, that ſhe was vulgarly call'd

call'd the Hackney of *England*, till being adopted to that Kings familiarity, ſhe was termed his Mule. Many other paſſages of this kind are alſo inſerted by *Sanders*, which I forbear, as being ſorry to have occaſion for publiſhing thus much. But how impoſſible theſe things are, the ingenious Reader may eaſily find out, when hee compares the times. For, if Miſtris *Anne Bolen* went to *France* with *Mary* the French Queen 1514. (as is proved by divers principall Authors, both Engliſh and French, beſides the Manuſcripts I have ſeen) and was here vitiated at 15 years of age, it muſt follow that ſhe was born about, or before, 1498. at which time our King was neither above ſeven or eight years old at moſt, and therefore unable to get a Child (eſpecially nine moneths before,) nor had that Regall power in his hands for employment of Ambaſſadours till ten or eleven years afterwards. So that Maſter *Sanders* or *Raſtal*'s affirmation herein is but fiction, as the reſt certainly is, ſhe having alwayes liv'd in good reputation. As for the beauty and handſomneſſe of Miſtris *Anne Bolen*, which the ſame Author doth traduce, beſides, that it contradicts common ſence, (ſhe having been, by their allegation, a Minion to two Kings) even that Picture of hers, extant ſtill with the Dutcheſſe of *Richmond*, doth ſufficiently convince. And for her Religion, there is no probability that it ſhould (at firſt) be other than what was commonly profeſt. Since it appears by originall Letters of hers, that ſhe was a ſpeciall favourer of the Clergie of that time, and a preferrer of the worthieſt ſort of them to Eccleſiaſticall livings, during her chief times of favour with the King. Though I will not deny but, upon his defection from ſome Articles of the Roman Church, ſhe might alſo complie. But I ſhould be glad that Maſter *Sanders* had not divers other things which might require a ſerious review; though I muſt not deny but, as he hath in ſome things followed Cardinall *Poole*, (a perſon of great learning, and much reverenc'd in his time,) ſo he hath his Authority. Howbeit as this Cardinall was ſo neer in blood to divers, whom the King put to death, he may be thought perchance more partiall than to be believ'd every where: Neither will it ſatisfie all men, that he pretends (in more than one place) to have known even ſo much as the Kings thoughts (by Revelation,) ſo that I ſhall leave theſe things to the liberty of the indifferent Reader, and return to my Hiſtory. 1529.

Lib. pro Vni. Eccleſ.

Our King, who at the firſt prorogation of the Sentence, by reaſon of the *Feriæ Vindemiarum*, hoped yet that, at leaſt, *October* 1. (when the Court was appointed to ſit again) he might have the cauſe determined, ſeeing now all proceeding in *England* inhibited, the Cauſe Avocated to Rome, *Campegius* recalled, and finally finding, by many Diſpatches, that the Pope and Emperour had appointed ſhortly to meet at *Bononia*, was much troubled, and the rather, that the two Cardinalls proceeding hitherunto had been little more than illuſion. Whereupon alſo he became much incenſed againſt them. Yet containing awhile his anger, he neither alter'd his faſhion to *Woolſey*, nor

1529. declared any diſlike of *Campegius*. Inſomuch, that he calmly gave him leave to depart. So that no argument of ſuſpition or diſlike appear'd hitherunto on either ſide. *Campegius* thus diſmis'd and rewarded, was conducted honourably to the Sea-ſide, where he expected only a faire wind. But when he came to take Ship, the Searchers, upon pretence he carried either Money, or Letters from *England* to *Rome*, ranſack'd all his Coffers, Bags, and Papers; not without hope, certainly, to recover that Decretall Bull our King ſo much longed for. I find alſo (by ſome relation) that divers Love Letters betwixt our King and Miſtris *Bolen*, being convey'd out of the Kings Cabinet, were ſought for, though in vain, they having been formerly ſent to *Rome*. Which uſage ſo offended *Campegius*, that he complained immediatly to our King; proteſting he would not proceed in his Journey till he had Reparation for the wrongs done to his perſon and Dignity; And that the people were ſatisfied concerning certain ſcandalous Rumours, which he heard were ſcatter'd abroad to the prejudice of Cardinall *Woolſey* and himſelf. But our King by his Letter, of *October* 22. anſwered, that [illegible] muſt not be expected from him, *Præſtare, quicquid vel vulgi temeritas effutire, vel quorundam nimium fortaſſe ſcrupuloſa & anxia ſedulitas deſignare ſoleat.* As for the *Jus Legati* pretended to be violated, our King anſwered that he conceiv'd it was expired, not only as it was revok'd by the Pope's late Inhibition, but, particularly, by the interpoſition of his own Regall Authority, which alone his Subjects did acknowledge. Adding moreover, that he wondred ſomewhat, that *Campegius* underſtood our Law ſo little, as not to feare how he uſurped, after that time, the name of a Legat in this Kingdome; Since he, having been made Biſhop here of *Salisbury*, was bound by Oath to the conſervation of the Royall Prerogative. As for the Searchers doings, it was a miſtake; the Commandement having been given long ſince, when there was a juſt occaſion for it, and not in Relation to his particular, who therefore he was ſorry to have been ſo roughly us'd; deſiring the Cardinall, for the reſt, to excuſe the ſaid Searchers, ſince they are bound thereto by Oath. So that he ought not to pretend this as cauſe of his ſtay. As for the other part, which was the Rumour, Our King ſaid, it was uncertain from whence it came; Notwithſtanding that it was (though not altogether fixed in his breaſt, yet) ſo generally receiv'd and believ'd in his Kingdome, that it would be hard to remove that opinion. In which regard alſo it was in vain for him to ſtay here ſo much as one houre. Howſoever, that hee might make this uſe of it, as to know how ill his Subjects tooke this fruſtration of the Buſineſſe. But as his Royall care ſhould be to prevent the inconveniences might follow hereof, ſo that it belong'd to *Campegius* his wiſdome to continue thoſe good intentions he had made ſhew of. For wee (ſaith the King) *tunc demum dubitare poterimus, cum ipſe factis palàm diverſum oſtenderis,*

Octob. 22.

Campegius being, now, more than once licenc'd, thought it time to be gone; So that, comming at laſt to the Pope, he acquainted him with

with all the proceedings, not forgetting the dangers in which Cardinall *Woolſey* was, for his too much obſequiouſneſſe to that See. But the Pope, whether now altogether govern'd by the Emperour, or that otherwiſe he ſecretly hated the Cardinall, for his late unſeaſonable Ambition to ſucceed in the Papacie, ſeem'd to care for nothing ſo much as the conſerving of his late League. Though yet hee was not ſo ſecure, of our King, but that he feared not a little his often threatned Defection. So that he omitted nothing (that might ſtand with his other intereſts) for the containing of him in his wonted devotion. Inſomuch that he offered new projects daily for his ſatisfaction; Among which *Gregory Caſalis* relates one, which ſhall be ſet down in his place. 1529

Cardinall *Woolſey* being now deveſted of his late power, (wherein he had the glory, in ſome ſort, to have been Superiour to his King) and, for the reſt, being left alone, and expoſed not only to a generall hatred, but to the private Machinations of the preſent and future Queen, became ſenſible of his ill eſtate; though yet he did not believe himſelf ſo neer his overthrow, as it appear'd afterwards. But what could he hope for, when ſuch puiſſant enemies did procure his deſtruction? Therefore, though he received ſome Adviſes from *Rome*, which might argue a care rather than a power for his conſervation, yet in effect what ſecret Intelligence ſoever paſs'd betwixt the Pope and him, came to the Emperour firſt, and after to Queen *Katherine*, who cunningly caus'd it to be whiſper'd into the Kings ears, by ſome more indirect wayes, than it could poſſibly bee imagined to proceed from her. Likewiſe, Miſtris *Anne Bolen*, having learned from ſome of the Kings wiſeſt and graveſt Councellours, divers Malverſations of the Cardinall, was ſo farre from diſguiſing them, that ſhe even miſinterpreted his better actions. *Edmund Campion* add's to theſe reaſons, that Sir *Francis Bryan*, being in *Rome*, did, by the means of a Familiar of one who kept the Popes Papers, obtain a Letter of the Cardinalls, which wrought his ruine, in this manner; Having firſt ſhewed her the Cardinalls hand-writing, and then corrupted her, this Courtezan ſo dexterouſly perform'd the reſt, as, upon pretence of viſiting her ſervant in his Studie, ſhe conveyed away this Letter, and gave it *Bryan*, who fail'd not immediatly to ſend it to our King. Which relation of *Campion*, though I will not contradict, yet I ſuppoſe to be the more improbable, that I find by Originall diſpatches, *Bryan* was come from *Rome* before any Argument of the Kings diſfavour to the Cardinall appeared. Howſoever, the way the King tooke to overthrow him was meerly Legall, though approaching to *Summum Jus*, after moſt mens opinion. In the carriage whereof yet, that ſecreſie was uſed, that the Cardinall did not, or perchance, out of greatneſſe of mind, would not take notice of what was intended againſt him. So that, though the Bill or Inditement was put in (at the beginning of Michaelmas Terme) yet did he ride, that day, to the Chancery, with his accuſtomed Pompe. Of which our King being

Camp. de Divortio.

Octob. 9.

1529. being advertized, thought fit to forbid him the place; as thinking it undecent, that a man, who was upon termes of conviction, ſhould adminiſter that high charge. Therefore the Dukes of *Norfolke* and
Octob. 18. *Suffolke* were ſent, the eighteenth of *October*, to require the great Seale of him. But the Cardinall, in ſtead of rendring it, diſputed their Authority, alleadging, the place of Lord Chancellour was, by the King's Letters Pattents, given him during life. The two Dukes hereupon return'd to Court, bringing, the next day, the Kings Letters to the Cardinall, who, having read them, deliver'd immediatly the Great Seale; In ſequence thereof, alſo ſubmitting himſelf to the King; who commanded him to leave *Yorke* Place, and Simply to depart to *Aſher*, a Countrey houſe neer *Hampton* Court, belonging to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. Hee charged his Officers alſo to Inventory and bring forth his goods. Whereupon much brave Furniture made into hangings, beſides whole pieces of rich ſtuffs, was ſet upon divers Tables in his houſe; the variety and number whereof may be imagined, when (as *Cavendiſh* hath it) of fine Holland cloth alone there were a Thouſand peeces. Beſides, the walls of his Gallery on the one ſide were hang'd with rich ſuits of Cloth of Gold, Cloth of Silver, cloth of Tiſſue, and cloth of Bodekin; On the other ſide was placed the moſt glorious ſuit of Copes that had been ſeen in *England*. In a chamber neer to the Gallery was a great Cupboard of Plate, of maſſie Gold, and in a Chamber adjoyning vaſt quantity of other Plate. All which the Cardinall commanded Sir *William Gaſcogne* (his Treaſurer) to deliver the King, when he was requir'd. In the mean while the Bill againſt the Cardinall proceed'd, the moſt ſubſtantiall parts whereof, being extracted out of the Originall Record, I have thought fit to preſent to the Reader. The ground upon which *Chriſtopher Hales*, the Kings Attorny, proſecuted the Cardinall was a Statute of
16. *Ric.* 2. xvi. *Rich.* II, in which is enacted, That, whereas the Commons of the Realm ought of right, and were wont of old time to ſue in the Kings Court to recover their preſentments to Churches, Prebends, and other Benefices of Holy Church, to which they had right to preſent, and when Judgement ſhall be given in the ſaid Court upon ſuch a Plea and Preſentment, the Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, and other ſpirituall perſons, which have Inſtitutions of ſuch benefices within their Juriſdictions, be bound, and have made Execution of ſuch Judgements by the Kings Commandements, of all the time aforeſaid, without interruption, and alſo be bound of Right to make Execution of many other the Kings commandements; Of which right the Crown of *England* hath been peaceably ſeiſed, as well now as in the time of all his Progenitors. And whereas of late the Biſhop of *Rome* (for ſo he is termed in the Act) had made divers Proceſſes and Cenſures of Excommunication, upon certain Biſhops, in *England*, becauſe they have made Execution of ſuch Commandements, and alſo becauſe he had ordain'd and purpos'd to tranſlate ſome Prelates of the Realme, ſome out of the Realme, and ſome from one Biſhoprick

to

to another within the ſaid Realm, without the Kings aſſent and knowledge, and without the aſſent of the Prelates, which ſo ſhall be tranſlated; which Prelates be much profitable and neceſſary to our Lord the King, and to all his Realm: which tranſlations if they ſhould be ſuffered, the Statutes of the Realme ſhould be defeated and made voyd, and his ſayd Liege ſages of his Counſel, without his aſſent, and againſt his will, carried away and gotten out of his Realme, and the ſubſtance and Treaſure of the Realm ſhall be carried away, and ſo the Realm deſtitute aſwell of Counſell as of ſubſtance, to the finall deſtruction of the ſame Realm; and ſo the Crown of *England*, which hath been ſo free at all times, that it hath bin in no Earthly ſubjection, but immediatly ſubject to God, in all things touching the Legalty of the ſame Crown, and to none other, ſhould be ſubmitted to the Pope; and the Lawes and Statutes of the ſaid Realm, by him defeated and avoyded at his will, in perpetuall deſtruction of the Soveraignty of the King our Lord, his Crown, his Regality, and of all his Realm, *&c.* Therefore the King, by the aſſent of his Lords, and at the requeſt of the Commons, hath ordain'd and eſtabliſh'd, that, if any purchaſe or purſue, or cauſe to be purchaſed or purſued in the Court of *Rome*, or elſe-where, any Tranſlations, Proceſſes, and ſentences of Excommunications, Bulls, Inſtruments, or any other things whatſoever, which touch the King, againſt him, his Crown, and Regality or Realm, and they which bring within the Realm, or them receive, or make thereof Notification, or any other execution whatſoever within the ſame Realm or without, that they, their Notaries, Procurators, Maintainers, Abettors, Fautors, and Counſellours, ſhall bee put out of the Kings protection, and their Lands and Tenements, Goods and chattels, forfeit to the King, and that they be attached by their bodies if they may be found, and brought before the King and his Councell, there to anſwer to the caſes aforeſaid, or that Proceſſe to be made againſt them by a Writ of *Præmunire facies*, in manner as it is ordain'd in other Statutes of Proviſors, and other, which doe ſue in any other Court, in derogation of the Regalty of our Lord the King. 1529

Upon which Statute it was alleged, that *Thomas*, *Legatus de Latere*, Cardinall, Arch-Biſhop of *Yorke*, and Primate of *England*, being not ignorant of the premiſes, had obtained certain Bulls from *Clement* the Seventh, by which he exerciſed Juriſdiction and authority Legatine, to the deprivation of the Kings power eſtabliſhed in his Courts of Juſtice; which ſaid Bulls he cauſed to be publikely read in *weſtminſter*, *Aug.* 28. 15, of the King, aſſuming to himſelf thereupon the Dignity and Juriſdiction of *Legatus de Latere*, which hee hath exercis'd from the ſaid 28th of *Aug.* to this day, to the prejudice of the right of both Secular and Eccleſiaſticall perſons. And that, by colour thereof, he had given away the Church of *Stoke-Guilford* in the County of *Surrey* (being of right in the Donation of the Prior of Saint *Pancrace*) to one *James Gorton*, who alſo injoyed it accordingly. All which was to the contempt of the King, and his Crown, and

1523. 28 *Aug.* 15. *H.* 8.

1529. and contrary to the foreſaid Statutes of xvi. *Rich.* the ~~Third~~. Moreover that, by Colour of the ſaid Authority, hee had cauſed the laſt Wills and Teſtaments of many (out of his Dioceſſe) to be exhibited and proved in his Court, and their goods and chattells to bee adminiſtred by ſuch as he appointed. Alſo that, under colour of the ſaid Authority, hee had made divers Viſitations out of his Dioceſſe, and drawn divers Penſions from Abbeys to the contempt of the King and his Lawes.

The proofe of which particulars, though evident and notorious, were not yet urged to his conviction, till, through the Kings ſpeciall permiſſion (by Writ of *October* 28.) *John Scuſe* and *Chriſtopher Genney* appear'd in Court as his Attorneys; Where, for all other anſwers, they proteſted in the ſaid Cardinalls name, that the ſaid Cardinall did not know the impetration of the ſaid Bulls to have been to the contempt and prejudice of the King, or that it was againſt any Statute of Proviſors heretofore made. As for the particulars wherewith he was charged by Maſter Attorney, he confeſs'd them all true in the manner and forme alleged. And ſo ſubmitted himſelf to the King. Whereupon the Court gave ſentence that he was out of the Kings protection, and his lands, goods, and chattels forfeit, and that his perſon might be ſeized on.

Octob. 28.

Not contented herewith yet, another proofe of the ſame kind, was by the Kings Attorney produced againſt the Cardinall, namely, that, contrary to the right of the true Patrone (being the Maſter and Fellowes of the Hoſpitall of St. *Lazarus* in *Burton-Lazar*) he had, by the ſame Authority, given away the Pariſh-Church of *Galby* in *Leiceſter*-ſhire and Dioceſſe of *Lincolne*, (then vacant, by the death of one *Woodroſe*,) to one *John Allen*, Doctor of both Lawes, and plac'd him in it.

And thus fell the Cardinall, together with all his vaſt poſſeſſions, into the Kings hands. Concerning which, the Criticks of the time gave ſundry opinions, the moſt part yet ſuppoſing him capable of the Kings mercy, had he been either leſſe rich, or more humble. They thought him indeed condemn'd by law, but by the rigor of it. All which they conſidered the more, that the Cardinall had ſo long exercis'd his Legatine power, without that the King either ſeem'd to diſlike it, or any other had queſtion'd him for it. Therefore, howſoever he was convicted by forme of Juſtice, they yet clear'd him in great part, and not they only, but the King. Inſomuch, that the impreſſion taken of his ancient ſervices, was not defac'd wholly. So that, notwithſtanding his beſt goods were ſeiz'd on, and that the King might have taken therewith his other poſſeſſions, and (with them) his intire liberty, yet he both ſent him a Protection, and left him the Biſhopricks of *Yorke* and *Wincheſter*, which he had lately given him after the death of *Richard Fox*, only he confin'd him, for the preſent, to his houſe at *Aſher*, till his further pleaſure were ſignified. Being upon his way, the King (touched with ſome compaſſion) ſent him by one

Maſter

Maſter *Norreys*, not only a gracious Meſſage, but a Ring, which was a token betwixt them, when any ſpeciall buſineſſe was recommended. Upon receiving whereof, the overjoyed Cardinall alighted from his Mule, and, in the dirt, upon his bare knees, acknowledged the comfort he receiv'd. To ſhew his thankfulneſſe alſo to Maſter *Norreys*, he preſented him with a chain of Gold, at which a piece of the Croſſe did hang. But it troubled him much that he had nothing to ſend to the King; till at laſt having eſpyed in his Traine a facetious Naturall, in whom he took much delight, he deſir'd Mr. *Norreys* to preſent him to the King. Which promotion yet this Fellow (for the approving himſelf no Counterfeit) did ſo ſleight, as the Cardinall was forced to ſend ſix of his talleſt Yeoman to bring him to Court. The Cardinall comming at laſt to *Aſher*, found himſelfe ſo deſtitute of all neceſſaries, as, till one Mr. *Arundel* firſt, and after the Biſhop of *Carlile* provided him, he wanted even the moſt ordinary parts of Houſhold-ſtuffe. And thus the ill accommodated Cardinall paſſed ſome weeks in expectation of the Kings further pleaſure, not neglecting, in the mean while, to uſe thoſe friends he had left in Court, for the reintegrating him into his former favour; or, when that could not be done, for the making his fall more eaſie. For which purpoſe one Maſter *Thomas Cromwell*, his ſervant, (who came afterwards to great preferment) was employed. But Miſtris *Bolen* ſecretly oppoſed all. So that the Cardinall, being now, in a manner, hopeleſſe of regaining the Kings good opinion, diſmiſſed (not without tears on both ſides) the greateſt part of his numerous Family, without other reward than what Maſter *Cromwell* and ſome of his Chaplains did freely contribute. The King, hearing the Cardinall to be ſomewhat humbled, ſent Sir *John Ruſſell* with a Turquoiſe Ring to him as a token of his care and affection. But it was not gifts that the Cardinall expected from the King, but liberty and reſtitution to his former greatneſſe; which yet was ſo much in vain, as his offences were daily exaggerated. For as the King did not think it enough that hee had particularly advantag'd himſelf of the Cardinalls puniſhment, unleſſe he made ſome uſe thereof to the Generall, ſo he call'd a Councill of the Nobles, to ſit in the Star-chamber, who having ſufficiently condemned him, hee afterwards permitted him to the Parliament, which began *November* 3. 1529. Wherein the King alſo did wiſely, ſince by intereſſing the publike in his condemnation, he both declin'd the Cenſure of thoſe who thought the late proceedings to have been of the ſevereſt, and indeer'd his people by putting the power of puniſhing him into their hands. Therefore they took it as an intire ſatisfaction for all they had hitherto ſuffred; and by applauding of the King, made him know how thankfully they took this favour. And thus did the King return to that former good opinion hee had of his Subjects.

1529.

Novemb. 1.

Octob. 1.

Novemb. 3. *Reg.* 21.

Hereupon certain Articles againſt the Cardinall were preferr'd in Parliament. The Originall whereof found among our Records, I have

1529. thought fit to tranſcribe; and the rather, for that our vulgar Chronicles miſreport them.

COnſtrained by neceſſity of our fidelity and conſcience, complain and ſhew to your Royall Majeſty, We your Graces humble, true, faithfull, and obedient Subjects, That the Lord Cardinall of *Yorke*, lately your Graces Chancellour, preſuming to take upon him the Authoritie of the Popes Legat *de Latere*, hath by divers and many ſundry wayes and faſhions committed notable, high, and grievous offences, miſuſing, altering, and ſubverting the order of your Graces Lawes, and otherwiſe contrary to your high Honour, Prerogative, Crown, Eſtate, and dignity Royall, to the ineſtimable dammage of your Graces ſubjects of every degree, and conſequently to the great hindrance, diminution, and decay of the univerſall wealth of this your Graces Realm, as it is touched ſummarily, and particularly in certain Articles here following; which be but a few in compariſon of all his enormities, exceſſes, and tranſgreſſions committed againſt your Graces Lawes. That is to ſay;

I. FIrſt, where your Grace, and your Noble Progenitors within this your Realm of *England*, being Kings of *England*, have been ſo free, that they have had in all the world no other Soveraign, but immediat ſubject to Almighty God in all things, touching the Regality of your Crown of *England*, and the ſame Preheminence, Prerogative, Juriſdiction, lawfull, and peaceable poſſeſſion, your Grace, and your noble Progenitors have had, uſed, and enjoyed without interruption, or buſineſſe therefore by the ſpace of two Hundred years, and more, whereby your Grace may preſcribe againſt the Popes Holineſſe, that he ſhould not, nor ought to ſend, or make any Legat to execute any authority Legantine, contrary to your Graces Prerogative within this your Realm:

Now the Lord Cardinall of *York* being your Subject, and naturall liege born, hath of his high, orgullous, and inſatiable mind, for his own ſingular advancemeht, and profit, in derogation, and to the great inblemiſhment, and hurt of your ſaid Royall Juriſdiction, and prerogative, and the large continuance of the poſſeſſion of the ſame, obtained Authoritie Legatine, by reaſon whereof he hath not only hurt your ſaid preſcription, but alſo by the ſaid Authority Legantine, hath ſpoiled and taken away from many houſes of Religion in this your Realm, much ſubſtance of their goods. And alſo hath uſurped upon all your Ordinaries within this your Realm much part of their Juriſdiction, in derogation of your Prerogative, and to the great hurt of your ſaid Ordinaries, Prelats, and Religious.

II. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinal, being your Ambaſſadour in *France*, made a Treaty with the French King for the Pope, your Majeſty not knowing any part thereof, nor named in the ſame; and binding the ſaid French King to abide his order and award, if any controverſie or doubt ſhould ariſe upon the ſame betwixt the ſaid Pope and the French King.

III. Upon

III. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall being your Ambaſſadour in *France*, ſent a Commiſſion to Sir *Gregory de Caſalis*, under your great Seale in your Graces name, to conclude a Treaty of Amity with the Duke of *Ferrara*, without any Cõmand or Warrant of your Highnes, nor your ſaid Highnes advertiſed, or made privie to the ſame. 1529.

IIII. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall, of his preſumptuous mind in divers and many of his Letters, and Inſtructions ſent out of this Realm to outward parties, had joyn'd himſelf with your Grace, as in ſaying, and writing in his ſaid Letters and Inſtructions, *The King and I.* And, *I would yee ſhould do thus. The King and I give unto you our hearty thankes.* Whereby it is apparent that hee uſed himſelf more like a Fellow to your Highneſſe, than like a Subject.

V. Alſo, where it hath ever been accuſtomed within this your Realm, that when Noblemen do ſwear their Houſhold-ſervants, the Firſt part of their Oath hath been, that they ſhould be true Liegemen to the King and his Heirs Kings of *England*, The ſame Lord Cardinall cauſed his ſervants to be only ſworn to him, as if there had been no Soveraigne above him.

VI. And alſo, whereas your Grace is our Soveraigne Lord and Head, in whom ſtandeth all the ſurety and wealth of this Realm, the ſame Lord Cardinall knowing himſelf to have the foule, and contagious Diſeaſe of the Great Pox, broken out upon him in divers places of this body, came daily to your Grace, rowning in your eare, and blowing upon your moſt noble Grace, with his perilous and infective breath, to the marvellous danger of your Highneſſe, if God of his infinit goodneſſe had not better provided for your Highneſſe. And when he was once healed of them, he made your Grace to believe that his diſeaſe was an Impoſtume in his head, and of none other thing.

VII. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall, by his Authority Legantine, hath given, by prevention, the Benefices of divers perſons, aſwell Spirituall as Temporall, contrary to your Crown and Dignity, and your Lawes and Eſtatutes therefore provided, By reaſon whereof hee is in danger to your Grace of forfeiture of his lands, and goods, and his body at your pleaſure.

VIII. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall, taking upon him otherwiſe then a true Counſellour ought to do, hath uſed to have all Ambaſſadours to come firſt to him alone, and ſo hearing their charges, and intents, it is to be thought he hath inſtructed them after his pleaſure, and purpoſe, before that they came to your preſence; contrary to your high Commandement by your Graces mouth to him given, and alſo to other perſons, ſent to him by your Grace.

IX. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall hath practiſed ſo, that all manner of Letters ſent from beyond the Sea to your Highneſſe have come Firſt to his Hands, contrary to your High commandement by your own mouth, and alſo by others ſent to him by your Grace; by reaſon whereof your Highneſſe, nor any of your Councell had knowledge of no matters, but ſuch as it pleaſed him to ſhew them; whereby

1529. your Highneſſe, and your Counſell have been compell'd of very force to follow his devices, which oftentimes were ſet forth by him under ſuch crafty, and covert means, that your Highneſſe, and your Counſell hath oftentimes been abuſed. Inſomuch, that when your Counſell have found, and put divers doubts, and things which hath afterwards enſued, Hee to abuſe them, uſed theſe words; *I will lay my head that no ſuch thing ſhall happen.*

X. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall hath practiſed that no manner of perſon, having charge to make eſpiall of things done beyond the Sea, ſhou'd at their return come firſt to your Grace, nor to any other of your Counſell, but only to himſelf, and in caſe they did the contrary, He puniſhed them for ſo doing.

XI. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall hath granted Licence under your Great Seal for carrying out of Graine, and other Victuall, after the reſtraint hath been made thereof, for his own lucre, and ſingular advantage of him, and his ſervants, for to ſend thither as he bare ſecret favour, without your Graces Warrant or knowledge thereof.

XII. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall uſed, many years together, not only to write unto all your Ambaſſadours Reſident with other Princes in his own name all Advertiſements concerning your Graces affaires, being in their Charge, and in the ſame his Letters wrote many things of his own mind, without your Graces pleaſure being known, concealing divers things which had been neceſſary for them to know, But alſo cauſed them to write their Advertiſements unto him; And of the ſame Letters he uſed to conceale, for the compaſſing of his purpoſes, many things both from all your other Counſellours, and from your ſelf alſo.

XIII. Alſo, where good Hoſpitality hath been uſed to be kept in houſes and places of Religion of this Realm, and many poore people thereby relieved, the ſaid Hoſpitality and Reliefe is now decayed, and not uſed; and it is commonly reported that the occaſion thereof is, becauſe the ſaid Lord Cardinall hath taken ſuch Impoſitions of the Rulers of the ſaid houſes, aſwell for his favour in making of Abbots and Priors, as for his Viſitation, by his Authority Legantine. And yet, nevertheleſſe, taketh yearly of ſuch Religious Houſes, ſuch yearly and continuall charges, as they be not able to keep Hoſpitality, as they uſed to do, which is a great cauſe that there be ſo many vagabonds, beggars, and theeves.

XIIII. Alſo, where the ſaid Lord Cardinall ſayd, before the ſuppreſſion of ſuch Houſes as he hath ſuppreſſed, that the poſſeſſions of them ſhould be ſet to Farme among your lay-Subjects, after ſuch reaſonable yearly rent, as they ſhould well thereupon live, and keepe good Hoſpitality; And now the demaine poſſeſſions of the ſaid Houſes, ſince the ſuppreſſion of them, hath been ſurveyed, mete, and meaſured by the Acre, and be now ſet above the value of the old Rent; And alſo ſuch as were Farmers by Covent-Seate, and Copie-Holders be put out, and amoved of their Farmes, or elſe compell'd to

pay new Fines, contrary to all equitie and Conſcience. 1529

XV. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall, ſitting among the Lords, and other of your moſt Honourable Counſell, uſed himſelf that if any man would ſhew his mind according to his duty, contrary to the opinion of the ſaid Cardinall, Hee would ſo take him up with his accuſtomable words, that they were better to hold their peace than to ſpeak, ſo that he would hear no man ſpeak but one, or two great Perſonages, ſo that he would have all the words himſelf, and conſumed much time with a faire tale.

XVI. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall by his Ambition and pride, hath hindred and undone many of your poore ſubjects for want of diſpatchment of matters; for hee would no man ſhould meddle but himſelf. Inſomuch, that it hath been affirm'd by many wiſe men, that ten of the moſt wiſeſt, and moſt expert men in *England* were not ſufficient in convenient time to order the matters that he would retain to himſelf: And many times he deferred the ending of matters, becauſe that Sutors ſhould attend and wait upon him, whereof hee had no ſmall pleaſure that his houſe might be repleniſh'd with Sutors.

XVII. Alſo, the Lord Cardinall, by his Authority Legantine, hath uſed, if any Spirituall man having any riches or ſubſtance, deceaſed, he hath taken their goods, as his own; by reaſon whereof their Wills be not perform'd; And one mean he had, to put them in feare that were made Executors to refuſe to meddle.

XVIII. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall conſtrained all Ordinaries in *England*, yearly to compound with him, or elſe he will uſurp halfe or the whole of their Juriſdiction by prevention, not for good order of the Dioceſſe, but to extort treaſure; for there is never a poore Arch-Deacon in *England*, but that he paid yearly to him a portion of his living.

XIX. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall hath not only by his untrue ſuggeſtion to the Pope, ſhamefully ſlandered many good Religious Houſes, and good vertuous Men dwelling in them, but alſo ſuppreſſed by reaſon thereof above thirty houſes of Religion; and where, by Authority of his Bull, he ſhould not ſuppreſſe any houſe that had more Men of Religion in number, above the number of ſix or ſeven, Hee hath ſuppreſſed divers houſes that had above the number; And thereupon hath cauſed divers Offices to be found by verdict, untruly, that the Religious perſons, ſo ſuppreſſed, had voluntarily forſaken their ſaid houſes, which was untrue, and ſo hath caus'd open Perjury to be committed, to the high diſpleaſure of Almighty God.

XX. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall, hath examined divers and many matters in the Chancery, after Judgement thereof given at the Common Law, in ſubverſion of your Lawes; and made ſome perſons reſtore again to the other party condemned, that they had in Execution by vertue of the Judgement in the Common-Law.

XXI. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall hath graunted many Injunctions

1529. ctions by Writ, and the parties never call'd thereunto, nor Bill put in againſt them. And, by reaſon thereof, divers of your Subjects have been put from their lawfull poſſeſſion of their lands and tenements. And, by ſuch means, he hath brought the more Party of the Sutors of this your Realm before himſelf, whereby he and divers of his ſervants have gotten much riches, and your ſubjects ſuffered great wrongs.

XXII. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall, to augment his great Riches, hath cauſed divers Pardons granted by the Pope to be ſuſpended, which cou'd not be revived till that the ſaid Lord Cardinall were rewarded, and alſo have a yearly Penſion of the ſaid Pardon.

XXIII. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall, not regarding your Lawes nor Juſtice, of his extort power, hath put out divers and many Farmers of his Lands, and alſo Patents of the Arch-Biſhoprick of *Yorke*, and Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, And of the Abbey of Saint *Albans*, which had good, and ſufficient grant thereof by your Lawes.

XXIIII. Alſo, the ſame Lord Cardinall at many times when any Houſes of Religion have been voyd, Hee hath ſent his officers thither, and with crafty perſwaſions hath induced them to compromit their Election in him. And that, before ere he named, or confirmed any of them, Hee, and his ſervants received ſo much great goods of them, that in manner it hath been to the undoing of the houſe.

XXV. Alſo, by his Authoritie Legantine, the ſame Lord Cardinall hath viſited the moſt part of the Religious Houſes and Colleges in this your Realm, hath taken of them the twenty fifth part of their livelihood, to the great extortion of your Subjects, and derogation of your Lawes, and Prerogative, And no law to beare him ſo to doe.

XXVI. Alſo, when Matters have been neere at Judgement by Proceſſe at your Common-Law, the ſame Lord Cardinall hath not only given and ſent Injunctions to the parties, but alſo ſent for your Judges, and expreſly by threats Commanding them to deferre the Judgement, to the evident ſubverſion of your Lawes, if the Judges would ſo have ceaſed.

XXVII. Alſo, whereas neither the Biſhoprick of *Yorke*, nor *Wincheſter*, nor the Abbey of St. *Albans*, nor the profit of his Legation, nor the benefit of the Chancery, nor his great Penſion out of *France*, nor his Wards, and other inordinate taking could not ſuffice him, He hath made his ſonne *Winter* to ſpend twenty ſeven hundred pounds by year, which he taketh to his own uſe, and giveth him not paſt two hundred pounds yearly to live upon.

XXVIII. Alſo, where the ſaid Lord Cardinall did firſt ſue unto your Grace to have your aſſent to bee *Legat. de Latere*, Hee promiſed, and ſolemnly proteſted before your Majeſtie, and before the Lords both Spirituall and Temporall, that He would nothing doe or attempt by vertue of his Legacy, that ſhould be contrary to your gracious Prerogative, or Regality, or to the dammage or prejudice of the Juriſdi-

Jurisdiction of any Ordinarie, And that by his Legacy, no man ſhould be hurt or offended; And upon that Condition, and no other, He was admitted by your Grace to be Legat within this your Realm, which Condition he hath broken, as is well known to all your Subjects. And when that he made this promiſe, He was buſie in his ſute at *Rome*, to viſit all the Clergie of *England*, both Exempt and not exempt. 1529

XXIX. Alſo, upon the ſute of the ſaid Lord Cardinall at *Rome* to have his Authoritie Legantine, Hee made untrue ſurmiſe to the Popes holineſſe againſt the Clergie of your Realm, which was, that the Regular perſons of the ſaid Clergie had given themſelves in *reprobum ſenſum*; which words Saint *Paul* writing to the Romans applied to abominable ſinne: which ſlaunder to your Church of *England* ſhall for ever remain in the Regiſter at *Rome* againſt the Clergie of this your Realm.

XXX. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall had the more part of the goods of Doctor *Smith*, late Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Biſhop *Savage* of *York*, Mr. *Dalby*, Arch-Deacon of *Richmond*, Mr. *Tornyers*, Doctor *Rothall*, late Biſhop of *Durham*, and of Doctor *Fox*, late Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, contrary to their Wills, and your Lawes, and Juſtice.

XXXI. Alſo, at the Oyer, and Terminer at *Yorke*, Proclamation was made, that every man ſhould put in their Bills for extortion of Ordinaries, and when divers Bills were put in againſt the Officers of the ſaid Lord Cardinall, of extortion, for taking twelve pence of the pound for probation of Teſtaments, whereof divers Bills were found before Juſtice *Fitz-Herbert*, and other Commiſſioners, The ſame Lord Cardinall removed the ſame Indictments into the Chancery by *Certiorari*, and rebuked the ſame *Fitz-Herbert* for the ſame Cauſe.

XXXII. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall hath buſied, and indeavoured himſelfe by crafty and untrue tales to make diſſention and debate amongſt your Nobles of your Realme, which is ready to bee proved.

XXXIII. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinalls officers have divers times compelled your Subjects to ſerve him with Carts for cartiage. And alſo his ſervants have taken both Corn and Cattell, Fiſh, and all other Victualls at your Graces price, or under, as though it had been for your Grace, which is contrary to the Lawes.

XXXIIII. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinall hath miſuſed himſelfe in your moſt Honourable Court, in keeping of as great eſtate there in your abſence, as your Grace would have done, if you had been there preſent in your own Perſon.

XXXV. Alſo his ſervants, by vertue of your Commiſſion under your Broad Seale by him to them given, have taken Cattell, and all other Victuall at as low price as your Purveyors have done for your Grace by your prerogative, againſt the Lawes of your Realm.

XXXVI. Alſo, where it hath been accuſtomed that your Purveyors for your Honourable Houſhold have had yearly out of your Town

1529. Town and liberty of St. *Albons* three hundred or foure hundred Quarters of Wheat, Truth it is, that ſince the Lord Cardinall had the roome of Abbot there, your ſaid Purveyors could not be ſuffered by him, and his officers, to take any Wheat within the ſaid Towne or liberties.

XXXVII. Alſo he hath divers times given Injunction to your Servants, that have been for cauſes before him in the Starre-Chamber, that they nor other for them ſhould make labour, by any manner way directly or indirectly, to your Grace, to obain your Gracious favour or pardon, which was a preſumptuous intent for any Subject.

XXXVIII. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinall did call before him Sir *John Stanley* Knight, which had taken a Farme by Covent-Seale of the Abbot and Covent of *Cheſter*, and afterwards by his power and might, contrary to Right, committed the ſaid Sir *John Stanley* to the Priſon of Fleet by the ſpace of an yeare, unto ſuch time as hee compelled the ſaid Sir *John* to releaſe his Covent-Seale to one *Leghe* of *Adlington*, which married one *Larke*'s daughter, which woman the ſaid Lord Cardinall kept, and had with her two children. Whereupon the ſaid Sir *John Stanley*, upon diſpleaſure taken in his Heart, made himſelfe Monke in *weſtminſter*, and there died.

XXXIX. Alſo, on a time your Grace being at St. *Albons*, according to the antient cuſtome uſed within your Verge, your Clarke of the Market doing his office, did preſent unto your officers of your moſt Honourable Houſhold the priſes of all manner of Victualls, within the precinct of the Verge, And it was commanded by your ſaid officers to ſet up the ſaid Prices both on the gates of your Honourable Houſhold, and alſo in the Market-place within the Town of St. *Albons*, as of antient Cuſtome it hath been uſed; And the Lord Cardinall, hearing the ſame, preſumptuouſly, and not like a Subject, cauſed the foreſaid Prices which were ſealed with your Graces Seale, accuſtomably uſed for the ſame, to be taken off, and pulled down in the ſayd Market-place where there were ſet up, And in the ſame place ſet up his own Prices, Sealed with his Seale, and would if it had not been letted, in ſemblable manner uſed your Seale ſtanding upon your Graces Gates, And alſo would of his preſumptuous mind have openly ſet in the Stocks within your ſaid Town your Clarke of your Market. By which preſumption and uſurpation your Grace may perceive, that in his Heart he hath reputed himſelf to be equall with your Royall Majeſty.

XL. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinall, of his further Pompous and preſumptuous mind, hath enterpriſed to joyn and imprint the Cardinalls Hat under your Armes in your coyne of Groats, made at your City of *Yorke*, which like deed hath not been ſeen to have been done by any Subject within your Realme before this time.

XLI. Alſo, where one Sir *Edward Jones*, Clark, Parſon of *Crowley* in the County of *Buckingham*, in the 18th yeare of your moſt Noble Raigne, let his ſaid Parſonage with all Tythes, and other profits of the

ſame

same to one *William Johnson* by Indenture for certain years, within which years the Dean of the said Lord Cardinalls Colledge in *Oxford* pretended title to a certain portion of Tythes within the said Parsonage, supposing the said portion to belong to the Parsonage of *Chichelley*, which was appropriated to the Priory of *Tykeford*, lately suppressed, where, of truth, the Parsons of *Crowley* have been peaceably possessed of the said Portion, time out of mind; Whereupon a *Sub-pœna* was directed to the said *Johnson* to appeare before the said Lord Cardinall at *Hampton* Court; where without any Bill, the said Lord Cardinall committed him to the Fleet, where he remained by the space of twelve weekes, because hee would not depart with the said Portion; And at the last, upon a Recognizance made, that hee should appear before the said Lord Cardinall whersoever hee was commanded, he was delivered out of the Fleet. Howbeit, as yet the said Portion is so kept from him, that he dare not deale with it. 1529.

XLII. Also, where one *Martin Docowra* had a Lease of the Manor of *Ballsall* in the County of *Warwick* for tearm of certain years, an Injunction came to him out of the Chancery, by writ, upon pain of a Thousand pounds, that hee should avoid the possession of the same Mannor, and suffer Sir *George Throgmorton* Knight, to take the profits of the same Mannor, to the time the matter depending in the Chancery between the Lord of St. *Johns*, and the said *Docowra*, were discussed; And yet the said *Docowra* never made answer in the Chancery, ne ever was called into the Chancery for that matter. And now of late he hath received the like Injunction, upon pain of two Thousand pounds, contrary to the course of the Common-Law.

XLIII. Also, whereas in the Parliament-Chamber, and in open Parliament, Communication and devises were had and moved, wherein mention was, by an Incident, made of matters touching Heresies, and Erroneous Sects, It was spoken, and reported by one Bishop there being present, and confirmed by a good number of the same Bishops in presence of all the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, then assembled, that two of the said Bishops were minded and desire to repaire unto the University of *Cambridge*, for examination, reformation, and correction of such Errours as then seemed, and were reported to Raigne amongst the Students, and Schollers of the same, aswell touching the Lutheran Sect, and opinions, as otherwise; The Lord Cardinall informed of the good mindes and intents of the said two Bishops in that behalf, expresly inhibited and commanded them in no wise so to doe. By means whereof the same errours (as they affirmed) crept more abroad, and tooke greater place; Saying furthermore, that it was not in their defaults that the said Heresies were not punished, but in the said Lord Cardinall; and that it was no reason any blame, or lack should be arrected unto them for his offence. Whereby it evidently appeareth, that the said Lord Cardinall, besides all other his hainous offences, hath been the impeacher and disturber of due and direct correction of Heresies; being highly to the danger, and peril

1529. of the whole body, and good Chriſtian people of this your Realm.

XLIIII. Finally, Foraſmuch as by the foreſaid Articles is evidently declared to your moſt Royall Majeſty, that the Lord Cardinall by his outragious pride hath greatly ſhadowed a long ſeaſon your Graces Honour, which is moſt highly to be regarded, and by his inſatiable avarice and ravenous appetite to have riches and treaſure without meaſure, hath ſo grievouſly oppreſſed your poore Subjects, with ſo manifold crafts of Bribery and Extortion, that the Common-wealth of this your Graces Realm is thereby greatly decayed, and impoveriſhed: And alſo by his cruelty, iniquity, affection, and partiality hath ſubverted the due courſe, and order of your Graces Lawes, to the undoing of a great number of your loving People;

Pleaſe it your Moſt Royall Majeſty therefore of your Exceſſent goodneſſe towards the weale of this your Realm, and Subjects of the ſame, to ſet ſuch order, and direction upon the ſaid Lord Cardinall, as may be to the terrible example of others to beware ſo to offend your Grace, and your Lawes hereafter. And that he bee ſo provided for, that he never have any Power, Juriſdiction or Authority, hereafter to trouble, vex, and impoveriſh the Common-wealth of this your Realm, as hee hath done heretofore, to the great hurt, and dammage of every man almoſt, high and low. Which for your Grace ſo doing, will daily pray, as their duty is, to Almighty God, for the proſperous Eſtate of your moſt Royall Majeſty long to indure in Honour, and good Health, to the pleaſure of God, and your Hearts moſt deſire.

Subſcribed the Firſt day of *December* the twenty firſt yeare of the Raigne of our Soveraigne Lord King *Henry* the Eighth.

T. More.	*R. Fitzwater.*	*Will. Sandys.*
T. Norfolke.	*Jo. Oxynford.*	*William Fitz-William.*
Char. Suffolke.	*H. Northumberland.*	*Henry Guldeford.*
Tho. Dorſet.	*T. Darcy.*	*Anthony Fitzherbert.*
H. Exeter.	*T. Rochford.*	*John Fitz-James.*
G. Shrouesbury.	*W. Mountjoy.*	

Theſe Articles were preſented to the King, by the Lords, and then ſent down to the lower Houſe: Where *Thomas Cromwell* (obtaining the place of a Burgeſſe) ſo wittily defended the Cardinall his Maſter, that no Treaſon could be layd to his charge. And upon this honeſt beginning *Cromwell* obtained his firſt reputation. Yet could not the reſiſting of this brunt, nor even the gracious Meſſages received frequently from the King cheare up our Cardinall. For as hee found the Pope had now a long while neglected to give the King any ſatisfaction (which certainly was the only way to procure the Cardinalls Reſtitution) and that (for the reſt) no evident ſigne of the Kings Relenting appear'd, ſo being not able to ſupport any longer his many afflictions, He fell dangerouſly ſick. The Newes whereof being brought to the Kings eares, moved ſo much compaſſion, as not only Hee, but, by his Intreaty, Miſtris *Anne Bolen* (whom the Cardinall had

had in vain importuned to intercede for him) alſo ſent him ſeverall tokens; whereof one was a Ruby, wherein the Kings Image was curiouſly engraven, a gift heretofore of the Cardinalls, together with a gracious Meſſage delivered by Doctor *Butts* his Phyſician; That his Highneſſe was not angry with him in his Heart, which hee ſhould know ſhortly. Whereupon as the Cardinal recovered his health, ſo the King, for confirming his promiſes, Sealed his Pardon, *Febr.* 12. and, three dayes after, by Letters Patents, reſtored him to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*. Moreover, Hee ſent him Money, Plate, Rich Hangings, and Furniture for his Houſe and Chappell, in that quantity, as the Cardinall was for the preſent much recovered: Hoping alſo, that ſince he had reſigned his Houſe called *York*-Houſe (but afterward by the King ſtyled the Mannor of *Weſtminſter*, now *White-Hall*) that his puniſhment ended there, and himſelf now upon termes of regaining the Kings favour. The confidence whereof alſo made him be an humble ſuppliant to the King, that, for his Healths ſake, hee might have leave to remove to *Richmond*-Houſe, the uſe of which hee had received in Exchange from the King, for that his ſumptuous Palace which he built, and called by the name of *Hampton-Court*.

1529

Feb. 12. 1529. 30.

Hollinſh.

Febr. 1530.

1525.

It is now time to look awhile on forraigne Hiſtory. Our laſt Narration left the *Comte de St.Pol* in *Italy*, where hee had quarter'd that part of the Souldiers which remain'd of that years Warres, in their Winter Garriſons; But the Spring being come, he took divers places on this ſide the *Teſino*, and at laſt joyn'd his Forces with the Duke of *Urbino*, Generall of the Venetians, and *Franceſco Sforza*. Yet, whether that he durſt not attempt the City of *Milan*, which *Antonio de Leyva* ſtrongly defended, or that the *Comte de St.Pol* affected more the Enterprize of *Genoua*, their Army marched to *Landriano*, the 21. of *June* 1529. Of which *Antonio de Leyva* being adverti's'd, uſed that diligence, that he ſurpriſed the *Comte de St.Pol*, when part of his Army was marched before, and wholly defeated the reſt, taking him priſoner.

1528.

1529. *June.*

This while the Emperour equipped a great Fleet for *Italy*, with intention to be Crowned there, having firſt (for the more ample furniſhing of himſelf with Money) pawn'd the *Moluccas* to the King of *Portugal* for 350000. Duckats.

The Pope hearing of theſe great preparatives at the ſame Seaſon that the Defeat of *St.Pol* (ſucceeding that of *Lautrech* in *Naples*) had wholly diſabled the Army of the Confederates, Reſolved to comply with the times. So that, before the Newes thereof could eaſily be convay'd to the Emperour, He indeavour'd his own peace, for this purpoſe employing one *Antonio Muſetolor* a Neopolitan; who prevailed ſo farre, as he concluded a League at *Barcellona* the twenty ninth of *June* to this effect.

Iune 29.

1. That the Peace betwixt them ſhould be perpetuall.

2. That the Imperiall Army which was in *Naples* ſhould have ſecure paſſage through the Popes Territories.

1529. 3. That the Emperour ſhould give *Donna Margarita* (his Naturall daughter) in Marriage to *Aleſſandro de Medicis* ſonne of *Lorenzo*, and that he ſhould inveſt him in the State of *Florence*, with the title of Duke.

4. That *Cervia*, *Ravenna*, *Modena*, *Reggio*, ſhould be reſtor'd to the Apoſtolike See by the Emperours power.

5. That the Pope ſhould give unto the Emperour a Bull, with the Title of the Kingdome of Naples, to be held in Fee from the Pope, upon payment every yeare of a Horſe or a Hackney white.

6. That the Pope ſhould, in all Eccleſiaſticall affairs, enjoy his accuſtomed right.

7. That the Pope and emperour ſhould ſee one another in *Italy*.

8. That the Emperour ſhould aſſiſt the Pope againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*.

9. That Juſtice ſhould be done to *Franceſco Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, and that the Emperour commit his Cauſe to Indifferent Judges.

10. That the Emperour and his Brother *Don Fernando* and the Pope Joyne together to reduce the Lutherans, either by faire or foule means, to the Roman Catholike Faith.

All which Articles (and, perhaps, ſome private ones concerning the affairs of *England* now in agitation) were ſworn to on both ſides upon the Great Altar of the Cathedrall Church of *Barcelona*.

July 3.

And thus did the Pope renounce all his former Deſignes, and betake himſelfe intirely to the Emperour, at the ſame time when the two Cardinals ſate on their Commiſſion in *England*. So eaſie was it for the Pope to forget both the Injuries receiv'd from the Imperialiſts, and the good turnes from all his Confederates, when a readier way was open'd him for regaining his Cities, and revenging himſelfe on the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Florentines, who, during his late Captivitie, had expulſed the Family of *Medicis* out of the City.

Bellay. Guicciard.

Francis alſo underſtanding that, upon this ſecond overthrow of his Forces in *Italy*, his reputation was loſt, and his Confederates diſcouraged, and hearing, beſides, the Pope had concluded this League with the Emperour, thought it better to reſerve his Money for Ranſoming his Children, than to caſt it away in the Wars. So that, notwithſtanding his reiterated proteſtations of affection to our King, Hee, underhand, laboured a Peace with the Emperour. The Overtures whereof alſo were willingly accepted, both as *Charles* doubted change of Religion in *Germany*, and as the Turk had made no little progreſſe in *Hungary*. For which cauſes alſo he choſe rather to hearken to thoſe motions were made for delivering of the Children of *Francis* upon reaſonable tearms, than to detain them any longer unuſefully. Thus both their mindes ſecretly concurring to Peace, the Treaty thereof was permitted to two Ladies, Madam *Louiſe* Mother of *Francis*, and Regent of *France*, and Madam *Anna-Margarita* Aunt to *Charles*, and Regent of the *Low-Countries*. Of which kind though the Precedents be rare, yet, as affaires then ſtood, they were thought no ill Mediatreſſes.

treſſes. Both as the ſuppleneſſe of their Sex could better decline that rough Diſpute, which (conſidering the late Cartels) could ſcarce be eſchued betwixt the ſervants of either Princes, and as it was a kind of Gallantry, to eſſay, if after ſo many broken or avoyded Treaties which Men had made, one concluded by women would hold; Howſoever for women to treat of Marriage or Childrens buſineſſe, was no ſtrange thing. But the event ſhewed they were able Negotiatreſſes. For though their firſt meeting (being at *Cambray*) was not without ſome of that emulation and puntille which is ordinary in their Sex, yet at laſt they fell to treat in good earneſt. The Propoſition which before all other Madam *Louiſe* made, was that a Meſſenger might be ſent to ſee the Eſtate of the Children of *Francis*, it being in vain (ſhe ſaid) to treat of their delivery, when (for any thing ſhe knew) they were not extant at all. This being accorded, the Ladies proceeded to the more ſubſtantiall Articles of a Treaty. 1529. *July* 5. *Sandov.*

Madam *Margarita* ſaid, indeed, ſhe had no other Inſtruction but to demand the execution of the Treaty of *Madrid*. But Madam *Louiſe*, repreſenting ſometimes the unreaſonableneſſe, and ſometimes the impoſſibility of performing thoſe Articles, reduced her to more moderate termes. Whereunto alſo our Kings Ambaſſadours *Cuthbert Tonſtall*, Biſhop of *Dureſme*, and Sir *Thomas More*, did no little conduce. For as our King knew the weight hee could adde on either ſide would ſway the Ballance, ſo he interpoſed offices; Hoping to get either *Francis* to procure his Divorce, or *Charles* to ſuffer it. But as thoſe Princes affaires requir'd a more quick and ſerious Diſpatch, than to attend the deciſion of ſo great and doubtfull a buſineſſe, they cared little to ſatisfie our King, or to complie with Miſtris *Bolen*. Therefore, ſetting apart thoſe conſiderations, they attended only their own intereſts; and Madam *Louiſe*, very particularly, the News of her Grand-childrens ſafety. For which purpoſe having employed one *Vordin*, hee gave this account as it is extant in the Spaniſh Hiſtorie. *Sandov.*

That he found the *Dolphin*, and Duke of *Orleans* in the Caſtle of *Pedraçu*, under the Guard of the Marquis *de Verlanga*, in a darke chamber, ill furniſh'd, having forgotten all their French, ſo that when *Vordin* ſpake to them, they requir'd an Interpreter. That their beſt Intertainment was playing with little doggs, and making Pictures in Wax. That, when he preſented them new Cloathes, the Marquis would not ſuffer them to be put on, whereof *Vordin* gives this ridiculous reaſon, That the Spaniards believ'd there were Witches in *France*, that could tranſport any one in the ayre when their charmes might but touch the body. But *Vordin* was deceiv'd; The true reaſon being, That out of a certain curioſity for preſervation of thoſe Princes, aſwell as diſcharge of his own truſt, *Verlanga* would neither ſuffer thoſe, nor any other clothes to be worne by the Princes, till others had put them on firſt. But Madam *Louiſe* was ſo ill ſatisfied with this Relation, that ſhe haſtned the Peace. To which purpoſe, as the Cardinall

1529. Cardinall *de Salviati* (the Popes Legat) did contribute his indeavours, (but with favour certainly to the Emperour) ſo our Ambaſſadours likewiſe did cooperate, but ſo, as they had principall regard of *Francis*: our King believing that he might be the ſooner indue'd openly to aſſiſt him, when his Children were Free. Thus theſe pompous Ladies (who met at *Cambray July* 5.) mediated a Peace, though not without ſome difficulty, Madam *Louiſe* once breaking off the Treaty, ſo that, had not the Emperour, by an expreſſe *Courrier*, inlarg'd the Inſtructions given to his Aunt, no Peace had followed. At laſt they concluded this Treaty, in which alſo our King was comprehended.

July 5.

The Treaty of Cambray, *Aug.* 5th 1529.

I. THat there ſhall be a good, ſure, and perpetuall Peace betwixt the Emperour and King, and that they ſhall bee for ever friends of the friends, and enemies of the enemies of each other.

II. That the Treaty of *Madrid* ſhall remain in its full force and vigour, and ſhall be inviolably kept betwixt them, their Heirs and Succeſſours, without Innovation, except only in the third, fourth, eleventh, and fourteenth Articles, where mention is made of the Counties of *Auxerrois*, *Maſconnois*, *Bar-ſur-Seine*, the *Viconto* of *Auxone*, and the ſuperiority or government of St. *Laurence*. And whereas it was agreed by the Treaty of *Madrid*, that the aforeſaid places ſhould be reſtored to the Emperour, yet, in conſideration of the Peace, he is content to remain only in the Action, and Right, in an amiable courſe, or by way of Juſtice to be executed; which hee intends alſo ſhall be reſerved to him and his heirs, Notwithſtanding any preſcription of time that can be alleag'd to the contrary, it being permitted alſo to the ſaid King, and his Succeſſors to defend themſelves. Notwithſtanding all which, that a certain Rent, which the ſaid King pretends to have for Salt out of certain Salines in thoſe parts, ſhall be extinct for ever.

III. That the ſaid King for the Ranſome of his two Sonnes, ſhall pay two Millions of Crowns *de Soleil*; the Gold to be of twenty two Carats, and three quarters, whereof one Million and two Hundred thouſand Crowns, ſhall be paid, in *Specie* as much as can bee gotten, and the reſt in one intire Maſſe of Gold, if the Emperour ſhall ſo think good, or if otherwiſe, it ſhall be coyn'd, and Eſſay thereof taken. And at the ſame inſtant the *Dolphin* and Duke of *Orleans* ſhall bee delivered to the Deputies of the ſaid King. All which is to bee done at or before the firſt day of *March* next enſuing, in the manner and forme as ſhall be agreed betwixt the ſaid Emperour and King. And as for the other Eight Hundred Thouſand Crowns, the ſaid King ſhall diſcharge the Emperour of a certain debt Hee oweth to the King of *England* for Moneys lent him upon Pawnes, as may appeare

appeare by certain Schedules and Obligations of his Majeſtie, which debt is ſaid to amount to two Hundred and Ninety Thouſand Crowns *de Soleil* or thereabouts. And concerning the Remainder of the ſaid two Millions, amounting unto Five Hundred and Ten Thouſand Crowns *de Soleil*, The ſaid King ſhall give unto the Emperour, the ſaid ſumme, in Rent, for a certain time, upon certain lands and Seigneuries in *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Heynault*, *Artois*, or elſe where in the *Low-Countries* where the Emperour or his Commiſſioners ſhall chooſe or appoint, of the yearly value of Twenty five thouſand and five hundred Crowns, till the ſaid ſumme of 510000. Crownes be made up. All this to commence as ſoon as the Children be delivered. At which time alſo the ſaid King ſhall procure that King *Henry* deliver unto the Emperour the Writings, Schedules, and Obligations, together with the Acquittances for the payments of the ſaid Debts. As alſo the ſaid Pawnes, and Obligation of Indemnity promiſed by the ſaid Emperour to the King of *England*; And that the ſaid two Millions being thus paid, the Emperour ſhall not demand any thing for cauſe of his Impriſonment. 1529

IIII. That *Francis*, in the ſpace of ſix weekes after the Ratification of this Treaty, ſhall revoke and call back all the Forces Hee hath in *Italy*, whether French or Mercenaries, ſo that the Emperour may be aſſured thereof Fifteen dayes before the Reſtitution of the ſaid Hoſtages.

V. That the ſaid King within fifteen dayes after the Receipt of the Ratification of this Treaty, ſhall reſtore unto the Emperour the Caſtle and Bayliage of *Heſdin*, as a Member of his County of *Artois*, together with the Cannon and Munition, according to the Treaty of *Madrid*, except thoſe Moveables that have been reſtored to the Lady *Reux*.

VI. That, becauſe in the Treaty of *Madrid*, the ſaid King hath agreed to leave and quit unto the Emperour all his Rights of Juriſdiction and Superioritie, that he and his Predeceſſors Kings of *France* have held, or may claim in the Counties of *Flanders*, and *Artois*, as alſo in the City of *Arras*, *Tournay*, *Tournayſis*, *St. Amand*, and *Mortaigne*, and as alſo in *Liſle*, *Douay*, and *Orchies*; And, becauſe upon theſe generall termes, ſome difficulties might ariſe; therefore it is declar'd, by this preſent Article, that the ſaid King in confirmation of the Treaty of *Madrid*, hath left, given and tranſported, as alſo the ſaid Lady his Mother, in his name, and by vertue of the Authority given her, doth leave, give, and tranſport unto the ſaid Emperour, his Heirs and Succeſſours, being Counts and Counteſſes of *Flanders*, the Fee, Homage, Oath of fidelity, and all other markes of ſubjection which either Hee or his Anceſtors have had, or pretended to have, over the ſaid Counts and Counteſſes of *Flanders*, or any others Inhabiting in the ſaid Counties.

VII. That the ſaid King hath renounc'd, and that by the authority given her, the Dutcheſſe of *Angouleſme*, his Mother, doth renounce all

1529. all right and claim to *Liſle*, *Douay* and *Orchies*, conſenting further they ſhall be united unto the County of *Flanders*, in manner as they were before they were rranſported to the King of *France*, by a Treaty at *Paris*, the 2. *Auguſt* 1498.

VIII. That the ſaid King hath renounc'd, and that, by the authority given Her, the Dutcheſſe of *Angouleſme*, his Mother, doth renounce all right and claime which Hee or his Anceſtors Kings of *France* have had, or may pretend to have in the City of *Tournay*, the Bayliage of *Tournayſis*, the townes of *Mortaigne*, and *St. Amand*, with all the Rights. Furthermore, conſenting that they may be united and incorporated unto the ſaid County of *Flanders*.

IX. That the ſaid King hath renounced, and, by the authority given Her, the ſaid Dutcheſſe of *Angouleſme*, his Mother, doth renounce all Right or claime they pretend to have in the City of *Arras*, or upon the Biſhoprick and Cathedral Church therof, except ſo much of the Revenues of the ſaid Biſhoprick, and Church, as is in the Kingdome of *France*.

X. That the ſaid King hath conſented, granted, and, by the authority given Her, the ſaid Dutcheſſe of *Angouleſme*, his Mother, doth conſent and grant to the Emperour, his Heirs and Succeſſours, Counts and Counteſſes of *Artois*, that they ſhall remain for ever henceforth quit and diſcharged from the Fee and Homage, Oath of Fidelity, or any other marke of ſubjection which hee or his Anceſtors, Counts and Counteſſes of *Artois*, have been bound to do, or acknowledge to the Kings of *France*, excepting only *Therouene*, and the poſſeſſion belonging to the Churches of *Artois*, being in *France*, and ſome ſmall Townes in the *Bolognois*.

XI. That the ſaid King hath given and tranſported, and, by the authority given Her, the ſaid Dutcheſſe of *Angouleſme*, his Mother, doth give and tranſport a ſervice or Tenure of *Artois*, commonly called the antient Compoſition of *Artois*, amounting yearly to Fourteen Thouſand *Livres Tournois*, unto the Emperour, his Heirs and Succeſſours, Counts and Counteſſes of *Artois*.

XII. That the Inhabitanrs of *Artois* be free from all manner of Impoſition, or Tribute, heretofore claimed by the Kings of *France*.

XIII. That the Emperour reciprocally ſhall renounce and tranſport, as alſo, by the authority given Her, the ſayd Lady, the Arch-Dutcheſſe, doth renounce and tranſport, for ever, unto the ſaid King, his Heirs and Succeſſours, all the Right, and Title, that the ſaid Emperour or his Predeceſſors hold or claim in any of the States Lands and Seignories of the moſt Chriſtian King. And eſpecially all hee may ptetend to in *Peronne*, *Mondedier*, and *Roye*, and in the Counties of *Bolognois*, *Guiſnes*, and *Ponthieu*, and in the Towns and Seigneuries, ſituated upon the *Some*, either upon the one part thereof or the other, together with all the Juriſdictions belonging unto them; Notwithſtanding any Treaty heretofore made to the contrary.

XIIII. That, Notwithſtanding the ttanſportation, the Emperour hath

hath made by the Treaty of *Madrid*, of the County of *Humen Artois* unto the French King, it is declar'd by these presents, that the places thereof which are, at this present, in the Emperours possession, shall remain free and exempt from any pretence of the French, as those above mentioned. 1529.

XV. That all the aforesaid renouncings and transportations made by the King unto the Emperour shal be understood as valid; Notwithstanding any derogation which may rise from any Union or Incorporation of them unto the Crown of *France*, or any bar of the Law Salique. And that the said King and His Successours shall never attempt the contrary hereunto, when yet they might pretend to do it by right.

XVI. That all Sutes and Processes undecided in the Parliament of *Paris*, or any other Court of Justice of the said King, which may have Relation to the Inhabitants of *Flanders* or *Artois* by reason of Fees, Lands, or possessions situate in the aforesaid Counties, shall be remitted to the Great Counsell of the said Emperour, or to other his Courts of Justice in the said Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*, to be there finally determined.

XVII. That if any definitive sentence have been given, before this last War, against the Inhabitants of the Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*, that the power of executing them shall be committed to the Officers of the Emperour.

XVIII. That the Parliament of *Paris* shall remit unto the President, and others of the Emperours Great Counsell in *Malines*, the Processe or Sute concerning the right which the *Comte de Neuers* or his Wife, or Children pretend to the Inheritance of *John* of *Burgundy*, *&c.*

XIX. That, Notwithstanding the *Droit d' Aubene*, the Subjects of either Prince may enjoy their right in as ample forme as the Naturall Inhabitants of the Country use to do. And as for the *Comte* of *Charolois*, that the Lady Arch-Dutchesse may enjoy it during her life, and, after her decease, the Emperour, and then that it shall return to the Crown of *France*. And it is further agreed, that shee may enjoy certain Rights in *Noyers*, and other places, in the same manner as shee enjoyed them in the life of King *Philip* of *Castile* Her brother.

XX. That, if the King or any in his name do hold any Towne, Castle or Fort in the State and Dutchy of *Milan*; it shall be restor'd to the Emperour and his Commissaries, within six weeks after the Ratification of this Treaty.

XXI. That the said King shall deliver unto the Emperour or his Commissaries, within the space of six weeks after the Ratification of this Treaty, the *Contado de Asti*, with all that appertaineth to it, to be enjoyed by the said Emperour, His Heirs and Succeffours for ever.

XXII. That the said King likewise shall restore unto the Emperour or his Commissaries, *Barleta*, and all other places that he or any for him holdeth in the Kingdome of *Naples*, assoone as is possible,

1529. and before the reſtitution of *Francis* his Children. And it is further agreed, that the ſaid King, within fifteen dayes after the publication of this Treaty, ſhall require the Venetians and all other his Confederates to reſtore all the Towns, Caſtles, and Fortreſſes that they hold in the Kingdome of *Naples*, within the ſpace of ſix weeks. And that, in caſe of Contravention, (when the terme is expired) the ſaid King ſhall declare himſelfe expreſly their enemy, and from that day forwards, ſhall give the Emperour thirty thouſand Crowns *de Soleil* Monethly, untill the ſaid places be recover'd, and brought to obedience to the Emperour. And, in caſe they be not ſo recover'd before the *Dolphin* and Duke of *Orleans* be delivered, the ſaid King ſhall give good Security to the Emperour for continuing the ſaid pay monethly, untill they be reduced to the Emperours obedience. Upon Condition yet, that, if the Emperour employ not the Money to the purpoſe aforeſaid, it ſhall be paid back again, and that therefore the King may appoint ſome perſon who may informe him of the time, when the ſaid places ſhall be taken in. And that the ſaid King neither directly nor indirectly ſhall favour any in the Kingdome of *Naples*, that have rebelled againſt the Emperour ſince the Treaty of *Madrid*.

XXIII. That the King ſhall reſtore alſo unto the Emperour or his Commiſſaries, all that can be recover'd, of that which was taken out of the Galleys in *Portofino*.

XXIIII. That, for the particular in the Treaty of *Madrid*, concerning the reſidence that *Monſieur de Angouleſme* ſhould make with the Emperour, it is remitted to the Kings diſcretion.

XXV. That, for the particular of the League defenſive agreed in the Treaty of *Madrid*, it ſhall be underſtood only in Relation to the patrimoniall poſſeſſions on either ſide, and that the charges incident thereunto ſhall be at the coſts of the demander, and, for the reſt, that the ſaid King ſhall not meddle in any practiſes either in *Italy* or *Germany* to the prejudice of the Emperour.

XXVI. That the Marriage concluded by the Treaty of *Madrid* between the ſaid King, and the Lady *Leonora* Queen Dowager of *Portugall*, and eldeſt Siſter of the Emperour, ſhall be accompliſh'd. And that the ſaid King as ſoon as can be, after the Ratification of this Treaty, ſhall ſend Ambaſſadours, with ſufficient, and eſpeciall power, and Authority, to Ratifie and approve all that ſhall be needfull concerning the ſaid Marriage. For the accompliſhment and Conſummation whereof, the ſaid Queen ſhall be conducted into *France*, at the ſame inſtant that the *Dolphin* and Duke of *Orleans* ſhall be delivered. And that the ſaid Matrimony ſhall hold in all things according to the Treaty of *Madrid*, ſaving in that only which concernes the Counties of *Auxerrois*, *Maſconnois*, and the Seigniorie of *Bar-ſur-ſeine*; with reſervation yet of thoſe Rights which ſhould (as is ſaid before) appertain to the Dutchy of *Burgundy*. And becauſe the terme of payment of the Two hundred thouſand Crowns in Lieu of Dowry of the ſaid

ſaid Queen, and ſpecified in the Treaty of *Madrid*, is expir'd; It is agreed again, that the ſaid Dowry ſhould be paid, the half within ſix Moneths next enſuing, and the other half within ſix weeks following, and that, upon receipt of the whole ſumme or part thereof, the ſaid King ſhall be bound to give aſſurance in the manner as is ſpecified in the Treaty of *Madrid*. 1529.

XXVII. That, foraſmuch as concerns the help and aſſiſtance by Land and by Sea promiſed by the ſaid King for the paſſage of the Emperour into *Italy*, the ſaid Emperour releaſeth it, upon Condition only, that, within two Moneths after he be required thereunto (whether it be for his paſſage into *Italy*, or for his return, or for his ſervice while he is there) Hee give twelve Galleys, foure Ships, and foure Galleons, ſufficiently provided with Artillery, and Sea-men, without any Souldiers yet to be put in them, but ſuch as the Emperour ſhall appoint; And at the coſt of the ſaid King, (except the *Souldateſque*) for the ſpace of five moneths, after the time that they ſhall come into the Haven, which his Majeſty ſhall nominate. The ſaid Emperour delivering unto the Captain or Generall (that ſhould bring the ſaid Armado) Letters Pattents ſigned with his hand, and ſealed with his Seale, by which he ſhall promiſe and ſweare, after the ſaid five Moneths to reſtore immediatly to the ſaid King, or his Deputies, the ſaid Armada, in the manner that he receiv'd it. And moreover, the ſaid King ſhall pay really to the ſaid Emperour the two Hundred thouſand Crowns, that, by the Treaty of *Madrid*, hee promiſed to pay his Majeſty, for the aforeſaid Voyage; that is to ſay, One Hundred thouſand Crowns within ſix Moneths next enſuing, and the other Hundred thouſand Crowns within ſix Moneths after. And, as for the pay of ſix thouſand Foot for ſix Moneths, which the ſaid King promis'd to Furniſh, giving therefore the Caution and Security of ſufficient Merchants, the Emperour by this Treaty acquits him of it, upon condition, that hee pay one Hundred thouſand Crowns *de Soleil*, the which ſumme ſhall remain and be for the increaſing of the Dowry of the Queen Dowager *Leonora*.

XXVIII. That, becauſe in the ſaid Treaty of *Madrid* there is no mention of the profits and Rents of the Inheritances given by the ſaid Emperour and King during the warre, whereupon many queſtions and differences may ariſe: It is determined and concluded by this Treaty, that all ſuch Profits and Rents Eccleſiaſticall or Secular, as alſo all debts, moveables, which have, or might have been given expreſly by Letters Patents of the ſaid Emperour and King, or their Lieutenants in any manner, with title of confiſcation, and which have been delivered, taken, or paid during the warre betwixt the two Princes before the Treaty of *Madrid*, ſhall remain for ever given and acquitted to the profit of the ſaid Lords, Vaſſalls, Lands, Towns, and perſons ſubject to the ſaid Emperour and King, and of their allyes which in the ſaid warres ſhall have taken the part of the one or the other.

1529. XXIX. That all the privileges of the Townes, Neighbours, and Inhabitants of the Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*, and other places of the *Low-Countries*, which appertain to the Emperour, ſhall, by this preſent Capitulation, be confirm'd, and that the Privileges alſo that the French were wont to enjoy in the ſaid Emperours Dominions ſhall remain in their full force, according as hath been accuſtomed on both ſides.

XXX. That all Priſoners of war taken by Sea or Land, as well before as after the Treaty of *Madrid*, of the one part, or of the other, Subjects of the ſaid Emperour, and moſt Chriſtian King, (excepting the Neapolitan ſubjects of the Emperour that have ſerved againſt Him in the ſame Kingdom) And any other that have ſerved, followed, and held the contrary part, of what Nation or Condition ſoever, ſhall be ſet free, and put at liberty, without paying Ranſome, within two Moneths after the Ratification of the Treaty, reſerving only thoſe Priſoners, which before the ſaid Treaty ſhould have been put to Ranſome, who ſhall pay their Ranſome notwithſtanding this Article.

XXXI. That if *Robert de la March* or his Children ſhall preſume to make any enterpriſe upon the Caſtle and Dutchy of *Bouillon*, (conquered by the Emperour, and left by his Majeſty to the Church of *Liege* to which it antiently appertain'd) in ſuch caſe the King may give no hope, favour or aſſiſtance, neither directly or indirectly againſt the ſaid Church.

XXXII. That the Heirs of *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, according to the Treaty of *Madrid*, ſhall enjoy all thoſe goods and poſſeſſions that pertain to the ſaid Duke, ſo that, notwithſtanding all Judgements and Sentences given and pronounced againſt the ſaid Duke, during his life, or after his death, the Heirs of the ſaid Duke ſhall enjoy their antient right.

XXXIII. That *Jean Comte* of *Pontieure* ſhall be reſtor'd unto all the goods which his Father enjoyed at that time that Hee went out of *France* to ſerve the Emperour, and that alſo the other Friends, allyes, and ſervants of the ſaid Duke of *Bourbon*, as alſo their Heirs and Succeſſours, ſhall enjoy the benefit of the Treaty of *Madrid* in all that may concern them; Notwithſtanding any Judgements or Sentences given and pronounced to the contrary.

XXXIIII. That *Don Lorenzo de Gorreuod Comte de Pondevaux Mayordomo* of the Emperour ſhall be put in the Reall poſſeſſion of the Townes, Caſtles, Lands, and Seignories of *Chalamont*, and *Montmarles* bought heretofore of the Duke of *Bourbon*, upon condition yet that, if the ſumme of twenty Thouſand Crownes (being the price for which they were ſold) be paid back again, that they return to the firſt owners.

XXXV. That the ſaid King, by this preſent Treaty, hath taken away and remov'd, and doth take away and remove, the Sequeſtration and all other impediments on his part concerning the Principality of *Aurange*, and the ſuperiority of it, to the intent that *Don Philibert de Chalon*,

Chalon, Prince of *Aurange*, Vice-roy of *Naples*, may enjoy it, together with his preheminence and ſuperiority, as he enjoy'd it before the ſaid Sequeſtration. 1529

XXXVI. That the Dutcheſſe of *Vendoſme*, Widow, ſhall be reſtor'd into all the Poſſeſſions that ſhe had in the Emperours Dominions, before, or during the wars; and *Louis Seigneur de Hanis* ſhall enjoy the like for his part.

XXXVII. That the *Comte* of *Gaure* ſhall be reſtor'd to his own in the like manner.

XXXVIII. That, for the buſineſſe of *Philip de Croy*, Marquis of *Areſchot*, and the difference betwixt him and the Seigneurs of *Chaſteau-Bryon*, and others, Tutors of the Children of *Mons' de Lautrech*, that it ſhould be referr'd to a particular Treaty, and Agreement before the Governours of the City, and Dutchy of *Cambray*, which ſaid agreement ſhall ſtand.

XXXIX. That, the Sute depending, in the Parliament of *Paris*, between *Adolphus* of *Burgundy Seigneur de Beures* on the one part, for the Seigneuries of *Creue-cœur* in *Cambreſis*, *&c.* and the Kings Attorny on the other part, ſhall be referred, in the ſtate it now is, to foure Judges, whereof two be named by the Emperour, and two by the King: And that the ſaid Judges ſhall be bound to return and determine the cauſe in the City of *Cambray*, twenty daies after the Ratification of this Treaty. And that, if two of the foure Judges abſent themſelves, the other two, that is to ſay, one of either part, may proceed to give ſentence.

XL. That, in this Peace and Treaty is comprehended, as a principall Contractor, the Pope and the Apoſtolike See, which the ſaid Emperour and King ſhall maintain in his authority and preheminence. And that they ſhall procure that the Townes and places, being of the Patrimony of the Church, ſhall be reſtored, alſo there are comprehended herein as principall Contractors, the Kings of *Hungary*, *England*, and *Poland*, *Chriſtiern* King of *Denmark*, the Kings of *Portugall* and *Scotland*, and the Lady Arch-Dutcheſſe Aunt to the Emperour. Alſo there are comprehended herein as Confederates, the Electors, the Cardinall of *Liege*, *&c.* Alſo it is agreed, that all the ſaid principall Contractors and Confederates ſhall be advertiſed hereof by the ſaid King and Emperour.

XLI. That the ſaid King ſhall procure the community or Republike of *Florence*, within foure Moneths after the Ratification of this Treaty, to agree with the Emperour, which being done, they alſo ſhall be comprehended herein, and not otherwiſe. And becauſe, ſince the Treaty of *Madrid*, *Charles* Duke of *Gueldres Comte de Zutphren* hath taken part with the Emperour, and agreed with him, his Majeſty declares him for his Confederate, and all others nominated here: And that thoſe who are not nominated ſhall be excluded out of the ſaid Treaty, unleſſe they be comprehended under the generall termes of vaſſalls or ſubjects of the ſaid Kings.

XLII.

1529. XLII. That the ſaid Emperour and King (aſſoon as they well can) for Ratification and Confirmation of this preſent Treaty (in which *de verbo ad verbum* there muſt be inſerted and joyned together the Treaty of *Madrid*) ſhall ſweare ſolemnly upon the Evangeliſts, and the wood of the true Croſſe, in the preſence of the Holy Sacrament, and theſe Ambaſſadours that ſhall be appointed thereunto, to hold and keep (every one for his part) all the points and Articles of this Treaty, as alſo all thoſe contain'd in the Treaty of *Madrid*, which are not altred, chang'd, and innovated by theſe preſents; ſubmitting themſelves, for performance hereof, to the Juriſdictions and Eccleſiaſticall cenſures even to the invocation of the ſecular power *incluſivè*; Conſtituting their Proctors *in forma cameræ Apoſtolicæ*, to appeare in their names, or in either of them, in the Court of *Rome* before the Pope, and the *Auditori della Ruota*, and to receive voluntarily the condemnation and fulmination of the ſaid Cenſures in caſe of Contravention; and, for this purpoſe, to ſubmit themſelves and Prorogue their Juriſdiction before ſome Prelate or Eccleſiaſticall Judge. And that neither the ſaid Emperour and King, nor any of them may (without mutuall conſent) demand a Relaxation of the ſaid Oath, nor an Abſolution of the ſaid Cenſures. And that, if any did demand and obtein it, it ſhall not avayle him, without the Conſent of the other.

XLIII. That the ſaid King ſhall Ratifie and approve both this Treaty and that of *Madrid* in the forme there mentioned, ſave where it hath been chang'd, altred, and innovated by theſe preſents, foraſmuch as concernes the Seigneur *Dolphin*, according to the manner declared in the ſaid Treaty of *Madrid*. And that he alſo ſhall cauſe this Treaty to be Ratified and approv'd by all the particular Eſtates of the Provinces and governments of his Kingdomes: And that hee ſhall make them ſweare and promiſe, that the ſaid Treaty ſhall be perpetually kept, and ſhall cauſe them to be Regiſtred and verified in the Parliament of *Paris*, and all other Parliaments of the Kingdome of *France*, in the preſence of the Attorneys Generall of the ſaid Parliaments, to whom the ſaid King ſhall give eſpeciall and irrevocable power, to appeare in his name, in all the ſaid Parliaments, and there conſent to the aforeſaid Jnregiſtring, and ſubmit himſelf voluntarily to the keeping of all that is contein'd in the ſaid Treaty. And that, by vertue of the ſaid voluntary ſubmiſſion, hee may be enjoyned or condemned thereunto, by the definitive ſentence of the ſaid Parliaments in good and convenient forme. And that this Treaty ſhall bee alſo verified and Jnregiſt'red in the *Chambre des Comptes* of *Paris*, in the preſence, and with the conſent of the Kings Attorny, for the more effectuall execution, and accompliſhment of them, and the validations of the Acquittances, Renuntiations, ſubmiſſions, and other things contain'd and declar'd in the ſaid Treaty. Which Ratifications, Jnregiſtrings, Verifications, and all other things above-mention'd ſhall be done and perfected by the ſaid King, and the diſpatches of them,

them, in due forme delivered into the hands of the ſaid Emperour, before his Children bee delivered, and within the ſpace of foure Moneths at furtheſt. And if, for the Inregiſtring and verifications above-mention'd, it ſhould be neceſſary that the ſaid King ſhould releaſe, and diſcharge unto his Officers thoſe Oaths that they have taken, not to conſent or ſuffer any alienations of the Crown, the ſaid King ſhall doe it; and that alſo the ſaid Emperour ſhall, in his great Counſell, and his other Councells and *Chambres des Comptes* in his Dominions of the *Low-Countries*, cauſe to be made ſuch other Inregiſtring, and verifications, releaſing alſo the Oath of his Officers, and cauſing the particular States of his ſaid Dominions to Ratifie and approve this Treaty, within the time above mentioned. 1529

XLIIII. That this Peace ſhall be publiſh'd through all the Kingdomes and Seigneuries and Dominions of the Emperour and the King, and eſpecially the Frontiers, before the 15th day of *September* next, to the intent that no man may pretend Ignorance; And the ſaid Arch-Dutcheſſe on the part of the Emperour, and the Dutcheſſe of *Angouleſme* on the part of the French King, and the ſaid Arch-Dutcheſſe particularly for the Queen *Leonora*, foraſmuch as may duly concern her, and by thoſe Oaths that every one of them hath made, do promiſe that they ſhall duly Ratifie all that is contain'd in this Treaty of Peace. And that they ſhall give Letters Patents thereof, in due and ſufficient forme, on either part, within two Moneths and a halfe after the concluding this preſent Treaty.

In teſtimony whereof the ſaid Ladies Arch-Dutcheſſe and Dutcheſſe, and each of them, have ſigned and ſealed theſe preſents. Dat. in the City of *Cambray* the 5th of *Auguſt*, 1529.

Margarite. Louiſe.

And this is the moſt ſubſtantiall part of the Treaty of *Cambray*, as it is ſet down by *Sandoval*; but *Bellay l.* 3. addes, that, beſides the above-mention'd two Millions of Crowns, *Francis* paid, for the Emperour, to our King, D.M. Crowns as a penalty the Emperour had incurr'd for not marrying the Princeſſe *Mary*. Moreover, that he was bound to diſ-ingage, from our King, a rich Jewell in the forme of a Flower-de-luce, wherein was a piece of the wood of the true Croſſe, being pawn'd heretofore by *Philip*, Father of the Emperour, to *Henry* the Seventh, for fifty thouſand Crowns. The Acquittances, for which payments, together with the Jewell, as the ſame Author confeſſeth to have been ſent to the Emperour, ſo he acknowledgeth, in the manner of it, the great Liberality of our King; who, beſides giving *Francis* foure years Terme, for payment of C D M. Crownes (which, as he ſaith, was the Money lent by our King to *Charles*) did remit and forgive him abſolutely the D.M. Crownes above-mention'd; and, for the Jewell, preſented it to his Godſon *Henry*, ſecond Son of *Francis* by the conveyance of *Guillaume Seigneur de Langey*, whom *Bell. l.* 3. 1505.

1529. whom the French King ſent for that purpoſe into *England*.

Mart. du Bell. l. 3. Beſides this Treaty, I find, by our Records, another at the ſame time and place, made betwixt our King, and the Lady *Margarite*, in the name of the Emperour. Our Kings Commiſſioners being *Cuthbert Tonſtall* Biſhop of *London*, Sir *Thomas More*, Chancellour of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, and Mr. *John Hacket*, our Kings Reſident there. Which yet, becauſe it conteins nothing of extraordinary, but only the Continuation of Traffique for Merchants, and the forbidding to print or ſell any Lutheran books on either ſide, I purpoſely omit.

Sandov. *Francis* underſtanding this concluſion of Peace at *Cambray*, haſteth thither, that he might both render the Lady *Margaret* a viſit, and promiſe not to faile in performance of thoſe Articles his Mother had agreed. Which yet the Spaniſh Writers ſay Hee held no longer than untill the Ambaſſadours of his Confederates in *Italy* came to him; So that, when, together with his breach of League with them, they repreſented their own miſerable eſtate at that preſent, Hee excuſed himſelfe, through the neceſſity of his condition at that time; aſſuring them nevertheleſſe, that, notwithſtanding any Treaty, he would continue his love to and care of them, only when firſt he might have his Children. So that in effect he ſecretly aſſiſted them ſtill; as hoping thereby to defend himſelfe againſt the Emperour, when occaſion were. Which alſo hee extended ſo farre, as, upon preſumption thereof, hee broke ſome Articles lately concluded with the Spaniard. The Newes of this Treaty was no ſooner brought to Queen *Leonora*, but ſhe, for the better complying with her Husband, interceded with the Empreſſe, upon pretence that *Charles* attempted to draw ſome of the Suiſſe (heretofore allyed with *Francis*) unto his ſervice, and that the Children of *Francis* might have ſome more liberty, and the French detein'd in *Villalpando* a leſſe ſtreight Priſon; which alſo was granted her by the Empreſſe.

Jul. 28. Aug. 12. Sandov. For the Emperour taking his opportunity (while the Treaty betwixt the Ladies was in agitation) departed from *Barcellona* the 28th of *July* 1529. and arriv'd at *Genoua* the 12th of *Auguſt* after, with a Royall Train, and about eight thouſand Souldiers. And here (as *Sandoval* obſerves) began the wearing of ſkort haire, (the Emperour cutting off his, as a vow for his paſſage, or, as others have it, for a pain in his Head) long haire having been accuſtomed for many ages before. The Pope, being inform'd of this voyage of the Emperours, ſends ſome Cardinalls to meet him at *Genoua*, himſelf in the mean while, preparing to attend him at *Bononia*. While the Emperour having found a reception from the *Genoueſi*, temper'd betwixt love and feare, did ſo civily interpret all to be reſpect, that He bid them a kind farwell, and ſo held on his way till he came neer the confines of the Popes poſſeſſions. Where three Cardinalls (carrying with them the Book of Ceremonies) met Him; And, after due Congratulations, made it appear that the antient Cuſtome of all thoſe who entred upon the Patrimony of the Church, was, to ſwear firſt not

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to offer any violence to it. The Emperour accepts the Oath, yet ſo as he ſaid he would not prejudice his own Imperiall right. And becauſe this was neer to *Peacenza*, divers underſtood his words to have Relation to that place, which as alſo *Parma*, is ſaid to have belong'd antiently to the Dutchy of *Milan*. The Emperour had now a great Army in *Italy* under the command of *Antonio de Leyva*, which was employ'd cheifly againſt the Venetians, to which it is probable alſo hee would have joyned his own Forces, had not Newes come to him of the great miſchiefs which *Barbaroſſa*, that famous Pirate, did on the Seas, and of the Turks entry into *Hungary* with Two Hundred and fifty thouſand men. For as this ſtartled the Emperour from his deſignes in *Italy*, ſo he conſidered aſwell how uſefull the Pope would be in diſpoſing other Princes to joyn againſt this formidable Army. For which reaſons, as alſo for making his Coronation more glorious, Hee reſolved to proteſt againſt all other enterpriſes, and apply himſelf wholly to that warre. And the rather, that the Turk had lately undertaken the protection of *John Sepuſe*, pretender to the Kingdome of *Hungary*, and now layd Siege to *Vienna*, and endanger'd therein the Ancient Patrimony of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; Beſides, the Proteſtants in *Germany* having, about this time, made ſome high demands, Hee thought it his part to correct or ſuppreſſe them. Only hee judg'd it neceſſary not to give any publike demonſtration thereof, untill the affairs of *Italy* were compos'd. Therefore, he firſt makes a Peace with the Venetians, upon Condition they ſhould reſtore the places withheld in *Naples* from him, and give back to the Pope likewiſe the poſſeſſions of the Church.. Moreover, that they ſhould pay him a great ſumme of Money towards his charges. Which Articles the Venetians (as being in effect abandoned of all their Confederates) gladly accepted, only, when the Duke of *Urbino* (their Generall) might be comprehended therein. Which alſo was accorded. They together with the Pope interceded likewiſe for *Franceſco Sforza*, deſiring he might be reſtor'd to his former Eſtate. The Emperour alſo, conſidering that hee could make no ſecure Peace in *Italy*, unleſſe he remov'd all juſt cauſes of jealouſie, begins to thinke how he might gratifie *Sforza* herein, upon a Propoſition of a Marriage to be made between him, and *Chriſtierna* younger Daughter of the King of *Denmarke*, and *Iſabell*, Siſter to the Emperour; which yet becauſe of her unripeneſſe for Marriage (being now but ten years old) took no effect till 1534. So, that when the buſineſſe of *Florence* might have bin ended, all *Italy* now ſeem'd compos'd to quietneſſe. Theſe things thus ſettled, the Emperour entred *Bononia* about the beginning of *November*, with more glory, doubtleſſe, that he was inform'd how the Turk had rais'd his Siege from *Vienna*, about twenty dayes before. From whence after a Moneths ſiege, Hee was forced to retire by the water of old German Garriſon commanded by *Philip* Count *Palatine*, having done nothing notable, but crowned with his own Hand at *Buda*. *John Sepute* King of *Hungary*.

1529. Sept. 1534. Novemb. 5.

1529. *gary*. His reception alſo was Magnificent, while the youth of that City having apparell'd themſelves in a Livery, attended his Horſe like Laquais, that they might have the better pretence to be neer him. After whom followed his Army, ſome choice perſons whereof carried *Antonino de Leyva* on their ſhoulders; (though whether in regard of his antient infirmity of the Gout, or otherwiſe, for more oſtentation, is not certain.) In which equipage hee went to the Church of *St. Petronio*, at the gate whereof the Pope, having rais'd a high Throne upon a ſcaffold, and placed himſelfe on the top, with his *Tiara* or Triple-Crown on his Head, and, for the reſt, attended with a great traine of Cardinalls, did in that poſture expect him. The Emperour alighting here from his Horſe aſcended the ſteps, and humbled himſelfe to a kiſſe of the Popes foot, which the Pope preſenty diverted to a Pax or kiſſe on the cheek. Which Ceremony as it attracted all mens eyes, ſo was it the more conſiderable unto the ſpectators, that the conjunction of thoſe two great lights (as they termed it) could not but portend ſome ſtrange effect to Chriſtendome. *Charles* was then about twenty nine, that is to ſay in the prime age to temper his countenance betwixt lovelineſſe and Majeſtie; though nothing yet, in his face, was ſo remarkable as his great nether-lip. Which *Sandoval* will have to be peculiarly deriv'd to that family (even to this day) from the Houſe of *Burgundy*. The Pope though gray, retain'd yet much vigour in his eyes, though obſerved for nothing ſo much as his beard, which not only hee, but alſo all the Cardinalls, as our Agent *Richard Crooke* hath it, wore at a great length, beſides, he ſaid, many of them had their Robes or Veſtures of a Violet colour, inſtead of Scarlet, appearing, for the reſt, (as the ſame *Crooke* relates) in their faſhions ſomewhat ſouldier-like. This Interview being paſt, not without a ſerious Proteſtation of the Emperours, that he would ſtrive to reduce the affairs of Religion into better termes, they both lodged in the ſame Houſe, for the more conveniency of that private conference, which often paſt betwixt them: which alſo continued for ſome Moneths before they departed. Whereof though it were thought that the Emperour would make his advantage, as having the Pope in his power and Cuſtody; Yet the Pope and Venetians ſo manag'd the buſineſſe, as, joyning offices together (as is above ſaid) they obtein'd that *Francesco Sforza* ſhould be admitted to the Emperours preſence, and in ſequence thereof not only pardon'd, but reſtor'd to the Dutchy of *Milan*. Which act of the Emperours, as it was magnanimous beyond expectation, ſo was it no leſſe opportune; both as it quieted not the Eſtates alone, but even minds of the Italians; and, as hee diſpos'd them thereby to give him their beſt aſſiſtance towards his great affaires in *Germany*. Beſides, he excludes *Francis* from hope of attempting that Dutchy, unleſſe he would declare himſelfe an open diſturber of the Peace of *Italy*. Hee did not omit yet, to Capitulate with *Sforza*, that the Marquis *de Guaſto*, and *Antonio de Leyva* ſhould have certain lands aſſign'd them out of the Dutchy, and that he might

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put Garriſons in ſome of the moſt important places thereof, till conditions were perform'd. Shortly after which a kind of univerſall League, under pretence of the good of Chriſtendome, was by the Popes means concluded, (place being left for thoſe that would to enter into it) which alſo was publiſh'd the firſt of *January* 1530. in the Cathedrall Church of *St. Petronio*. And thus, the Emperour proceeded to his Coronation in *Bononia*, whither the Crown of Iron (which ſhould be receiv'd at *Milan*) being brought, and after put on in the Popes Chappell ; The other, of Gold, was ſet on his Head, *Febr.* 24. (which was his birth day) by the Pope in the great Church, with many Ceremonies. Among which I find none more Notable, than that the Emperour, by antient cuſtome, muſt firſt put on the habit of a Canon of *Sancta Maria dellatorre* in *Rome*, and after that of a Deacon, before they can be compleatly inveſted in this Imperiall dignity, the Pope the mean while ſaying Maſſe, both in Latine and in Greeke. The Rites whereof appear'd ſo much more new and ſtrange, that ſince the time of *Frederick*, 1442, no Emperour had been publickely Crowned. This being done, *Franceſco Sforza* was reſtor'd to an actuall poſſeſſion of his Eſtate. The Emperour placing only a Commander in the Fortreſſe or Cittadell of *Milan*, and another in *Como*, And cauſing the City of *Monzo* with vaſt poſſeſſions to be given *Antonio de Leyva*. Having thus ſetled *Lombardy*, Hee commandeth his Army to march againſt the Florentines, whom the Pope paſſionatly deſir'd to chaſtiſe for the many Injuries his name and Family had lately received from them.

1529.

Jan 1. 1530.

Feb. 22. *Feb.* 24.

1442.

All which ſignes of amity and correſpondence being advertis'd to our King, by *Crooke*, and other his Agents in *Italy*, it was eaſie to imagine what hope of favour hee might expect from the Pope in his important Buſineſſe, yet, leſt he ſhould omit any thing which might ſerve for Juſtification of his Honour and Dignity in a lawfull way, Hee ſent to the moſt famous Univerſities in *Italy*, and elſe-where, to have their opinions concerning the Divorce. Not offering any way to prevaile himſelf either of his own power among his Clergie, or of the Counſell the Pope had formerly given him, till hee had firſt diſcover'd what the learned'ſt men in Chriſtendome held in that point. Hee alſo writ Letters with his own hand to the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and Sir *Gregory Caſalis*, (then with the Pope) to tell them, that hee had ſent Sir *Tho. Bolen*, (newly created) Earle of *Wiltſhire* and *Ormond*, with *John Stokeſley*, Elect Biſhop of *London*, and *Edward Lee*, as his Ambaſſadours to the Emperour, and that they ſhould adviſe together what was to be done. Theſe comming to *Bononia*, after ſome paſſages with the Emperour, who told them he could not deſert his Aunts Cauſe, repayred to the Pope ; to whom, having propoſed the Kings affaire, they received this Anſwer from him ; That, though he was urg'd by the Queens Sollicitor to proceed againſt the King, yet Hee deſired rather that all proceeding ſhould be ſuſpended in the Roman Court, upon Condition yet that King *Henry*, on the other

Decem. 8. 1529. *Jan.* 20. 1530.

March 26. 1530.

1529. ſide, would promiſe, not to Innovate any thing in the mean while in *England*. Whereof information being given our King, Hee anſwered, That his Holineſſe hath fed him hitherto with faire words only, without intent to aide him, as appear'd lately by denying his Ambaſſadours Audience to juſtifie his Cauſe.

Octob. 26. 1529. In the mean while our King attends his Parliament buſineſſe, where Sir *Thomas More*, who was now returned from the Treaty at *Cambray*, being (in reward of his ſervice) made Lord Chancellour, gave in an eloquent Oration, at the Parliament-Chamber in Black-Friers, the firſt overtures of the Kings intentions in that Parliament. To

Novemb. 3. *Reg.* 21. which, our King, attended with his Nobles, repair'd from his adjoyning Palace of *Bridewell*, *Thomas Audley* being choſen Speaker for the lower Houſe. And as now *Luthers* doctrine was ſecretly admitted into many places of this Kingdome, with much approbation, ſo it gave thoſe impreſſions, as even the moſt ignorant began to examine whether the errours then ordinarily controverted did belong to the Doctrine, or to the Government of the Church. And this alone as it was the firſt ſtep, ſo was it a great and bold ſalley towards that Reformation which followed afterwards. Yet as Learning was not then commonly found among thoſe, who in their ſtudies had no other deſigne but truth, and ſatisfying their conſcience; ſo few underſtood the ſtate of the queſtions propos'd, ſave only they, who being of the Party, either for their own private Intereſt would not retract, or for feare of unſettling the received Grounds of Religion in mens Hearts, thought it dangerous to permit an Innovation; which yet prov'd a pernicious and fatall Solæciſme. For whereas, in the beginning, a voluntary Mitigation of the Rigour of ſome of the late doctrines of the Roman Church, and a benigne Interpretation of the reſt, might have conſerved an univerſall Peace among Chriſtians, they now, by an obſtinate and wilfull impugning of all thoſe who ſaid it was poſſible for them to erre, did leave the undertaking of this great Worke either to diſcontented Clergy-men, or to the more Laique and improvident ſort; Which therefore as it prov'd in ſome kind, tumultuous and refractary, ſo certainly the Authors on either ſide were much to be blamed, When in handling of Controverſies, they either, out of affectation of glory, or hope of gaining large ſtipends from their followers (upon pretence of revealing ſome new or readier way for obtaining Heaven and everlaſting ſalvation) did teach divers peremptory, and uncharitable Doctrines. Whereas yet, according to the Rules both of Piety and wiſdome, they ſhould have proceeded more moderatly; conſerving, in the midſt of their differences, a brotherly love, and pronouncing the errours, on what part ſoever, more worthy pitty than hate. Which rule yet was ſo little obſerv'd in *England*, that many Reformers books, and perſons were publikely burnt, while their Diſciples (for Revenge) fell foule upon the perſons of their adverſaries, ſetting forth Books to the prejudice of the whole Eccleſiaſticall Order. Which comming at laſt to the Kings know-

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ledge made Him enquire further into the Abuſes of the Clergy, permitting the Redreſſe thereof to the lower Houſe of Parliament; Where Complaint for Probats of Teſtaments and Mortuaries, of Pluralities, Nonreſidence, and Prieſts that were Farmers of Lands, &c. being made, the Spiritualty was much offended, and eſpecially *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, who (as our Hiſtory hath it) in a Paſſionate Speech told the Lords, That the Commons would nothing now but down with the Church. Saying further, that all this was for want of Faith; aggravating the danger the Kingdome was in, by the Example of *Bohemia*. The Lower Houſe being inform'd hereof, ſent the King a Complaint by their Speaker; deſiring Reparation. But *Fiſher* excuſing himſelfe as hee could, Sir *William Fitz-Williams* on the part of the King, mediated the reſt. Notwithſtanding which, the Injury was not ſo digeſted, but that one who had made uſe of the Evangeliques Doctrine ſo farre, as to take a reaſonable liberty to judge of the preſent times, and howſoever was offended that the Biſhop Rejected all on want of Faith, ſpoke to this effect. 1529.

If none elſe but the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* or his Adherents, did hold this Language, it would leſſe trouble me. But ſince ſo many Religious and different Sects (now conſpicuous in the whole World) doe not only vindicate unto themſelves the name of the true Church, but labour betwixt Invitations and Threats for nothing more than to make us Reſigne our Faith to a ſimple Obedience; I ſhall crave leave to propoſe, what I think fit (in this caſe) for us Laiques and Secular Perſons to doe. Not that I will make my Opinion a Rule to others, when any better Expedient ſhall be offered; but that I would be glad wee conſidered hereof, as the greateſt Affaire that now or hereafter may concern us.

For if in all humane Actions it be hard to find that *medium* or even temper which may keep us from declining into extreams, it will be much more difficult in Religious Worſhip; both as the path is ſuppoſed narrower, and the Precipices more dangerous on every ſide. And becauſe each man is Created by God a free Citizen of the World, and obliged to nothing ſo much as the inquirie of thoſe means by which he may attaine his Everlaſting Happineſſe, it will be fit to examine to whoſe tuition and Conduct Hee commit himſelfe. For, as ſeverall Teachers, not only differing in Language, Habit and Ceremony (or at leaſt in ſome of theſe) but Peremptory and oppoſite in their Doctrines, preſent themſelves, much circumſpection muſt be uſed. Here then taking his Proſpect, Hee ſhall find theſe Guides directing Him to ſeverall wayes; whereof the firſt yet extends no further than to the Lawes and Religions of each mans native Soyle or Dioceſſe, without paſſing thoſe bounds. The ſecond, Reaching much further, branches it ſelfe into that diverſity of Religions and Philoſophies, that not only are, but have been extant in former times, untill Hee be able to determine which is beſt. But in either of theſe, no little difficulties will occurre. For, if each man

1529. ought to be ſecure of all that is taught at home, without enquiring further, How can Hee Anſwer his Conſcience? When looking abroad, the terrors of Everlaſting Damnation ſhall be denounced on Him, by the ſeverall Hierarchies and viſible Churches of the world, if Hee believe any Doctrine but theirs. And that, amongſt theſe again, ſuch able and underſtanding Perſons may be found, as, in all other affaires, will equall his Teachers. Will it be fit that Hee believe, God hath inſpir'd His Church and Religion only, and deſerted the reſt; when yet Mankind is ſo much of one off-ſpring, that it hath not only the ſame *Pater Communis* in God, but is come all from the ſame Carnal Anceſtors? Shall each Man, without more Examination, believe his Prieſts in what Religion ſoever, and, when Hee hath done, call their Doctrine his Faith? On the other ſide, if Hee muſt argue Controverſies before Hee can bee ſatisfied, How much leiſure muſt Hee obtaine? How much Wealth and Subſtance muſt Hee Conſume? How many Languages muſt Hee learn? And how many Authors muſt Hee Reade? How many Ages muſt Hee look into? How many Faiths muſt Hee examine? How many Expoſitions muſt Hee conferre? And how many Contradictions Reconcile? how many Countries muſt Hee wander into? And how many dangers muſt Hee run? Briefly, would not our life on theſe termes bee a perpetuall Peregrination? While each man Poſted into the others Country, to learn the way to Heaven, without yet that Hee could ſay at laſt, Hee had known or tryed all. What remains then to be done? Muſt Hee take all that each Prieſt upon pretence of Inſpiration would teach him? becauſe it might be ſo, or may Hee leave all, becauſe it might be otherwiſe? Certainly, to embrace all Religions, according to their various and repugnant Rites, Tenents, Traditions, and Faiths, is impoſſible, when yet in one Age it were poſſible (after incredible Paines and Expences) to learn out, and number them. On the other ſide, to reject all Religions is as impious; there being no Nation, that in ſome kind or other doth not worſhip God. So that there will be a neceſſity to diſtinguiſh. Not yet that any man will be able, upon Compariſon, to diſcern which is the perfecteſt, among the many profeſſed in the whole world; (each of them being of that large extent, that no mans underſtanding will ſerve to comprehend it in its uttermoſt Latitude, and ſignification,) But (at leaſt) that every man might vindicate and ſever, in His particular Religion, the more Eſſentiall and demonſtrative parts, from the reſt, without being mov'd ſo much at the Threats and Promiſes of any other Religion, that would make Him obnoxious, as to depart from this way: There being no Ordinary method ſo intelligible, ready, and compendious for the conducting each man to his deſired end. Having thus therefore recollected Himſelfe, and together implored the aſſiſtance of that Supreme God, whom all Nations acknowledge; Hee muſt labour, in the next place, to find out, what Inward Means, His Providence hath doliver'd, to diſcerne the True, not only from the

Falſe,

False, but even from the Likely, and Possible; each of them requiring a peculiar scrutiny and consideration. Neither shall he fly thus to Particular Reason, which may soon lead Him to Heresie; but, after a due separation of the more Doubtfull and Controverted parts, shall hold Himself to Common, Authentique, and universall Truths, and consequently informe Himselfe, what, in the severall Articles proposed to Him, is so taught, as it is first written in the Heart, and together deliver'd in all the Lawes and Religions Hee can hear of in the whole world; For this certainly can never deceive Him; Since therein Hee shall find out how farre the Impressions of Gods Wisdome and Goodnesse are extant in all Mankind, and to what degrees His Universall providence hath dilated it selfe: While thus ascending to God by the same stepps Hee descends to us, Hee cannot faile to encounter the Divine Majesty. Neither ought it to trouble Him, if Hee find these truths variously complicated with Difficulties or Errors; since, without insisting on more points than what are clearly agreed, on every side, it will be His part to reduce them into Method and order; which also is not hard, they being but few, and apt for connexion; So that it will concern our severall Teachers to imitate us in this Doctrine, before they come to any particular direction; lest, otherwise they doe like those who would perswade us to renounce day-light, to study only by their candle. It will be worth the labour, assuredly, to inquire how farre these Universall Notions will guide us, before wee commit our selves to any of their abstruse and scholastique Mysteries, or Supernaturall and private Revelations. Not yet, but that they also may Challenge a just place in our Beliefe, when they are deliver'd upon warrantable Testimony; but that they cannot be understood as so indifferent and unfallible Principles for the instruction of All Mankind. Thus, among many supposed Inferiour and questionable Deities, worshipped in the foure Quarters of the World, we shall find one Chiefe so taught us, as above others to be highly Reverenced. 1529

Among many Rites, Ceremonies, and Volumes, *&c.* deliver'd us as Instruments or parts of His Worship, Hee shall find Vertue so eminent, as it alone concludes and summes up the rest. Insomuch as there is no Sacrament which is not finally resolv'd into it; Good life, Charity, Faith in, and love of God, being such necessary and essentiall parts of Religion, that all the rest are finally clos'd, and determin'd in them.

Among the many Expiations, Lustrations, and Propitiations for our sinnes, taught in the severall quarters of the World, in sundry times, We shall find that none doth availe without hearty sorrow for our sinnes, and a true Repentance towards God, whom wee have offended.

And lastly amids the divers Places and manners of Reward and Punishment, which former Ages have deliver'd, Wee shall find Gods Justice and mercy not so limited, but that Hee can extend either of them

1529. them even beyond death, and consequently Recompence or Chastise eternally. These therefore, as universall and undoubted Truths, should in my opinion be first Receiv'd. They wil at least keep us from Impiety and Atheism, and together lay a foundation for Gods service, and the Hope of a better life. Besides, it will reduce mens minds from uncertain, and controverted Points, to a solid practise of Vertue, or when wee fall from it, to an unfeigned Repentance, and purpose through Gods grace to amend our sinfull life, without making Pardon so easie, cheap or mercenary, as some of them doe. Lastly, it will dispose us to a generall Concord and Peace: For when wee are agreed concerning these Eternall causes and means of our Salvation, Why should wee so much differ for the rest? since as these Principles exclude nothing of Faith, or Tradition, in what Age or manner soever it interven'd; each Nation may be permitted the Belieſe of any Pious Miracle that conduceth to Gods Glory; without that, on this occasion, we need to scandalize or offend each other. The common Truths in Religion formerly mentioned, being firmer bonds of Unity, than that any thing emergent out of Traditions (whether written or unwritten) should dissolve them. Let us, therefore, establish and fix these Catholike or Universall Notions. They will not hinder us to believe whatsoever els is faithfully taught upon the Authority of the Church. So that, whether the Eastern, Western, Northern, or Southern Teachers, &c. and particularly whether my Lord of *Rochester*, *Luther*, *Eccius*, *Zuinglius*, *Erasmus*, *Melanthon*, *&c.* be in the Right, Wee Laiques may so build upon those Catholike and Infallible grounds of Religion, as whatsoever superstructures of Faith be rais'd, these Foundations yet may support them.

But as few men are of the same mind in all Points of Religion, so this Overture was entertain'd diversly: Some desiring to passe further than such generall Notions, others again not finding how the divine Providence could bee sufficiently conserv'd to all mankind unlesse these did suffice. The resultance whereof finally was that a Reformation was pray'd, as farre as might bee, in Religion: Though when Particulars were examin'd, it was found, that some diseases therein were like that of *Cancer Occultus*, which Physicians say, it is more safe to let alone, than to Cure. Yet as it was manifest that in Probats of Testaments, Pluralitie of benefices, and divers other wayes above mention'd, the Clergie had incroach'd and usurp'd both upon each other, and upon the Laity for many Ages, so they would now omit no longer to give a redresse to these grosse faults. Therefore about last Wills and Testaments, which Cardinall *Woolseys* Legatine power had so disordred (as Sir *Henry Guilford* protested openly, that Himselfe being, with others, Executors of the Will of Sir *William Compton* (who dyed 1528. of the sweating sickneſſe) could not obtain a Probat from the Cardinall, and Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, before hee had payed a 1000 Marks) some profitable orders were made. And the businesse of Mortuaries (exacted with much extremi-

extremity even on the pooreſt) was ſetled. Moreover Spirituall Perſons were abridg'd from taking of Farmes, and from Plurality of Livings, unleſſe they were qualified, either by certain Univerſity Degrees, or by the Nobility, to whom a competent number of Chaplaines were aſſign'd. Nonreſidence alſo (then very uſuall) was forbidden, but in ſome Caſes, and for the reſt explained, and interpreted. An Act alſo paſs'd for a Generall Pardon of all offences, Forfeitures, puniſhments, *&c.* except Murders, and Treaſons, which the King granted by way of gratifying His Subjects, for a Releaſe of a great Lone of money from them *Anno* 15 *H.*VIII. which motioned and aſſented to by the Lords, was with much adoe, Confirmed by the Lower Houſe. After which was enacted a Statute for abridging Plaints in Aſſize, which being Complicate before were reduced to a more ſingle method. And this was much to the eaſe of the Subjects. It was alſo declared Felony for ſervants to imbeſile their Maſters goods to the value of forty ſhillings and upwards. And order taken, that, after a Felon was attainted (but not before) the ſtolne goods might be reſtored. Furthermore, it was provided particularly, that no Braſſe ſhould bee carried beyond Sea. Which ſeems to regard principally making of great Ordnance; (about this time appearing of great uſe.) Artificers ſtrangers alſo were reſtrain'd to certain rules. As that they might not keep above two ſtrangers ſervants in their houſe. That they ſhould beare ſuch charges as Naturall ſubjects did, paying all ſubſidies, *&c.* and take an Oath to be true and obedient to the King and his Lawes. That they ſhould have no Conventicles, but meet in the Common Halls of their Craft. That they ſhould nor have Journey-men or Prentices ſtrangers above ten at a time. Moreover, authority was given to the Preſident of the Kings Counſell to aſſociate with the Chancellour, Treaſurer, and Keeper of the Privy Seal, *&c.* both for the puniſhment of Ryots, and unlawfull aſſemblies, *&c.* and ſetting of priſes of Wines, as alſo all other Acts, limited and appointed by any Statute to be done by the Chancellour, Treaſurer, and Keeper of the Privy Seale, *&c.* Other Lawes alſo were enacted, which for being meerly Legall, and therefore relative chiefly to the Maſters of the Law, or otherwiſe Mechanicall, or at leaſt ſo particular, that they belong not properly to Hiſtory, I purpoſely omit. And ſo, a weeke before Chriſtmas, the Parliament was prorogued to the yeare following. 1529 *Decemb.* 17.

Before yet I come to the yeare 1530. I muſt not omit to mention *Haradin Barbaroſſa* that famous Pirate, who, from a low and obſcure beginning, had, by his valour and conduct (as wee have before touched) obtained the Kingdome of *Argel.* For being not fortunate alone by Sea, when he landed his men, hee did, with no leſſe ſucceſſe attempt divers ſtrong places; So that hee was generally feared; and the rather, that one *Haradin*, call'd *Caca-diablo*, *Sinan* a Jew, and many other notable *Picarones* had ranged themſelves under him; Whereby his Forces were ſo increaſed, that no Navigation was ſecure in *Sandov.* 1518.

1529. in the parts adjoyning to him. This year (particularly) Hee had taken *Penon de Velez* from the Spaniard, and defeated a Fleet of theirs
May 21. shortly after. And now his Designe was to make himselfe Master of
Octob. 25. the Seas from *Gibraltar* to *Sicily*. For preventing whereof the Emperour employed divers, but infortunatly, Insomuch that *Andrea Doria* himselfe, though recovering some Ships out of the Haven of *Sargel*, where part of *Barbarossa*'s Sea forces (under the command of one *Haly*, a Pirat of *Tunes*) rode at Anchor; yet when he caused some Souldiers to be landed to attempt the Castle; *Haly* gathering a few resolute men together, charg'd them desperatly, and gave them a repulse with the losse of so many as made *Doria* desist from his enterprize; Which being advertis'd to the Emperour, made him resolve to Invade *Barbarossa* in his own Country, the successe whereof shall be related hereafter. The contents of my History requiring mee now to Speake of the Florentines; On whom as the Pope passionatly desir'd to be reveng'd, so the Emperour, having his pretences also, did for complying with him, send an Army thither under the Cõmand of *Philibert* Prince of *Aurange*, the Marquis of *Guasto*, *Juan de Urbino*, and others of note, and about twenty six thousand men. The Pope yet used distinction; for if he desired that the enemies of his Name and Family with their adherents should be punished, hee intreated aswell that the City and the Country (whereof he was a Native) should be spared. But as Prince *de Aurange* thought this a subtiltie fitter for a Schooleman than a Souldier, he undertook them together. While *Malatesta Baglioni* a brave Gentleman associated with *Francesco Carduci*, and ten others were chosen the chiefe Directours of the Florentine affairs. And by their advice the smaller Places of *Poscana* (for avoyding that finall desolation that assaults doe bring) yeelded themselves betime. Yet so as *Juan de Urbino*, a souldier of note was kill'd at one of them.
Sept. 16. And thus siege was layd to that faire City; the Suburbs whereof being weak, were thrown down, that they might the better fortifie their Ramparts, and especially care taken to keep a passage for Victuals open. Yet as the warre was thought to proceed out of unkindnesse rather than hate, so divers of the more innocent sort perswaded the rest
1530. to implore the Popes mercy. The resultance whereof was, that at last an Ambassade was sent. But as by the craft of the adverse party, election was made of mean and despicable persons, the designe was eluded; the Pope not vouchsafing so much as to heare them. This made them resolve to defend themselves. Insomuch that all their fear being now actuated into desperation, they by continuall sallyes (as well by night as day) not only wearied the assiegers, and slew divers of their ablest Commanders, but finally kill'd *Philibert* Prince of *Au-*
Aug. 3. *range* himself, who being young, valiant, and liberall, was much la-
1530. mented among the Souldiers. Famine, yet, at last pressing the Florentines, a parly was propos'd; but the more daring sort (chooſing rather to dye with their Armes in their hands, than to yeeld to the Incensed Pope) sallied forth with that fury and disorder, that one would

would have thought they pretended not ſo much to Victory, as to ſome other death then Hunger. The more unquiet ſort, being thus at length worn out and ſpent, the reſt, by the means of *Malateſta*, came to a compoſition with the Emperour, (the Pope alſo, out of Compaſſion to his Country, conſenting to it) upon theſe termes; That they ſhould pay 80000. Duckets towards the charge of the Army. That their popular Government ſhould bee chang'd to Monarchicall, under the rule and Dominion of *Aleſſandro de Medici* (ſon of *Lorenzo* late Duke of *Urbin*) and his Heirs; their antient Priviledges being nevertheleſſe reſerved. And thus, after above ten Moneths Siege, the City was rendred to the Emperour; who, for more ample teſtimony of his favour, beſtowed *Margarite* his naturall Daughter upon *Aleſſandro de Medici* together with the title of Duke. I find, yet by a private diſpatch, that hee was not very well pleas'd with theſe Articles; as beleeving he might have made more advantage of his conqueſt, though, for contenting the Pope, He gave way to it, as being now intentive wholly to the Buſineſſe of *Germany*. For as the affaires of Religion in thoſe parts, together with the Invaſion of the Turk requir'd his preſence, ſo hee departed from *Italy*, about five Moneths before the reddition of that place: making (in his way) the Marquis of *Mantua* a Duke, and receiving his brother *Ferdinand* at *Inſpruch*, with much demonſtration of love. Where alſo he advis'd concerning the preſent Eſtate and diſpoſition, not of the Affaires only, but even perſons and Favorites of thoſe with whom he was to Treat. So that, comming at laſt to *Augsburg*, where a generall Diet and Aſſembly was appointed, with much ſolemnity (the Electors and other Princes of *Germany* meeting there) hee requir'd their Grievances. The account whereof yet I muſt omit a while, that I may come to the reſtitution of *Francis* his Children.

1529

Auguſt.

March 22.

June 18.

The Jewell, Money, and Acquittances requir'd for diſcharge of his pretious Hoſtages, being now gotten together, *Francis* would no longer delay to performe his agreement. Only as hee confeſt himſelf much enabled hereunto by the ſpeciall goodneſſe and bounty of our King, ſo hee fail'd not to take his advice on all occaſions. And thus, the day being come, *Anne de Montmorencie*, Grand Maiſtre of *France*, and *Hernando de Velaſco Condeſtable de Caſtilla* were choſen by both Princes for the perſons to whoſe fidelity and care they thought fit to commend this important buſineſſe. And becauſe the Cautions and Difficulties were many, they agreed upon certain Articles, the moſt ſubſtantiall whereof (beſides thoſe extant in the Treaty of *Cambray* to which Relation muſt be had) were theſe following.

March 10.

May 26.

I. That a Bridge or *Pontone*, of forty foot long, and fifteen broad ſhould be erected upon Boats faſtned with Anchors upon the midſt of the River betwixt *Fuentarabie* and *Andaya*; whereupon the Exchange ſhould be made.

II. That no troops of Horſe ſhould be within ten Leagues of the place for ten dayes before, and ten dayes after the delivery, Nor no conſide-

1529. conſiderable number of foot, And that no Gentlemen ſhould paſſe that way, but thoſe who were appointed.

III. That at the day of delivery no Company of men or women ſhould be within three Leagues of the Place.

IIII. That in *Fuentarabie* there ſhould be none but the ordinary Garriſon, being fifty men, and that the Cannon ſhould bee diſmounted.

V. That a hundred Horſe, and foure hundred Foot, (which afterwards was reduced to a leſſe number) ſhould be allowed on either ſide to come to the bank of the River.

VI. That twelve Perſons ſhould be admitted on either ſide to paſſe over and ſee theſe Articles obſerv'd; And that two Galleons ſhould coaſt the River, with equall numbers of both Nations to prevent ſurpriſes.

VII. That the Money ſhould be brought in one Shallop, and the Hoſtages in another to the two ſides of the Bridge; And that, for Counter-ballancing the money, ſo much Iron ſhould be put in the other.

VIII. That in the Shallop of the Hoſtages ſhould be twelve Spaniards, the *Condeſtable*, and *Seigneur de Praet* being comprehended, and *Mons' de Briſac* a Frenchman, with ſwords and daggers, the Hoſtages having daggers only. And that the like number and Armes ſhould be permitted to *Montmorency* in the other Shallop. And one *Alvaro de Lugo*, a Spaniard with two Pages to go along with them in lieu of the Hoſtages, and twelve Oares on either part unarm'd.

IX. That comming both at the ſame time to the two ſides of the Bridge, the *Condeſtable, & Montmorency* ſhould land firſt on the ſaid Bridge, and call to them in equall number their Companies. And that the Spaniards ſhould paſſe into the Shallop where the Money and Writings and Jewells were, along the one ſide of a Barriere erected, and the French, on the other Shallop of the Hoſtages.

X. That Queen *Leonora* ſhould goe in a Shallop a part with ſix Ladies attendants, the reſt being eight Cavaliers, and ſix Oares of either Nation; but that ſhe ſhould not paſſe till the Exchange were made. Notwithſtanding which Agreement ſo much time was employ'd in counting, weighing, and examining the money, that many weeks preceding were ſpent before they could accord of the payment. The Spaniard finding the Gold to want of its purity, and the Deſchec or loſſe being valued at 40000 Crownes. Beſides, as the River on the Spaniſh ſhore was ſhallower than on the French, there wanted not ſome Jealouſie and wrangling. Howſoever, at length the delivery
July 1. was made. Whereof *Francis* being advertis'd did poſt from *Bourdeauz* to *Varin*, where with much joy Hee receiv'd his Children, and Queen *Leonora de Seres*, Whom alſo hee married an houre before the day following.

And now *Francis* remembring how much it concern'd him to correſpond

correſpond with our King (to whom hee owed firſt his own, and next his Childrens liberty) ſent over to acquaint him therewith. 1530

Our King alſo conſidering that *Francis* being now diſ-ingag'd might more freely declare himſelf, did (by a particular meſſage) not only make known the little hope hee had of the Popes favour in his particular buſineſſe, but deſir'd that Kings aſſiſtance, for obtaining the reſolution of the Univerſities and learned men in his Kingdome concerning the lawfulneſſe of his Marriage, for which purpoſe Hee induced *Guillaume de Bellay* (ſent by *Francis* to him in the beginning of this yeare) to cooperate, with them, as alſo thoſe of *Italy* and *Germany*, not omitting together to employ at *Paris*, his Kinſman, and Beneficiary, *Reginald Pole*, with Sir *Francis Bryan*, and *Edward Fox*, Maſter *William Paget* (after) being ſent to *Orleans*, & *Tholouſe*, and *Francis* together readily promiſing his aſſiſtance. And becauſe our King had many Agents about this time employ'd in *Italy*, as namely Doctor *Richard Croke* (a man excellent in the Greek tongue) at *Padua*; *Hierome de Ghinucci* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Gregory Caſalis* at *Rome*; Doctor *Stokesley* at *Venice*, *Thomas Cranmer* (afterwards ArchBiſhop of *Canterbury*) *Andreas* and *Johannes Caſalis*, and *Previdellus*; hee had enough to doe: while ſometimes he laboured to reconcile, and ſometimes again to make uſe of their various Advertiſements. *Stokesley* writ (in a Letter dated 13th *June*) that he had gotten the Opinions of the Univerſity of *Bononia*; and that more would have concurr'd, had not the Pope contradicted. *Croke* ſaid, the Pope and Emperour threatned all that ſubſcrib'd in favor of the Kings cauſe. He writes alſo, that the Emperour's Ambaſſador in *Padua*, challeng'd one Fryer *Thomas*, for favouring the Kings cauſe, and told him, If this Concluſion ſhould take effect, many of the greateſt Princes of Chriſtendom ſhould bee diſherited, or taken as Illegitimate; accounting in thoſe as well the Emperour, as the King of *Portugall*. Notwithſtanding which, he had gotten 80 principal mens hands a good while ſince, and had obteined thirty more, which yet, by their means, were burnt. By a Letter alſo of *Crokes* 24th *Auguſt*, It appears, that the Emperor labour'd with the State of *Venice*, to oppoſe the King in his Demand. Furthermore hee proteſted none would take money (Lawyers only excepted) for delivering their opinions, though he forced ſometimes a ſmall reward on them when they had done. Which particular Doctor *Stokeſley* (in a Diſpatch, 23th *September* 1530.) did confirme; ſaying, it was their manner both in *Padua* and *Bononia* to reſuſe mony with theſe words, *quod a Spiritu ſancto gratis accepimus, gratis & libenter impertimur*. Moreover *Croke*, by a Letter 31th *Auguſt* 1530, ſaid, *Cæſar minis, precibus, pretio, & ſacerdotiis, partim territat noſtros, partim confirmat ſuos*: Certifying our King further, that *Andreas Caſalis*, & *Previdellus* did reveale his Highnes ſecrets to the Cæſarians: In Concluſion I find that many would have given their opinion in favour of the Divorce, if they durſt. So that though the Kings Agents did now and then differ in ſome points, they all yet agreed that moſt of the learned men in thoſe parts would have favour'd the King in the

Mart. du Bell.

June 13.

June 22.

July 4.

Aug 24.

Sep. 23.

Aug 31.

1530. point of his Divorce, had not the Pope and Emperour oppugned it. *Croke* addes further, that the Emperour got ſome hands in *Mantua* for Money, but they were of the meaner ſort. Whereas twenty nine Doctors in that place had freely ſubſcribed on his Highneſſe part. Now as *Gregory Caſalis* ſeem'd among all his Highneſſe Agents, at this time, the moſt induſtrious, ſo hee ſollicited the Pope continually on our Kings behalfe, not neglecting alſo the Cæſarians, to whom hee gave, and from whom he received that intelligence, as hee made advantage of all. By which dangerous and ſuſpected wiſdome yet hee prevail'd ſo farre, that at length hee had Authority, as it ſeems, to write this following Diſpatch, which I have caus'd faithfully to be tranſcrib'd out of the Originall.

SErenissime & Potentissime Domine Rex, Domine mi ſupreme, humillima commendatione præmiſſa, Salutem, & fœlicitatem. Superioribus diebus, Pontifex ſecreto, veluti rem quam magni faceret, mihi propoſuit conditionem hujuſmodi, Concedi poſſe veſtræ Majeſtati, ut duas uxores habeat; Cui dixi, nolle me Provinciam ſuſcipere ea de Re ſcribendi, ob eam Cauſam, quod ignorarem an inde veſtræ Conſcientiæ ſatisfieri poſſet, quam veſtra Majeſtas imprimis exonerare cupit. Cur autem ſic Reſponderem, illud in cauſa fuit, quod ex certo loco, unde quæ Cæſariani moliantur aucupari ſoleo, exploratum certumq; habebam, Cæſarianos illud ipſum quærere & procurare. Quem vero ad finem id quarant, pro certo exprimere non auſim. Id certe totum veſtræ prudentiæ Conſiderandum relinquo. Et quamvis dixerim Pontifici, nihil me de eo Scripturum, nolui tamen Majeſtati veſtræ hoc reticere; quæ ſciat omni me induſtria laboraſſe, in iis quæ nobis mandat, exequendis. Et cum Anconitano qui me familialiter uti ſolet, omnia ſum Conatus. De omnibus autem me [ad] communes Literas rejicio. Optime valeat veſtra Majeſtas. Romæ die xviii. Septembris, MDXXX.

C. V. Majeſtatis
Humilliſſimus Servus
Gregorius Caſalis.

How this Letter was believed or accepted yet, doth not appeare to me, So that althongh *Melanthon* is ſaid to have concurr'd in ſome ſuch opinion, no effect followed thereof. For I find, that at this very time, King *Henry*, jealous of the Queenes, or (as our Hiſtorians ſay) of *Woolſey*'s procuring Bulls againſt him, ſet forth this Proclamation, *September* 19.

Sept. 19 Hall.

THe Kings Highneſſe ſtreightly Chargeth and Commandeth, that no manner of Perſon of what Eſtate, degree or condition ſoever, hee or they be of, doe purchaſe, or attempt to purchaſe from the Court of *Rome*, or elſe-where, nor uſe and put in Execution, divulge or publiſh any thing heretofore within this year paſſed purchaſed, or to be purchaſed hereafter, conteining matter prejudiciall to the

the high Authority, Juriſdiction, and Prerogative Royall of this his ſaid Realm, or to the lett, hinderance, or impeachment of his Graces Noble and vertuous intended purpoſes in the Premiſes; upon pain of incurring his Highneſſe Indignation, and Impriſonment, and farther puniſhment of their Bodies, for their ſo doing, at his Graces pleaſure, to the dreadfull Example of all other. 1536

Thus did the King begin to ſhake off the Romiſh yoke; to which he was much animated by the Concurrence of his Subjects in Parliament, both Spirituall and Temporall, who (as it appears by our Records) in *July* this yeare under their hands and Seals ſent a Declaration to the Pope. The Tenor whereof is this; *July* 30.

SAnctiſſimo in Chriſto Patri & Domino Domino Clementi divina Providentia ejus nominis Papæ ſeptimo, Oſculatis Pedibus omni cum humilitate fœlicitatem præcamur, & optamus perpetuam, in Domino noſtro Jeſu Chriſto. Beatiſſime Pater, tam-etſi Cauſa Matrimonii, Invictiſſimi & Sereniſſimi Principis Domini noſtri, Angliæ Franciæq; Regis Fidei Defenſoris & Domini Hiberniæ, multis ipſa per ſe Argumentis V. Sanctitatis opem imploret atque efflagitet, ut illud quam celerrime finem accipiat, quem Nos, ſummo cum deſiderio, jam diu deſideravimus, & longa, ſed hactenus vana Spe a V.Sanctitate Expectavimus: Non potuimus tamen committere ut Rebus noſtris Regniq; Statu, ex hac litis Protelatione in tantum diſcrimen adducto, omnino ſileremus, ſed quod Regia Majeſtas noſtrum Caput, atq; adeo anima omnium noſtrum, & in cujus verbis nos, tanquam Membra conformia, juſta compagine capiti Coherentia, multa ſolicitudine V.Sanctitatem precati, & fruſtra tamen precati ſumus, id nos literis noſtris doloris gravitate adducti ſeorſim & ſeparatim flagitaremus. Sufficere ſane alioqui debuiſſet, Cauſæ ipſius juſticia eruditiſſimorum virorum calculis paſſim probata, Celeberrimarum Academiarum ſuffragiis judicata, ab Anglis, a Gallis, ab Italis, prout quiſq; apud eos cæteros eruditione antecellit, pronunciata & definita, ut Sanctitas V. etiam nemine petente & Reclamantibus quibuſcunque, ſuo Ore, ſuaq; Authoritate aliorum ſententias confirmaret; præſertim cum Cauſæ definitio eum Regem,

1530. illud Regnum reſpiciat, quod de Sede illa Apoſtolica tam multis nominibus bene meritum ſit : Precibus autem nihil opus fuiſſet, niſi quatenus homines doloribus indulgent, & Preces non neceſſarias interdum effundere ſolent. Cæterũ quum apud Sanctitatem V.nec ipſius Cauſæ Juſticia, nec beneficiorum acceptorum recordatio, nec optimi Principis tam aſſiduæ & diligentes preces, quicquam profecerint, ut obtineatur a vobis quod Paternæ Pietatis officium exigebat ; adauctus ſupra modum in nobis miſeriarum ac calamitatum recordatione doloris cumulus ſingula etiam Reip. noſtræ membra vocalia facit, & verbis & literis conqueſtionem edere compellit. Nam quæ tandem infelicitas, ut quod duæ Academiæ noſtræ, quod Academia Pariſienſis, quod multæ aliæ Academiæ in Gallia, quod paſſim doctiſſimi eruditiſſimi & integerrimi viri domi foriſq; verum affirmant, & pro vero defendere tam Verbis quam Calamo ſe paratos oſtendunt, id pro vero non obtineat a ſede Apoſtolica ille Princeps, cũjus Ore atq; Preſidio ſua ſtat Sedi Apoſtolicæ authoritas, a tam multis ac Populis etiam potentiſſimis tam valide impetita, quibus partim ferro, partim Calamo, partim voce atq; authoritate ſæpius in ea Cauſa reſtitit ; & tamen ſolus illius authoritatis beneficio non fruitur, qui curavit ut eſſet qua alii fruerentur. His quid reſponderi poſſet non videmus, & malorum interim Pelagus Reip. noſtræ imminere cernimus, ac certum quoddam diluvium comminari, aut quod Diluvio par eſt, multa cæde ac ſanguine reſtinctam olim Succeſſionis controverſiam denuo reducere. Habemus enim ſummis virtutibus Principem, certiſſimo titulo Regem, indubitatam Regno Tranquillitatem daturũ, ſi Sobolem ex corpore Maſculam nobis reliquerit; cujus in vero matrimonio ſola ſpes eſſe poteſt : Matrimonio autem vero tantum illud nunc obſtat, ut quod de priore matrimonio tot docti viri pronunciant, id utique V. Sanctitas ſua authoritate declaret. Hoc autem ſi non vult, & qui Pater eſſe debeat, Nos tanquam Orphanos relinquere decrevit, et pro abjectis habere, ita certe interpretabimur, Noſtri nobis curam

curam esse relictam, ut aliunde nobis remedia conquiramus. Sed ad hoc ne adigamur, Sanctitatem V. oramus ut Regi nostro in tam sanctis desideriis adesse, et, sine mora aut dilatione, favere velit, vehementer obsecramus, ut judicio suo Comprobet quod viri Doctissimi affirmant, per illam quam nobis ex Pastorali officio debet Pietatem ex mutuo Cordis affectu obtestamur, ne claudantur Paterna viscera, tam obsequentibus, tam benevolis, tam morigeris filiis. Causa Regiæ Majestatis nostra cujusque propria est, a Capite in Membra derivata, dolor ad omnes, atque injuria ex æquo pertinet, omnes in ejus Majestate compatimur, quibus facile Sanctitas V. mederi posset, nec posset modo, sed ex Paterna Pietate deberet. Quod si vel id non fecerit, vel facere quidem distulerit Sanctitas V. hactenus sane conditio nostra erit miserior, quod tam diu sine fructu frustra laboratum sit, sed non omni prorsus remedio destituta. Sunt quidem Remedia extrema semper duriora, sed Morbum omnino utcunque levare curat ægrotus, & in malorum commutatione non nihil est Spei; ut, si minus succedat quod Bonum est, sequatur saltem quod est minus Malum, & id temporis etiam cursu facile tolerandum. Ista autem ut secum consideret Sanctitas V. iterum atque iterum rogamus, in Domino Jesu Christo, cujus Vices in Terris se gerere, profitetur, idque ut nunc factis conetur ostendere; Ut veritatem doctissimorum hominum, vigiliis ac laboribus inventam, probatam & confirmatam, ad Dei Laudem & Gloriam sua Sententia & Pronunciatione velit illustrare. Interim Vero Deum Optim. Maxim. quem ipsam esse veritatem certissimo Testimonio cognoscimus, comprecabimur. Ut vestræ Sanctitatis Consilia ita informare atque dirigere dignetur, ut, quod Sanctum, Justum ac verum est, a V. Sanctitatis Authoritate obtinentes, ab omni alia assequendæ veritatis molestia liberemur. 1530.

1530.

1. *Archiepiſcopi.*
T.Cardinalis Ebor.
Willielmus Cant.
2. *Duces.*
Tho.Norfolke.
Charles Suffolke.
3. *Marchiones.*
T.Dorſet.
H.Exeter.
4. *Comites.*
Willielmus Arundel.
Jo.Oxenford.
H. Northumberland.
Rauf.Weſtmerland.
Geo.Shrowsbury.
Henr.Eſſex.
Edw.Derby.
H.Worceſter.
Tho.Rutland.
Hen.Cumberland.
Robert Suſſex.
Geo.Huntington.
G.of Kildare.
5. *Epiſcopi.*
Robert.Ciceſtrens.
Joh.Carliolens.
Joh.Lincoln.
Rich.Menevenſis.

6. *Barones.*
Henr.Mountagu.
G.Rochford.
Willielm.Weſton.
E.Bergavenny.
Jo.Audley.
Hen.Scroope.
Tho.Dacres.
Tho.La-Ware.
Willielm.Dacre.
Tho.Barkley.
Hen.Morley.
Geo.Cobham.
Rich.Latimer.
Edw.Stourton.
Jo.Fitzwarren.
Jo Semers.
Jo.Lumley.
Willielm.Mountjoy.
Chriſ.Coniers.
Hen.Daubeny.
T.Darcy.
T.Monteagle.
Willielm.Sandys.
Jo.Huſey.
Andr.Windſor.

7. *Abbates.*
Jo.of Weſtminſter.
Jo. of *Bury St.Edmund.*
Rich.Glaſton.
Will. Glouceſter.
Tho. of *Abendon.*
Hugh of *Reading.*
*Edw.*of *Yorke.*
Jo. of *Peterburgh.*
*Jo.*of *Ramſey.*
*Jo.*of *Croyland.*
Ro. of *Thorney.*
Ro. of *Selby.*
William Abbot of *Bardney.*
Will. Ab. of St.*Benet de Hulmo.*
*Tho.*Ab. of St.*John* by *Colcheſter.*
*Jo.*Ab.of *Hyde.*
Clem. Ab. of *Eveſham.*
*Rich.*Ab. of *Malmſbury.*
*Rich.*Ab.of *Winchelcomb.*
*Rob.*Ab. *St.Crucis de Waltham.*
*Jo.*Ab.of *Circeſter.*
*Hen.*Ab.of *Teuxbury.*
8. *Milites & Doctores in Parlamento.*
William Fitz-william.
Hen.Guildford.
Steph. Gardiner.
Jo.Gage.
William Kingſton.
Bryan Tuke.
Rich.Sacheverell.
Rich.Sampſon.
Edw.Lee.
Rich.Woolman.
Jo Bettat.

To which *Clement* returned this Reply.

Vene-

1530.

Venerabilibus fratribus Archiepiſcopis & Epiſcopis, ac dilectis filiis Abbatibus, Nobilibuſq; viris, Ducibus, Marchionibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Militibus ac Doctoribus Parlamenti Regni Angliæ,

CLEMENS *Papa VII.*

VEnerabiles fratres & dilecti filii Salutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Multa ſunt in veſtris literis die xiii. Julii datis ac nobis ſuperioribus diebus redditis quæ gravius accepiſſemus, niſi ea affectui, ſtudioq; veſtro erga Chariſſimum in Chriſto filium noſtrum, Regem veſtrum condonanda arbitraremur. Itaq; ſedato animo ad eas literas reſpondebimus, tantum ut doceamus quam immerito de nobis conqueſti ſitis, neq; oportuiſſe tantum a vobis tribui privato erga Regem ſive officio ſive amori veſtro, ut nos duobus ingrati adverſus Serenitatem ſuam animi ac denegatæ Juſtitiæ, graviſſimis nominibus incuſaretis. Nos quidem agnoſcimus Regem veſtrum ea omnia quæ in veſtris literis enumeratis, ac multo etiam plura promeritum, manebitq; perpetuo non modo apud nos ſed ad poſteros noſtros memoria ejus in Sedem Apoſtolicam meritorum. Fatemurq; nos non modo Pontificiæ perſonæ quam gerimus, ſed privato noſtro nomine tantum Serenitati ſuæ debere, ut nunquam beneficiis parem gratiam relaturi videamur. Sed quod attinet ad Controverſiam quæ de matrimonio eſt inter Serenitatem ſuam & Catharinam Reginam, tantum abeſt, ut denegando Juſticiam, Regis ſpem fruſtrari voluerimus, ut ultro ab altera parte, tanquam plus æquo in partes Majeſtatis ſuæ propenſi, reprehendamur. Sed, ut paulo altius perpetuum animi noſtri erga Regem veſtrum Tenorem repetamus: Cum primum, tribus ferme ab hinc Annis, Regii Oratores ad nos hanc Cauſam detuliſſent; animi noſtri propenſionem potius quam Juris rigorem ſecuti, commiſimus illam dilectis filiis noſtris Thomæ tt^li. Sanctæ Ceciliæ Eboracen.

1530. boracen. in Regno Angliæ Legato, & Laurentio tt'. Sanctæ Mariæ in Transtiberim Campegio a noſtro Latere miſſo, Presbyteris Cardinalibus in Regno atq; adeo domi ipſius Regis audiendam & terminandum; ſatisfecimuſq; tum, quantum in nobis fuit, Serenitatis ſuæ voluntati. Verum cum Regina ſuſpectum illud in partibus Judicium habere cepiſſet, & agravaminibus ſibi, ut dicebat, per eoſdem Legatos illatis ad Sedem Apoſtolicam appellaſſet, Procuratoribus etiam ad dictam appellationem proſequendam conſtitutis, ne tum quidem deſiderari paſſi ſumus noſtram erga ipſum Regem benevolentiam. Nam tametſi cauſæ hujuſmodi appellationis Commiſſio negari non poterat, tamen Concordia potius quam via Juris terminari hanc controverſiam cupientes omnes moras in Commiſſione dictæ cauſæ appellationis concedenda interpoſuimus, eo pretextu, quod eſſet de majoribus cauſis, meritoq; ad Conſiſtorium rejicienda. Habita vero deinde ſuper hoc cum venerabilibus fratribus noſtris S. R. E. Cardinalibus aliquoties conſultatione, fuit aliquam-diu dilatum negotium; Sed tandem unanimi omnium Cardinalium voto concluſum eſt, Commiſſionem cauſæ appellationis hujuſmodi per nos negari non poſſe. Itaq; Commiſſa eſt audienda & ſubinde in dicto Conſiſtorio nobis referenda & terminanda. Nam cum omnibus in Rebus conſiderate procedere debemus, tum in hac potiſſimum quæ Regias & illuſtres perſonas tangit, & in quam totius Chriſtianitatis oculos conjectos eſſe videmus. Poſt quæ deinde nullus Regius legitimus Procurator comparuit, qui aut ſcripto aut verbo de Juribus Regis doceret; ideoq; factum, ut lis ad-huc decidi non potuerit. Quippe cum ex actis & productis, non ex amore & benevolentia decidenda ſit. Quamobrem nulla cauſa eſt, cur nobis aſcribatis litis quam dicitis protelationem; de qua miramur vos queri, cum illam oratores ipſius Regis alibi, & præſertim Bononiæ a nobis petierint & imperarint, invitiſſimis quidem & reclamantibus Reginæ Procuratoribus. Cum itaq; nunquam per nos ſteterit, quin hæc lis, omnibus Rebus mature diſcuſſis, termina-

terminaretur, non videmus quibus rationibus nitatur queri- 1530.
monia veſtra; niſi forte id dicitis, tot eſſe Regis erga nos & Sedem Apoſtolicam beneficia, ut quoquo modo in ejus voluntatem Cauſam diffiniri oportuerit; id enim oſtenditis ſatis aperte, cum dicitis, in cauſa, ab eruditiſſimis vitis Anglis, Gallis, Italis, ac tot Academiarum ſuffragiis probata, & nemine petente, ac reclamantibus quibuſcunq; Sententiam a nobis ferri debuiſſe. Qua in re non parum prudentiam & modeſtiam veſtram requirimus. Nam non videmus, quibus rationibus freti poſtuletis, ut, in cauſa maximi momenti, Sententiam feramus, nemine petente, ac cæteris reclamantibus, cum adverſa pars continue opponat totius Chriſtianitatis ſcandalum, tot annorum matrimonium ad ſupplicationem Clariſſimorum Regum Henrici Patris, ac Ferdinandi Catholici, ex diſpenſatione hujus Sanctæ Sedis conſtitutum; prætérea filiam extantem, & plures Reginæ partus; & adverſus opiniones Doctorum, quas pro vobis allegatis, multorum & ipſi graviſſimorumq; virorum judicium, & pro ſe facientia divini Juris mandata adducant, argumentis hauſtis non modo ex Latinis, ſed etiam, & uberrimis, in hac re Hebræorum fontibus, nobis tamen in neutram ad huc partem inclinantibus, ſed æquas aures præbentibus, cum cauſam hanc graviſſimam & ad totam Rempublicam Chriſtianam & poſteritatem omnem pertinere exiſtimemus. Nam ex iis quas pro vobis facere Doctorum hominum atque Univerſitatum Opiniones ſcribitis, pauca admodum venerunt in manus noſtras, nobis non legitime, nec Regis nomine, ab Oratoribus præſentata, illæq; nudæ tantum illorum hominum Opiniones, nullis adſcriptis rationibus cur ita ſentiant, nullaq; Sacrorum Canonum & Scripturæ, quæ tantum ſpectare debemus, authoritate ſubnixæ. Poſtulare autem, ut, in Regis Gratiam, quicquã temere atq; inconſiderate ſtatuamus, nec æquum nec veſtra ſapientia dignum eſt. Nam, tametſi multum Serenitati ſuæ debemus, Tamen in judicando pluris facere cogimur Eum, per quem Reges regnant, & Principes imperant; & veri Patris officium eſt proſpicere, ne nimia facilitate

1530. tate plus æquo indulgeamus filiis noſtris: irretiremus enim non noſtram ſolum ſed ſerenitatis ſuæ Conſcientiam matura ſententia; quæ, non recte prolata, pernicioſo univerſæ Chriſtianitati noceret exemplo. Nam quod Regno veſtro diluvium impendere dicitis, id multo magis timendum eſſe abitraremur, ſi ſententiam, quæ recta Juſticiæ via ac ratione ferenda eſt, præcipitaremus, ac, nimio Erga Regem veſtrum amore, provecti, a Juſticia atque Officio noſtro diſcederemus; Maſculam autem Prolem, non vos magis optatis quam nos Serenitati ſuæ; atq; utinam tanto Regi ſimiles filios, ac non Regni tantum, ſed & virtutum Heredes haberet Chriſtiana Reſpublica! Sed pro Deo non ſumus, ut liberos dare poſſimus. Quod autem dicitis, nolle nos, authoritate noſtra, ſecundum veritatem de priori matrimonio declarare, quod tot docti viri pro ipſo Rege pronuncient; vellemus nos quidem omnibus in rebus Serenitati ſuæ gratificari; poſſe autem ita debemus, ut non deſtruamus; deſtrueremus enim, ſi quid contra Juris Ordinem ſtatueremus, & ſi oculis noſtris exploratiſſima res eſſet. Ceterum, quod eſt in extremo literarum veſtrarum, Niſi petitionibus veſtris ſatisfecerimus, vos exiſtimaturos, veſtri vobis curam eſſe relictam, atq; aliunde Remedia conquiſituros, nec veſtra prudentia nec Religione dignum Conſilium, ab eoq; ut abſtineatis, Paterna Charitate vos monemus. Nec tamen ulla medici culpa eſſet, ſi ægrotus, curationis impatiens, quicquam in ſe ſtatuerit, quod adverſaretur ſaluti. Nos quidem, quæ recte ac ſine pernicie dari poſſunt, remedia; non denegamus; quis enim infirmatur, & ego non infirmor? Quis ſcandalizatur, & ego non uror? Os meum patet ad vos, filii dilectiſſimi, & vos ut filios Chariſſimos monemus. Sed nec Regem ipſum, cujus Cauſam agitis, probaturum fuiſſe Credimus, ut ita ſcriberetis: Cognitam enim habemus ac perſpectam ejus probitatem, ut ne ultro quidem oblatum, quod æquum non eſſet, accepturum fuiſſe putemus; & tametſi veſtrum omnium interceſſionem magnifacimus, Tamen noſter erga Serenitatem ſuam amor non patitur ſe cujuſquam cohorta-

cohortatione precibuſq; excitari; nec meminimus fruſtra unquam Serenitatem ſuam a nobis petiiſſe, quod cum noſtro, et hujus Sanctæ Sedis honore concedere poſſemus; paremq; oſtendemus perpetuo voluntatem. Denique, quod ad hanc cauſam attinet, Nos quidem nullam ejus expeditioni moram interponemus, quin, cum inſtructa, & partes auditæ fuerint, terminetur; nobis ſummopere cupientibus veſtrum Regem & ipſam Reginam, noſq; ipſos moleſtiſſimo hoc negotio liberari. Hoc tantum a Serenitate ſua & devotionibus veſtris requirimus, ne plus, ob ſumma ejuſdem Regis beneficia, a nobis exigatis, quam quod ſine offenſa Dei perſolvere poſſumus: cum in cæteris omnia a nobis expectare poſſitis, quæ habita officii ac perſonæ quam gerimus & Juſticiæ ratione expectari debent. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, ſub annulo piſcatoris, die xxvii. Septembris MDXXX. Pont'. noſtri Anno Septimo. 1530.

Evangeliſta.

And now Cardinall *Woolſey* it ſeems had tried his uttermoſt skill for recovering of the Kings favour; Whereof alſo ſome hope was given him in his being permitted to remove to *Richmont*. But as his enemies ſuſpected hee would make uſe of this nearneſſe, to obtain acceſſe to the King, ſo they labour'd inſtantly to ſend him to the North. Wherein, they prevail'd at length, obtaining further, that the Revenues of the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, and Abbey of St. *Albans*, as alſo ſome other places of his forfeited by the *Præmunire*, might be applied in part to the Kings ſervants; a Penſion only out of *Wincheſter*, being reſerved to the Cardinall. The Revenues, alſo, of his two Colleges were torn, and divided. Which grieved him more than any other affliction; Inſomuch, that he wrote to the King, humbly, as on his knees, with weeping eyes, that the College of *Oxford* might ſtand, and importun'd *Cromwell* to this purpoſe, ſince they are in a manner, ſaith hee, *Opera manuum tuarum*. But *Cromwell* return'd him no Comfort herein, Saying, the King was derermined to diſſolve them, though whether hee meant to reſtore them again, and found them in his own name, hee knew not: but wiſhes him to be Content, *&c.* Howſoever, in the traffique of theſe and other Lands, as well as Negotiating his Maſters buſineſs, *Cromwell* ſhewed that dexterity, which at laſt wonne him much Credit, both with the King, and his principall Counſellers. And now the Cardinall being Commanded to

Yorke,

1530. *Yorke*, had no excuſe for retarding his Journey, but want of Means, which alſo hee ſignified to the King; Who thereupon ſent him a
March. thouſand pounds, with which and a Traine, reducted now to about one hundred and ſixty Perſons, he ſet forth, giving by the way, much Almes, and not a few other arguments of Devotion, which alſo made him gratious with the People, who reſorted from all places adjoyning, to him. And thus with ſlow and unwilling removes, hee came to
Sept. Cawood Caſtle, neer *Yorke*, about the end of *Sept.* 1530. where hee prepar'd, according to the antient cuſtome, to be inſtalled with much Ceremony about a moneth after; All acceſſe to the Quire, being, till then forbidden. But whether the ſolemnity of this Action was thought by our King to be unſeaſonable, and misbecomming one in Diſgrace; or that otherwiſe the Cardinall had caſt forth ſome diſcontented words, which were related again to the King; here certainly began his finall Ruine. Which, as his enemies (at this diſtance) did with more boldneſſe and advantage procure, ſo had hee leſſe means to repaire himſelfe. Inſomuch, that without being able to diſcover or prevent their Machinations, hee was forc'd to ſuffer all that could be either truly, or (almoſt) falſly ſurmiſed againſt him. Neither had hee other hope; but that the puniſhments he had already indur'd, might be accepted as an intire ſatisfaction for all offences. And now, his ſtallation grew neer, when the Earle of *Northumberland*, Warden of the Marches, with one Sir *Walter Welſh*, Gentleman
Novemb 4. Hall. of the Kings Privy Chamber, came by the Kings Command to *Cawood* to arreſt the Cardinall, wherein, he uſed that diligence, and ſecreſie, that hee had plac'd his Guards in the Hall, before any eſcaped to advertiſe the Cardinall thereof. Neither did hee, at the Earles comming up ſtayres, receive him in other termes than thoſe of a Gueſt, till entring into a privat Chamber together, the Earl in a low and troubled voice, Arreſted him of high Treaſon. The diſmay'd and Penſive Cardinall ſtayed awhile before he anſwered, but at laſt recovering his ſpirits, demanded the ſight of the Earles Commiſſion, proteſting that, otherwiſe, he would not obey; urging further that
Hall. hee was a member of the College of Cardinalls at *Rome*, and ſo exempt from all Princes Juriſdiction. But while the Earle replyed, that he might not ſhew his Commiſſion, Sir *Water Welſh*, who had now arreſted Doctor *Auguſtine* the Cardinalls Phyſitian, comes in, and confirmes what the Earl had ſaid. The Cardinall beleeving (by this time) that they were in good earneſt, yeelds to Sir *Walter Welſh*, as the Kings ſervant, and not to the Earl; to whom he ſaid he would not ſubmit himſelf, before he was better ſatisfied of his Authority. Which whether hee did out of ſtubbornneſſe to the Earle, who had been heretofore educated in his houſe, or out of deſpight to Miſtris *Anne Bolen*, who (he might conceive) had put this affront upon him, in finding means to employ her Antient Sutor to take Revenge in both their names, doth not appeare to me by my Author. Howſoever, he proteſted he was no way faulty in his Alleagiance. Doctor

Auguſtine,

Auguſtine, (whoſe offence yet doth not appear to me) was diſpatch'd to *London*, in the Poſture of a Traitor, his leggs tyed to his Horſe. But the Cardinall had ſome reſpite; though yet commanded to prapare for his Journey; which he began at length, in that deliberate manner, that, if hee removed ſlowly, before, from the King, hee moved now more ſlowly to him. Inſomuch that, had not the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, to whom (being the Steward of the Kings Houſhold) the Earle of *Northumberland* was commanded to deliver him, till the Kings further pleaſure were known, told him, that the King commanded he ſhould be us'd kindly, as one whom he highly favoured; It is probable that the afflicted Cardinall would have fallen under the burthen of his own grieſes. Furthermore, the Earle aſſur'd him on the Kings part, that, though his Highneſſe could do no leſſe than put him to his Tryall, yet that it was more for the ſatisfying of ſome perſons than out of miſtruſt of his Traiterous doings. And thus at *Sheffield* Caſtle, he had ſtayed a Fortnight, when a Wind-Collick, which ended in a Dyſentery, took him. In which ſtate, Sir *William Kingſton*, Captain of the Kings Guard, and Conſtable of the Tower, attended with twenty foure Yeomen of the Guard (all of them formerly ſervants to the Cardinall) did find him. So that, notwithſtanding the many Incouragements of the Earle, ſeconded by Sir *William Kingſton* (who on his knees ſaluted him) the Cardinall remained ſtill ſick, and comfortleſſe. Neither did it availe him, that Sir *William Kingſton* (on the Kings part) gave him many gracious words, adding furthermore, that hee ſhould make no more haſt than ſtood with his health, and conveniency. For the Cardinall became ſtill more and more dejected. Notwithſtanding, as hee conſider'd that delay would but argue Guiltineſſe, ſo hee proceeded in his Journey the beſt hee could, till he came to *Leiceſter* Abbey, where a Fever, complicate with his former Diſeaſe, ſeizing on him, hee languiſh'd, not without manifeſt ſignes of his end. Being thus upon his bed, Sir *William Kingſton* came again to comfort him. But the Cardinall, finding now that Death would diſcharge him of all Tryalls, but that before God, ſpake to this effect.

1530

November 3. Hall.

November 27.

Had I ſerv'd God as diligently as I have done the King, hee would not have given me over, in my gray haires; but this is my juſt reward. Notwithſtanding, I pray yee commend mee moſt humbly to the King, deſiring him to call to remembrance all matters that have paſt betwixt us, and eſpecially about Queen *Katherine*, and then ſhall his Grace know whether I have offended him. Hee is a Prince of a Royall courage; but rather than he will want, or miſſe any part of his will or pleaſure, hee will endamage the loſſe of one halfe of his Realme. For, I aſſure you, I have often kneel'd before him, ſometimes the ſpace of three houres, to perſwade him from his will and appetite, but could never diſſwade him from it. Therefore Maſter *Kingſton*, I warn you, if ever you be of his Counſell (as for your wiſdome you are meet) that yee be well aſſur'd and advis'd what you

Cavend.

1530. put in his Head, for you ſhall never put it out again. After which words (as *Cavendiſh* hath them) he began an exhortation to take heed of the Lutherans, by the example of thoſe of *Bohemia*, leſt they ſhould likewiſe ſubvert the ſecular Power. But as in the proſecuting of this diſcourſe his ſpeech fail'd him, ſo did his breath preſently after, Inſomuch that hee dyed, and was buryed there in the Abbey Church, *November* 30th before day. And not, where hee had begun a Monument for himſelfe, long ſince (wherein, as appears by our Records, he had not omitted his own Image) which one *Benedetto*, a
1524. Statuary of *Florence*, took in hand 1524, and continued till 1529. Receiving for ſo much as was already done 4250. Duckats. The deſigne whereof was ſo glorious, that it exceeded farre, that of *Henry* VII, Nevertheleſſe, I find, the Cardinall, when this was finiſhed, did purpoſe to make a Tombe for *Henry* VIII. But dying in this manner King *Henry* made uſe of ſo much as hee found fit, and call'd it his. Thus did the Tombe of the Cardinall partake the ſame Fortune with his Colledge; as being aſſumed by the King; both which yet remaine ſtill unperfect. The Newes of the Cardinalls death being brought to our King, did ſo much afflict him, that he wiſh'd it had coſt him twenty Thouſand pounds upon condition hee had lived. Howbeit hee omitted not to inquire of about 1500 pounds, which the Cardinall had lately got, without that the King could imagine how. So that, till it appear'd hee borrowed it of divers Perſons, hee might perchance ſuſpect it to be the remainder of ſome of his Antient Acquiſitions.

And thus concluded that great Cardinall. A man in whom ability of parts, and Induſtry were equally eminent, though, for being employed wholly in ambitious wayes, they became dangerous Inſtruments of power, in active and mutable times. By theſe Arts yet hee found means to governe not only the chiefe affaires of this Kingdome, but of *Europe*; there being no Potentate, which, in his turn, did not ſeek to him. And as this Procur'd him divers Penſions, ſo, when hee acquainted the King therewith, his manner was, ſo cunningly to diſoblige that Prince who did ſee him laſt, as he made way thereby oftentimes to receive as much on the other ſide. But not of ſecular Princes alone, but even of the Pope and Clergy of *Rome* hee was no little Courted; of which, therefore hee made eſpeciall uſe, while he drew them to ſecond him on moſt occaſions. His birth being otherwiſe ſo obſcure and mean, as no man had ever ſtood ſo ſingle: for which reaſon alſo his chiefe Indeavour was not to diſpleaſe any great perſon, which yet could not ſecure him againſt the divers pretenders of that time. For as all things paſſed through his hands, ſo they who fail'd in their ſuits, generally hated him: All which though it did but exaſperate his ill nature, yet this good reſultance followed, that it made him take the more care to be Juſt; whereof alſo he obtain'd the reputation in his publike hearing of Cauſes. For as hee lov'd no body, ſo his reaſon carryed him. And thus hee

was

was an uſefull Miniſter of his King, in all points, where there was no queſtion of deſerving the Roman Church; of which (at what price ſoever) I find hee was a zealous ſervant; as hoping thereby to aſpire to the Papacy, whereof (as the factious times then were) hee ſeem'd more capable than any, had he not ſo immoderately affected it. Whereby alſo it was not hard to judge of his Inclinations; that Prince, who was ableſt to help him to this Dignity, being ever preferr'd by him; which therefore was the ordinary Bait by which the Emperour, and French King, one after the other, did catch him. And, upon theſe termes, hee doubted not to convey vaſt treaſures out of this Kingdome, eſpecially unto *Rome*, where hee had not a few Cardinalls at his devotion. By whoſe help, though hee could not obtain that Supream Dignity hee ſo paſſionatly deſir'd, yet he prevail'd himſelf ſo much of their favour, as hee got a kind of abſolute Power in ſpirituall matters at home. Wherewith again hee ſo ſerv'd the King's turn, as it made him think the leſſe of uſing his own Authority. One error ſeem'd common to both, which was that ſuch a Multiplicity of Offices and places were inveſted in him. For as it drew much envy upon the Cardinall in particular, ſo it derogated no little from the Regall authority, while one man alone ſeemed to exhauſt all. Since it becommeth Princes to do like good Husbandmen when they ſow their grounds, which is, to ſcatter and not to throw all in one place. Hee was no great diſſembler, for ſo qualified a Perſon; as ordering his buſineſſes (for the moſt part) ſo cautiouſly, as he got more by keeping his word than by breaking it. As for his Learning, (which was farre from exact) it conſiſted chiefly in the ſubtilties of the Thomiſts, wherewith the King and himſelfe did more often weary than ſatisfie each other. His ſtyle, in Miſſives, was rather copious than eloquent, yet ever tending to the point. Briefly if it be true (as *Polydore* obſerves) that no man ever did riſe with fewer vertues, it is true, that few that ever fell from ſo high a place had leſſer crimes objected againſt him. Though yet *Polydore* (for being at his firſt comming into *England*, committed to Priſon by him, as wee have ſayd) may be ſuſpected as a partiall Author. So that in all probability hee might have ſubſiſted longer, when either his Pride and immenſe wealth had not made him obnoxious, and ſuſpected to the King, or that other than women had oppos'd him: Who as they are vigilant and Cloſe enemies, ſo for the moſt part, they carry their buſineſſes in that manner, as they leave fewer advantages againſt themſelves, than men doe. In Concluſion, as I cannot aſſent to thoſe who thought him happy for enjoying the untimely Compaſſion of the People a little before his end, ſo I cannot but account it a principall felicity, that during his favour with the King, all things ſucceeded better than afterwards, though yet it may be doubted whether the Impreſſions hee gave, did not occaſion divers Irregularities which were obſerv'd to follow. 1530

I will return now a while to the buſineſſe of the Emperour at *Augsburg*, Where (by his Command) the Generall Diet was ap-

1530. pointed the eighth of *April* 1530. Cardinall *Campegius* being employ'd for theſe buſineſſes on the Popes behalfe. The Emperour comming thither in the beginning of *June*, The firſt point reſolved, was, that untill Controverſies in Religion were ſetled, all the Preachers on both ſides (ſome moderate Perſons to be nominated by the Emperour only excepted,) ſhould be ſilenc'd: Which being done, the Emperour declares, that the Cauſes of calling together the Aſſembly were, Firſt, the Invaſion of the Turke. Secondly, the Affairs of Religion. Demanding their advice and help in both; Which that they might perform with leſſe Confuſion, he Commanded their ſeverall propoſitions to be put in writing and read. Whereupon, the Reformed Princes made inſtance, that matters of Religion might bee firſt compos'd, promiſing afterwards to proceed unto the reſt. Not long after which, *Campegius*, in a Latine Oration, exhorted them to obey the Emperour herein; adding further in the Popes name, that ſuch order ſhould be taken as Unity in Religion might be conſerv'd, to the end that all might go againſt the Turk. Which alſo was ſpoken in ſequence of the Emperours Treaty with the Pope at *Bononia*, where hee indeavour'd nothing more, than to reconcile the Differences then in agitation in *Germany*. Hereupon, the Duke of *Saxony*, (with whom *Melanthon* was,) the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, the Dukes of *Lunenburgh*, the *Lantgrave*, and others, deſired the Emperour to receive in writing the Confeſſion of their Faith, (called, from this Dyet, *Confeſſio Auguſtana*) which the Emperour, at laſt, granted; admitting, afterwards, the Confeſſion of *Strasbourg*, *Conſtance*, *Lyndaw*, *Memingen*, and ſome other great Townes, who, following *Zuinglius* rather than *Luther*, differ'd in ſome points. Whereupon, advice being taken with *Campegius*, what was to be done, it was determin'd, that ſome able perſons of the Romaniſts ſhould, by way of confutation, return a written anſwer hereunto, accompanied with a ſtrict command of the Emperours to obey it. But this, again, was mitigated; and the reaſons, at laſt, examined on both ſides. The reſultance whereof (among the more ſober) was, that, ſince they agreed on ſo many points, their chiefe labours ſhould be not to make any Schiſme for the reſt; ſince it could not be denyed, but ſome things required Reformation. But the more heady ſort, on either ſide, would not acquiſce ſo, requiring an abſolute aſſent to their ſeverall opinions; inſomuch that they kindled in their Diſputations againſt each other. The Duke of *Saxony* (particularly) demanding, that the Anſwer to their Confeſſion might be given to them in writing; which yet was not ſuddenly approv'd by the Emperour; though, at laſt, finding no other way to avoyd tumult, hee granted their requeſt, on this Condition, that they ſhould not Print or Publiſh the ſaid Anſwer. Wherewith ſome were ſo diſcontented, that they returned home, as thinking it not enough to enjoy their particular Conſcience, unleſſe they diſputed it abroad, and inſtructed others. At laſt, in *Auguſt* 1530. ſeaven Perſons were appointed on each ſide, to determine

April 8.

Sleid. l.7.

A. C. 6.

determine controverſies, of which two ſhould be Perſons of quality, two Lawyers, and three Divines. Whereupon the Romaniſts tooke the Biſhop of *Augsburgh*, and *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwicke*, two Lawyers, and *Wimpinus*, *Eccius*, and *Cochlæus*, Divines. The other ſide chooſing *George* Duke of *Brandenburgh*, *John Fredericke* of *Saxony*, two Lawyers, and *Melancthon*, *Brentius*, and *Schnepfius*, Divines. But theſe not agreeing ſufficiently (though comming ſomewhat neerer than they are at this preſent) *Melanchthon* with two Lawyers, and *Eccius* with two others were permitted to decide the buſineſſe. But becauſe the Proteſtants thought they had yeelded already, to aſmuch as was poſſible for them with ſafety of Conſcience, the buſineſſe was remitted again to a greater number. To which courſe yet the Proteſtants would not condeſcend, but deſired a Courſe ſhould be taken for Preſerving of Peace till a Generall Councill were call'd. The Emperour finding things thus protracted, labours to divide the Chiefs, betwixt threats and promiſes, as each was moſt obnoxious; writing notwithſtanding to the Pope (as I find by the Spaniſh Hiſtory) that there was no way for ending of differences but by a Councill, which therefore he deſir'd might be granted, for thoſe reaſons which *Don Pedro de Cueva* ſhould tell him. Hee omitted not alſo to write to the College of Cardinalls for this purpoſe: adding further, for a motive, that divers Princes (in which our King alſo concurr'd) agreed in the ſame requeſt; as judging it neceſſary, not only for the cauſe above mentioned, but even for the Popes proper conſervation. Hee required alſo the diſpatches uſuall for making his brother *Ferdinand* King of the Romans. Laſtly, hee deſir'd permiſſion to ſell the Ornaments and goods of the Churches in *Italy* and *Germany*, or at leaſt to have the fourth part of the Eccleſiaſticall Revenues, it being as hee ſaid for defence of the common Faith. Which comming, at laſt, to the Princes notice, was ſo ſuſpected, that they oppos'd it. So that, though otherwiſe they were averſe enough from the Roman Church, yet, whether out of the danger they foreſaw of putting ſo much money into the Emperours hands, or that otherwiſe they would make themſelves neceſſary, they vehemently impugn'd it. *Eraſmus* underſtanding now what was doing, writes to *Campegius* a Monitory Letter, concluding, that as affairs then ſtood, it was better ſuffer, than to make warre againſt the Lutherans; ſuppoſing perchance, no Peace ſo devoid of Religion, as a Civill warre. The Emperour finding matters thus diſcompos'd, calls the Princes together, promiſing that a Councill ſhould be call'd, as ſoon as the place might bee agreed; upon Condition they would keepe Peace in the meane while, and the Religion antiently profeſſed. But the Proteſtants, affirming that theirs was the antient Religion, thank'd the Emperour for the reſt, deſiring only the Councill might be Pious and free. The Emperour not ſatisfied thus, would needs diſpute himſelfe awhile (which the Spaniſh ſay hee did with that eagerneſſe that hee drew his Dagger.) but neither this prevail'd. So that, for a Concluſion, inſtead of

1530

Aug. 18.

Sept. 7.

Sandov.

1530. making an amiable accord, hee publiſhed a rigorous Decree; Commanding the practiſe of the Ancient Religion, and Ceremonies, and that the Proteſtants every where ſhould permit the Romaniſts the uſe therof, denouncing ſevere puniſhments to thoſe which obey'd not; Howbeit, he promiſed, within ſix Moneths to obteine from the Pope ſufficient Authority for calling a Councell the year following. In the meane time, that Peace ſhould be kept with all thoſe who ſubſcrib'd to this Decree; who alſo, and no other, might be admitted to ſit as Judges in the Imperiall Chamber. The Proteſtants now conſidering, that it was impoſſible to come to an exact deciſion of the points controverted, tooke their leaves ſomewhat abruptly, and returned; Whereupon the Emperour (intending chiefly the ſafeguard of *Germany* againſt the Turks) commanded the other Princes attendance. From whom Hee demanded money, towards the warre; which as few denyed (to their powers,) ſo the Agents for the Duke of *Saxony*, and other Proteſtants offer'd freely to Contribute their parts, when they might but enjoy Peace, and the exerciſe of their Religion till the above-mention'd Councell was call'd. But the Emperour, not thus contented, inſiſted ſtill on his Decree; and the rather that the prime Doctors of the Reformed (which were many) could not agree among themſelves, concerning the Lords Supper, and ſome other Articles. The conſequence whereof being not difficult to foreſee, the Duke of *Saxony* employ'd *Martin Bucer* to reconcile them; who alſo had brought them neer to a head. Neither was there other impediment, but that ſingularity they affected in their ſeverall opinions. Which yet proved to the detriment of Religion. For had they all, who agreed on a Reformation, agreed ſufficiently among themſelves, it is probable their Doctrine would have been more generally imbrac'd. But as the Romaniſts took this occaſion to brand the Reformed, ſo they again regarding more their Reputation (ingaged to their Auditors in the Pulpit, or publike writing) than an Unity and Peace of Religion, did by degrees rather violently confirme their own aſſertions, than any way retract them. So that *Germany* now labour'd under the terrours, and difficulties which their ſeverall teachers impoſed on them. In which ſtate of things yet the Reformed Princes and Cities, for preventing further inconveniences, agreed together to meet by themſelves, or Deputies, at *Smalcald*, about the end of *December* (at the ſame time that the Emperour having concluded the Dyet at *Augsburgh* (19. *Novemb.*) had appointed all the Electors to meet at *Collen* (*Decemb.* 29.) concerning the chooſing a King of the Romans. And here a defenſive League being made by the Proteſtants, they thought fit to ſignifie it to the Emperour; and together to declare certain objections againſt the Pretended Election. Notwithſtanding which, the Emperour proceeds to make his brother *Ferdinand* King of the Romans *Jan.* 5. 1531, which alſo being advertis'd to the Confederate Proteſtants, *John Frederic* Duke of *Saxony* manifeſted the Election imperfect and defective. Not without the adviſe

Nov. 19.

Dec. 22.
Dec. 24.

Jan. 5. 1531.

viſe certainly of *Francis*; who as hee had his deſignes that way, ſo hee endeavoured nothing more than to draw a Party to him; giving order, in the mean while, to unite and incorporate *Bretaigne* to *France*, upon condition that the eldeſt ſonne ſhould alwayes quarter the Armes thereof with thoſe of *Daulphine*. And in theſe termes ſtood the affaires of *Germany* in the end of 1530. which I have deliver'd with the more particularity, that the firſt manifeſt ſeparation from the Roman Church began here, there being little elſe materiall in regard of *England* that I can find, ſave that our King, (as appears by a Diſpatch of the fifteenth of *July* 1530.) having certified *George* Duke of *Saxony*, of his intentions concerning his Divorce, was much comforted and applauded by him. I ſhall conclude this yeare with two great Inundations; one of *Tiber* in *Rome*, and the other of the Sea in the *Low-Countries*; which were very dammageable; ſhortly after which followed the death of the two great Ladyes who made the Treaty of *Cambray*. Madam *Margarite*, Aunt to the Emperour, departed firſt, who having been propos'd in Marriage to our *Henry* the Seventh (when ſhee was then about twenty ſeven years of age) and afterwards thought of it a little with *Charles Brandon*; dyed in the 52th yeare of her age, with the reputation of governing the *Low-Countries* with much diſcretion for the ſpace of 23 years. The newes whereof being brought the Emperour, made him neglect all his other buſineſſes, to come to the buriall; which being perform'd with much ſolemnitie; hee ſubſtituted his Siſter *Donna Maria*, (Widow of the late unfortunate King of *Hungary*) in her place. Madam *Louiſe*, Mother of *Francis*, died ſhortly after, (for whom our King kept a ſolemne Obſequie) a Lady from whom *France* receiv'd many good, and not a few ill Offices. For if ſhee govern'd wiſely, during the Kings Captivitie, and again procur'd both his and her Grand-childrens delivery; Shee was thought alſo out of ſome particular deſpight to *Bourbon* to have given Him the firſt cauſes of Diſcontentment. And to have Occaſion'd in part the loſſe of the Dutchy of *Milan*.

1531.
Jul. 15.
Octob. 8.
Novemb.
Nov. 30.
1530.
Sandov.
1503.
1513.
Septemb. 22.
1531.

Our King during theſe great affaires of Chriſtendome, reſolving his Parliament ſhould continue, caus'd it to ſit again, *Jan.* 6. 15$\frac{31}{32}$. Where theſe Lawes were enacted.

15$\frac{31}{32}$.
Jan. 6.

That, becauſe much Wooll was employ'd to uſes not ſo beneficiall to the Kingdome, and ſometimes tranſported by ſtrangers, It was Degreed that none ſhould buy Wooll in ſome principall Shires (to the number of twenty eight) but thoſe who would make Cloth or Yarne thereof, and that ſtrangers ſhould not buy any till the Purification of our Lady. But this being a Law that might likewiſe have his inconveniency, was continued only for ten years, as it had been in ſome former Kings times.

Jan. 6.

Alſo a Law was made againſt exactions on Apprentices by Maſters, Wardens, *&c.* And this was beneficiall for poore men, who were not able to put their children to learne Occupations without paying

1530. paying extraordinary ſummes. A remedy alſo was taken for repayring of decayed Bridges, and High-wayes, and the manner of raiſing the money (which before was uncertain) ſet down. The carrying over of Horſes, Mares, Geldings, alſo was forbidden upon a penalty to all places but *Calais*. Moreover, Deniſons, Notwithſtanding their Priviledges, were order'd to pay ſuch Cuſtomes as they pay'd before. For which purpoſe the Officers and Miniſters of Cities and Boroughs, *&c.* where ſuch Cuſtomes, *&c.* were due, were commanded to ſet up a Table in ſome open place, conteining the particulars of them. Which Act yet was not extended to the Merchants of the Stillyart (called then *Theutonici*.) Together with which, it was provided, that the tables touching Scavage to be ſet up at *London*, ſhould be firſt viewed and examined by the Chancellour, and Treaſurour in *England*, the Preſident of the Kings Counſell, the Lord Privy Seale, and Lord Steward, and the two chiefe Juſtices; or by foure of them at leaſt, and by them ſubſcribed. And this was for preventing of the ſecret exactions of Tolls by Mayors, Sheriffs, *&c.* Upon Wares to bee ſold within their Precincts. A Law was made alſo againſt Egyptians, who under pretence of telling Fortunes, got money, and credit among the more Ignorant ſort. And whereas ſome penall Statutes were made heretofore againſt Strangers who were Handicrafts-men; It was declared, that the ſaid ſtrangers, being Bakers, Brewers, Surgeons, and Scriveners were exempted, and not taken to be handicraftſmen. And, becauſe the abuſe of taking Sanctuary, and flying to Hallowed places was great about this time, Inſomuch that many Criminalls, finding Refuge and protection in them, did there abjure the Realme, and ſo went into Forraigne parts, by which means they diſcover'd the ſecrets of the State, to the great prejudice thereof. And whereas alſo, when they were to be tryed before the Judges in the Circuits, they would plead they were taken out of ſome Sanctuary or Hallowed place, and Juſtice thereby delayd; Divers good orders were taken to remedy theſe Inconveniences. Which yet I mention not at large; becauſe they, together with the uſe of Sanctuaries, were at length wholly antiquated, and aboliſh'd. And now the buſineſſe of *Præmunire*, into which the whole Clergy was ſayd to fall by ſupporting the power Legantine of the Cardinall, having fully been debated by the Kings Counſell learned, and reſolved againſt them; (Whereupon alſo they were brought to the Kings Bench:) It was agreed in their Convocation Houſe, to deliver a Petition to the King. Here then the firſt queſtion was, in what forme to make it; the Title of *Eccleſiæ & Cleri Anglicani Protector & Supremum Caput*, was by ſome inſerted in the Proeme; But this again being demurr'd on, ſome of the Kings Counſell, together with *Cromwell*, came in, and perſwaded them to approve it; But they being ſilent, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* ſaid, *Qui tacet Conſentire videtur*; Whereto on anſwered, *Itaque tacemus Omnes*. But at laſt this Clauſe being added, *quantum per Chriſti legem licet*, nine Biſhops, (whereof *John Fiſher* Biſhop

Biſhop of *Rocheſter* was one, and fifty two Abbots and Priors conſented thereunto, as alſo the major part of the Lower Houſe, and particularly *Stephen Gardiner*. Being thus agreed on the Proeme, they Petition'd the King, that Hee would accept the ſumme of one hundred thouſand pounds of the Province of *Canterbury* (eighteen thouſand eight hundred forty pounds, being afterwards given by the Province of *Yorke*) in lieu of all Puniſhments: They promiſing, for the future, to make no Conſtitution, nor execute any, without the Kings leave. All which the King graciouſly accepting, granted them a Pardon for all offences againſt the Statutes of Proviſors, Proviſions and *Præmunire*, and all other Penalties, and Forfeitures, except Treaſon, Murder, and Robbery. But when this Act having paſs'd the Lords, came to the Lower Houſe, the Commons, not knowing how farre this might concern them, made ſome difficulty till themſelves were included, which being related to the King, he gave them a Check, ſaying, that was not the way to exempt themſelves. Whereupon the Lower Houſe, becomming ſenſible of the Kings diſpleaſure, and their own danger, humbled themſelves in that ſort, that the King granted them a Pardon likewiſe. 1531.

I Shall begin the Forreigne buſineſſe of this yeare 1531. with the Coronation of *Ferdinand* King of the Romans at *Aix*, *January* 11th, on whom it was thought, the Emperour his Brother did conferre this Dignity, that he might the better eaſe himſelfe from the troubles of *Germany*, which now appear'd in ſo many kinds, and places, that his Counſell in *Spain* writ a Letter, Exhorting him to leave thoſe parts, and return. To which alſo conduced that *Ferdinand* had receiv'd the yeare before, the Crown of *Bohemia*, ſo that he was now enabled to ſuſtain the dignity of that Charge; to the which I find alſo the Duke of *Bavaria* aſpired. Howbeit as this was done by the Emperours ſole Authority (and without thoſe formalities antiently uſed) So the Romaniſts fighting for them, *tanquam pro aris & focis*, it was not every where allow'd for authenticall. So that it was thought fit an Imperiall Mandate ſhould be ſent forth every where in *Germany* to obey *Ferdinand*. Together with which the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Proteſtants were requir'd to aſſiſt in a warre againſt the Turkes. For which alſo all Military preparations were made. But whether the Proteſtants doubted leſt this ſhould be intended againſt them, or that otherwiſe they thought all hope of reconciling differences in Religion to be vaine, they prepared to defend themſelves. They would indeed have been glad to ſee ſome generall and moderate Reformation. But as thoſe they call'd the moſt erroneous points of the Roman Clergies faith, proved to bee their moſt profitable and commodious doctrines, all accord was judged deſperate: Notwithſtanding which, neither would they have broken thoſe neceſſary Bonds of Charity, (which Religion ſhould ſtrengthen) or lived under other name than that of Catholique, when the Romaniſts would

Jan. 11.

Jan. 28. *Sandoval.*

1531. would have allow'd the antient Creed to be the Rule of Faith. But when they found that, for reducing divers things to their Primitive inſtitution, they were call'd Innovators, and that the Roman Church would remit nothing of its Rigour, under pretence that it was Inſpir'd from above; they not only caſt off all hope of Accommodation, but advis'd how to obtain a benigne Cenſure of their Actions abroad. Therefore, they ſent ſeverall Letters, to our King, and *Francis*, Dated 16th *February* 1531. from *Smalcald*, Reciting what had formerly paſs'd at *Wormbs*, and *Augsburg*, betwixt the Emperour and them; ſaying farther, that the Emperour propos'd to them certain Articles (call'd the *Interim*) which they ſhould hold till a Generall Councill were ſummon'd, but that they were ſuch, as they could not with any ſafety of Conſcience admit; concluding with a requeſt, that their good offices with the Emperour might be interpos'd for the Convocation of a pious and free Councill, out of all the parts of the Chriſtian World; which alſo the Emperour had promis'd. But before the ſeverall anſwers of theſe Princes were return'd, the Emperour, doubting the conſequences of this Aſſembly, requires again their Aſſiſtance againſt the Turke. To which the Princes replied, that before themſelves had ſecurity given for Peace, it was unſeaſonable to grant help againſt others. Which being privately advertis'd to the French King, hee left awhile his *Amourettes*, to which he was now much addicted, and ſtudied nothing more than how to make ſom advantage of the diviſion. For the preſent yet hee return'd this anſwer only to the Princes, *Dat.* 21th *April* 1531. That hee deſir'd Peace and a Generall Councill, and was glad to underſtand they inclin'd that way; only that they muſt take care of chooſing a ſecure and Indifferent place, for the Convocation thereof. And for how much hee eſteem'd them, hee ſaid they might gather by this, that during his war with the Emperour, all free acceſſe, and intercourſe was permitted them. Our King alſo by his Letters, of *May* the third, writ, that hee was glad to underſtand their Deſigne was to conſerve the Antient Religion, and to cure only the diſeaſes crept into it. Therefore, that they ſhould eſpecially take heed of thoſe who deſir'd to Innovate, bringing in parity of degrees and perſons, and making the Magiſtrate contemptible. Of whom hee could not but take notice, ſome of them having come out of *Germany* to his Realme; Concluding, that he deſir'd a Councill, and that hee would mediate with the Emperour for them. The Princes thus animated, proteſt againſt the Coronation of *Ferdinand*, as being done in an undue manner, preparing withall to defend themſelves. Which being related to the *Suiſſe*, made them deſire to enter into the Confederacie. But the Duke of *Saxony* refuſed; alleging, that ſince they differ'd about the Lords Supper, they could not ſafely accept their help and Friendſhip, leſt ill ſhould happen to them, as to thoſe (*ut ſcriptura teſtatur*) *qui muniendi ſui cauſa cujuſq; modi præſidiis uſi ſunt*. For, as the Scriptures began then commonly to bee read, ſo out of the literall ſence thereof, the manner of thoſe times was

Feb. 16. *Sleid.*

April 21.

May 3.

June.

was, Promiſcuouſly to draw arguments, for whatſoever in matter of State or otherwiſe was to be done. Inſomuch, that the text which came neereſt the point in queſtion, was taken as a deciſion of the buſineſſe; to the no little detriment of their affaires: the Scriptures not pretending yet to give regular inſtructions in thoſe points. But this is ſo much leſſe ſtrange, that the yeare preceding, the Scriptures (heretofore not permitted to the view of the People) were now tranſlated in divers Languages, and into Engliſh by *Tindall*, *Joye*, and others, though, as not being warranted by the Kings Authority they were publiquely burnt, and a new and better tranſlation promiſed to be ſet forth, and allowed to the People. It being not thought fit by our King that, under what pretence or difficulty ſoever, his Subjects ſhould be defrauded of that, wherein was to be found the Word of God, and means of their Salvation. Howbeit not a few Inconveniences were obſerv'd to follow. For as the People did not ſufficiently ſeparate the more cleare and neceſſary parts thereof from the obſcure and acceſſory; And as again taking the ſeverall Authors to bee equally inſpir'd, they did equally apply themſelves to all; they fell into many dangerous opinions: little caring how they liv'd, ſo they underſtood well, bringing Religion thus into much irreſolution and Controverſie. While few men agreeing on the ſame Interpretation of the harder places, vexed each others Conſcience, Appropriating to themſelves the gift of the Spirit. Whereof the Roman Church, (much perplext at firſt with theſe defections) did at laſt ptevaile it ſelfe; As aſſuming alone the power of deciſion; which yet was uſed more in favour of themſelves, than ſuch an Analogy, as ought to be found in ſo perfect a Book. So that few were ſatisfied therewith, but ſuch as, renouncing their own Judgement, and ſubmitting to theirs, yeelded themſelves wholly to an Implicite Faith; In which, though they found an apparant Eaſe, yet as, for juſtifying of themſelves, the Authority of their beleefe, was deriv'd more immediatly from the Church, than the Scripture, not a few difficulties were introduced, concerning both: whiſe the more ſpeculative ſort could not imagine, how to hold that as an Infallible Rule, which needed human help to vindicate and ſupport it; Nevertheleſſe, as by frequent reading of the Scripture at this time, it generally appear'd what the Roman Church had added or alter'd in Religion, ſo many recover'd a juſt liberty, endeavouring together a Reformation of the Doctrine and Manners of the Clergie, which yet, through the obſtinacy of ſome, ſucceeded worſe, than ſo pious Intentions deſerv'd.

1531.

1530.

May 2. 1530.

The former proceedings of King *Henry*, being advertis'd to the Pope made him feare a totall defection in our King, Inſomnch, that at *Rome* they ſtudied nothing more than how to reteine Him in his antient devotion; ſome arguments whereof have been formerly mention'd. To the furthering of which intention alſo it did not a little conduce, that he had taken ſome diſtaſt againſt the Emperour; who, being deſir'd to appoint certaine Judges to determine all differences

betwixt

1531. betwixt him and the Duke of *Ferrara*, concerning *Modena* and *Reggio*, choſe ſuch as ſentenc'd on the Dukes behalfe; which ſo incens'd the Pope, that hee fell off from the Emperour (as will appeare hereafter.) For which reaſon alſo it is probable, that our King might have cloſed with him, and received ſome ſatisfaction in the affaire of the Divorce, had not his Parliament, at this time, as is above-ſaid, concurr'd to the ſetting up of the Regall Authority in Eccleſiaſticall affaires. To whom therefore hee thought fit to communicate what his Agents in *Italy*, and other places had done, concerning that ſo much-controverted point of the lawfulneſſe of his Marriage. Whereupon, the Parliament yet ſitting, the Lord Chancellour, accompanied with Doctor *Stokeſley* Biſhop of *London*, and divers other Lords Spirituall and Temporall, came into the Lower-Houſe 30th *March* 1531, and told them; That they could not bee Ignorant, how the King, having married his Brothers Wife, was troubled in Conſcience, and therefore had ſent to the moſt learned Univerſities in Chriſtendome, to be reſolv'd in that point; and namely had employ'd the Biſhop of *London* there preſent, for this purpoſe. Not, yet, but that his own Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* could have ſufficiently decided the point, but that hee might the more amply ſatisfie himſelfe and the world. Whereupon Sir *Bryan Tuke* was commanded to take out, and read the Determinations of the Univerſities of *Paris*, *Orleans*, *Angiers*, *Bourges* in *Berry*, and *Tholouſe* in *France*, and of *Bononia*, and *Padoua*, in *Italy*, who all agreed, in declaring the Marriage unlawfull. After which, above a Hundred bookes of ſeverall Doctors, (whereof Doctor *Cranmers* was one) confirming the ſame opinion, were exhibited. The peruſing of which yet (the day being far ſpent) was referr'd to a further time. As alſo the Reſolution of our two Univerſities (brought after the reſt to our King,) which becauſe *Sanders* calls in a ſort ſurreptitious, I ſhall relate out of ſome Originall peeces which I have ſeen. To the Univerſity of *Oxford*, the Biſhop of *Lincolne* was employ'd, where, neither eaſily, nor by generall Vote, there paſt this Decree 4th *April* 1530.

Jan. 6. 15$\frac{30}{31}$.

March 30.

Hall.

April 4. 1530.

NOs Johannes Cotisford hujus almæ Univerſitatis Oxoniæ Commiſſarius, authoritate & conſenſu hujus totius venerabilis Convocationis, declaramus, decernimus, & diffinimus, majorem partem omnium Doctorum Magiſtrorum tam Regentium quam non Regentium ſingularum facultatum hujus almæ Univerſitatis Oxon. conceſſiſſe & conſenſum pariter & aſſenſum ſuum præbuiſſe, quod Determinatio Definitio & Reſponſio ad Quæſtionem nobis ex parte Sereniſſimi Domini Regis nuper propoſitam per illos Triginta tres Doctores & Baccalaurios, ad id per facultatem Theologiæ nuper electos, ſive per majorem partem eorum facienda, habeatur, cenſeatur, & reputetur pro diffinitione Determinatione & Reſponſione totius hujus Univerſitatis; Et quod liceat Dominis Commiſſario & Procuratoribus Sigillum commune Univerſitatis literis ſuper præfata determinatione per eoſdem concipiendis apponere.

Which

Which Copy though blurr'd (upon what occaſion I know not, for it is not probable it ſhould be intended to the King in that manmer) was diſpatcht the day following, as the Act of the Univerſity, by the Biſhop of *Lincolne*. As for the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, I find *Stephen Gardiner*, and *Edward Fox* were employ'd; Where, Notwithſtanding the Kings Letters, and the diligence us'd on their part, not a few difficulties did occur. Inſomuch that it was firſt denyed, then the voyces on both ſides were brought even, and at laſt, (ſome abſenting themſelves) it was agreed, that the Queſtion ſhould be diſputed by twenty eight Delegates, and that two parts of three ſhould determine it; which accordingly was done in favour of the King, by the Vice-Chancellour, and the two Proctors, ten Doctors, and fifteen others, whoſe names are extant in the ſame Record. Which averſneſſe, more than in Forreigne Univerſities, whether it ſhould be attributed to the power of the Pope in *England*, or to their particular ſcrupuloſitie of Conſcience, is more than I will determine; Though, on this occaſion, I can doe no leſſe, than repeat ſome Arguments drawn (in favour of the Divorce) out of our Records. Firſt the place in *Leviticus* xviii Chap.xvi verſe; Thou ſhalt not uncover the nakedneſſe of thy Brothers Wife. Secondly, St. *Baſill*'s opinion, tending this way, Where he ſaith, that he ſhall be Excommunicated that marrieth his wifes Siſter. Thirdly, becauſe two Epiſtles, tranſcrib'd out of the Popes Regiſters, and ſent into *England*, by Doctor *Stokeſley* (whereof one was of *Gregory*, the other of *Innocent* the third) do profeſſe, that the Pope cannot diſpence againſt the Law of God; the particular caſe being then a Marriage. Fourthly, that, granting the Pope can diſpenſe, *ex urgentiſſima cauſa*, with that which is *ex jure divino*, (which yet Divines for the moſt part deny) there was no occaſion here, ſince the Peace betwixt *England* and *Spaine*, (which was taken as the ground of the Breve) ſtood firme and intire. Laſtly, that the Jewes themſelves (for our Agents conſulted with them alſo) did not hold the Law of Marrying the Brothers wife, *Deut.* 25. as neceſſary in this time, but did often *pati diſcalceationem*. All which being maturely conſidered by the Lower Houſe, made them deteſt the Marriage, as our Hiſtorians have it. Whereupon the King thought fit alſo to prorogue the Parliament, to the intent that every man repairing home, might ſatisfie his Neighbour of theſe paſſages; Not omitting, together, to cauſe theſe Forreigne determinations, to be printed and publiſhed this yeare, as the Book yet extant in Print ſhewes. Notwithſtanding which, ſo farre was the King from remitting any thing of his gentle behaviour to the Queen, that, had he not forborne to come to her bed, neither could his outward favour towards her, or her faſhions towards him have argued any diminution of love; all thoſe wonted Ceremonies, by which they ſuſtain'd the dignitie of their place, and civilities which might imply a mutuall reſpect, continuing firmly on either ſide. Which our Hiſtorians amplify ſo farre, that they ſay hee ſore lamented his chance, and made no

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1531. manner of mirth or paſtime as he was wont to do; without yet that they can be thought to ſpeak improbably, when wee conſider both how deere this liberty coſt him, and how much it endanger'd the ſucceſſion. Howſoever, that he might both prevaile himſelfe of the occaſion, and alſo ſatisfie the doubts he had rais'd not in his own alone but ſubjects breaſts; Hee ſent to Queen *Katherine* ſome Lords of his Counſell, wiſhing them to acquaint her with theſe Determinations (which alſo I find had been ſhewed the Pope) and together to demand of her, for quieting the Kings Conſcience, and ending this buſineſſe, whether ſhe would rather referre her ſelfe to the Judgement of foure Spirituall, and foure Temporall Lords in this Kingdome, or ſtand to her Appeale. To which the ſad Queen anſwered, That her Father, before hee conſented to her ſecond Marriage, had taken the adviſe of Doctors, and Clerks, whoſe opinion ſhee beleev'd rather than any others; And that, the Pope having confirmed it, ſhee wondred that any ſhould queſtion it. And, whereas for quieting the Kings Conſcience, you would have me put the buſineſſe to eight Lords; That which I ſay, is, I pray God ſend his Grace a quiet Conſcience. As for Anſwer to your meſſage; I pray you tell the King, I am his lawfull Wife, and ſo will abide, till the Court of *Rome* determine to the Contrary. But our King, who alleg'd his Proceedings were according to the Law of God (which therefore hee ſayd ſhould be more inſiſted on, than any other authority) ſent other Meſſengers, exhorting her ſtill to conforme her ſelfe, among whom one ſpake to this effect. Madam, you cannot bee ignorant how much you have provoked the Kings diſpleaſure againſt you, ſince his Grace having uſed all fit means to cleare his own, and ſubjects inſatisfactions, concerning the lawfulneſſe of his Marriage, you yet continue refractory in that violent manner, as you not only refuſe the generall Determinations of Univerſities, and learned Men; but, contrary to the Laws of the Land, and the Royall dignity have cited his Highneſſe to appeare in the Court of *Rome*; neither have thoſe many Admonitions you have received concerning the danger, and conſequences hereof, been able to divert you from your purpoſes, or reduce you to reaſon and your duty. Of which therefore his Highneſſe is ſo ſenſible, that he hath forborn of late to ſee your Grace, or receive your tokens, giving you liberty further, to repaire either to his Mannor of *Oking*, or *Eſtamſteed*, or the Monaſterie of *Biſham*; for, ſince you were known by his Brother Prince *Arthur*, you cannot be his lawfull Wife. To which the vertuous and ſorrowfull Queen replied little more than this. That to what place ſoever ſhee remov'd, nothing could remove her from being the Kings Wife. And here the King bid her a finall farwell: for, from this time, being *July* the fourteenth, I find not the King ever ſaw her more.

May 31.

Hall.

July 14.

Our King being now inform'd that Italian, and other Forreigne Merchants brought Commodities hither, which they ſold well, and then return'd the money by Exchange to their own Country, to the exhauſting

exhauſting of the wealth of this Realme, and the diminution of his Cuſtomes, Cauſed a Proclamation to be ſet forth, that according to a branch of a Statute *Ri.*III. no Mony they tooke here for ſelling their Wares ſhould be exchanged to other Countries, but employed in the Commodities of this Realme, which (our Hiſtorians ſay) as long as it was obſerved, proved to the great benefit both of the King and Subject. And now, the Mony for the *Præmunire* being call'd on, the Clergy, for their eaſe would have drawn the Prieſts of *London* to contribution, which they tooke ſo ill, that, in outragious manner, breaking into the Chapter-houſe of St.*Pauls*, they did beat his ſervants; till the Biſhop, for avoiding more miſchiefe, gave them his bleſſing, and leave to depart for the preſent; though ſhortly after they were puniſh'd for their misbehaviour. 1531 *Sept.* 1. *Hall.*

This while, the Emperour (intentive wholly to the affairs of *Germany*) did more calmly ſuffer our Kings intended Divorce; and the rather, that it is probable the Determinations of the Univerſities above mentioned had given him, if not ſatisfaction, yet colour enough to neglect awhile the Proſecuting this buſineſſe. Eſpecially, ſince at this time he might have ſo much uſe of our Kings aſſiſtance, againſt the Turke; Of which alſo hope was given him. On the other ſide *Francis* did by all means advance, and ſet it forward; both in regard himſelfe (as their Hiſtorians have it) was much addicted to love-making at this time; and as that hee doubted not, hereby, to keep our King at a variance with the Emperour. Againſt whom the offences and quarrells hee had taken being not extinguiſhed, hee both fortified himſelfe by all means, and labour'd publikely to traduce even his moſt Impartiall and generous Actions. Therefore hee was ſo farre from admitting the Reſtitution of *Milan* to *Franceſco Sforza* to be an Act of Piety, that hee took it, if not as an affront to him, yet at leaſt as a Politique Introduction of one to that Dignity, who hee knew could not be diſpoſeſt thereof again, without offending all *Italy*. So likewiſe the parting with the *Contado* of *Aſti* (antiently belonging to the houſe of *Orleans*) to the Duke of *Savoy*, was thought to be no more than an intereſſing him in that quarrell. Furthermore, his retaining an Army in *Italy*, at the Coſt of the Confederates, (but under the Command of *Antonio de Leyva*) was underſtood, not for conſerving the Peace of *Italy*, but defending of *Genoua* againſt him. All which was ſo ill taken, that *Francis* did, not only by the entremiſe of *Guillaume de Bellay*, Treat of entring a private League with the Princes of *Germany*, for defence of the Rights of the Empire, (violated as he conceiv'd by the undue Election of *Ferdinand*) but prepar'd to ſend them ſuccours when occaſion were. Nor did his rancour againſt the Emperour ſtay here; but (if wee may believe ſome even of his owne Nation) extended it ſelfe ſo farre, as ſecretly, at this time, to incourage the Turke to invade the Patrimony of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; to the no little ſcandall, both of his own Honour, and the Chriſtian Religion. The Emperour, not ignorant of all theſe

1531. machinations, ſends *Seigneur de Balançon* to *Francis*, to borrow Money, and to invite him to furniſh land, and Sea-forces for a warre againſt the Turke; alleging Treaties, Promiſes, and many Arguments to this purpoſe. To which *Francis* anſwered. That the Emperour had gotten, lately enough, from him, two Millions of Gold, which ought to ſuffice. For the reſt that hee was neither Merchant nor Banquer to furniſh money, but a Chriſtian Prince, that would have his part of the Honour and danger in all brave Actions. Therefore that hee would ſpare no Forces out of his Kingdome, nor permit them goe to any place where himſelfe did not lead them. Beſides, as this Summer was farre ſpent, he could not ſend his Cavallerie to *Auſtria* without much incommoditie, (the diſtance between both Countries being ſo great.) Therefore, that the Emperour ſhould defend *Germany*, while himſelfe with an Army of fifty thouſand Men, would undertake to defend *Italy*, which the Turke alſo menac'd. And for the next yeare, hee would be ready, with the help of his good brother, the King of *England*, to goe to any place where it ſhould be needfull. As for his Shipping, hee could leaſt of all ſpare it; having occaſion to defend the Maritime parts of *France* againſt Pirats. Which being related again to the Emperour (then at *Ratisbone*) hee thought fit to publiſh it, thereby to make *Francis* more odious, though effectively hee took his offer to defend *Italy*, to be little more than irriſion. Buſineſſes ſtanding thus, *Monſieur de Bellay* Ambaſſadour from the French King to the Princes, (having firſt conferr'd with *Monſieur de Velly* Ambaſſadour from *Francis* to the Emperour) abſolutely concludes that Accord the Princes had formerly propos'd to his Maſter: giving by this means a perpetuall cauſe of Jealouſie, and Offence to the Emperour. Yet as *Francis* thought himſelfe not ſtrong enough alone, ſo hee implored our Kings aſſiſtance; which our King alſo promiſed, by *Monſieur Gillex de Pommeraye*, (French Ambaſſadour in *England*,) ſending with him (at his returne) fifty thouſand Crowns to be employed for the defence and conſervation of the right and privileges of the Empire. An Enterview alſo was projected betwixt them for the yeare following, wherein both Kings ſhould Treat of the Generall affaires, and particularly what they were to do, in caſe the Turk ſhould again invade Chriſtendome.

Bellay. 4.

July. 1532.

Bellay. 1532.

While affaires abroad paſſed thus, our Nation enjoyed much ſecurity, and quietneſſe; ſo that, if contention about Religion had not hapned, they might have thought themſelves happy; which though it had its beginning from the divers explications of the holy Scripture, yet many good men laboured to reconcile them; Affirming, that, whatſoever was neceſſary to the attaining of everlaſting happineſſe, was ſo plainly, and ſo perſpicuouſly ſet down there, as it needed no Interpreter. And that, if any thing beſides were taught, it was, if not erroneous, yet unneceſſary to Salvation. Howbeit, they would not deny, but divers points might be added, for the Ampliation, conveniency, and Ornament of Religion when they were deliver'd upon theſe

theſe termes, and not under thoſe Condemnations and Penalties wherewith the more neceſſary parts were injoyn'd. Whereupon alſo they concluded, that, if divers paſſages in the holy Scriptures might ſeem obſcure, it was Gods will to have it ſo, who thought not fit to reveale them, otherwaies; as reſerving a full knowledge to a ſecond and better life. Yet, becauſe divers, not content with this or any Moderate Reformation, did (through the violence of their ſpirits) runne into thoſe extremities, as they labour'd to draw all the Doctrine of the Roman Church into a perverſe ſence; much occaſion of controverſie was given; While they who indeavour'd a Peace ſo little prevail'd, as, (for the moſt part) like thoſe who part Affraies, they bore blowes on either ſide. In which doubtfull times King *Henry* put in execution all former Lawes againſt Hereticall Perſons, and Books; whereby one *Thomas Bilney*, Batchelaur of both Lawes, declaring himſelfe with great vehemency in divers Articles againſt the Roman Church, was (*a*) condemn'd to be Burnt, and ſhortly after, for the ſame cauſe, (*b*) *Bayfield* a Prieſt, and (*c*) *Baynham* a Lawyer. The whole narration whereof being extant in Maſter *Fox*, I ſhall mention no otherwiſe. 15 $\frac{11}{31}$. *Fox.* (*a*) *Aug.* 19. (*b*) *Nov.* 27. (*c*) *April* 30. 1532.

The next Yeare *January* 15th, the Parliament ſate againe till *May* 14th. Where the Commons perſiſting in their Grievances againſt the Clergy, which they comprized in a Booke, and delivered by their Speaker; The King anſwer'd, Hee would take advice, and heare the parties accuſed ſpeake, and then proceed to a Reformation; which followed in part, as appears in ſome Statutes of this Parliament. For, Whereas it was uſuall in former times that Clerks who committed petty Treaſon, Murder, or Felony, were (through a certaine Privilege of the Church) Deliver'd to their Ordinaries, Who alſo thereupon, for Lucre or other undue motives, did ſuffer them to make their Purgation by ſuch as nothing knew of their miſdeeds, to the great ſcandall of Juſtice; It was now enacted, that none ſhould have the benefit of this recourſe to the Ordinarie, but thoſe who were within holy Orders, and yet to find ſufficient Sureties for their good abearing. This Act yet not to extend to thoſe, who being attainted of Felony, or Murder, are after admitted to their Clergy, and ſo deliver'd to the Ordinary. It was provided alſo that Ordinaries, having ſuch perſons in their Cuſtody, might degrade them, and ſend them to the Kings Bench to be detain'd. 1532. *Jan* 15. *Reg.* 23. *Hall. March.* 18.

It was enacted alſo, how perjuries, and untrue Verdicts ſhould be puniſhed. And this was to the ſingular benefit of the Subject; there being no miſchiefe ſo eaſie to be done, ſo irreparable in their conſequence, or unlimited in their extent, as thoſe of this kinde.

And, whereas the Commiſſion of Sewers being about Sea-walls, Gutters, Banks, *&c.* and Damms, Weres, *&c.* in freſh Rivers, was not particularly enough ſet downe heretofore; It was now declared and interpreted. And this was much for the benefit of the Sea-Coaſts, and making great Rivers Navigable.

15^{32}_{31}.

Whereas alſo Statutes of the Staple were heretofore uſed only betwixt Merchant, and Merchant, for ſuch Merchandize of the Staple, as paſſed betwixt them; the uſe thereof was now permitted to others of the Kings ſubjects upon certain Conditions. And this not only enlarged Contracts, but ſtrengthned much the ſinews of them.

Whereas heretofore the Kings Subjects were ordinarily called by Citations to appeare, in the Arches, Audience, and other high Courts of the Arch-Biſhops of this Realme, to anſwer to many ſurmiſed cauſes; and that they who refuſed, were Excommunicated or ſuſpended from divine Service; It was now enacted, that none ſhould be ſo Cited but in certain caſes declared in the ſaid Statute.

Feofments of Lands alſo to the uſe of a Church (as being little different from Mort-main) were made void.

Whereas divers, having the benefit of their Clergie, were afterwards committed to their Ordinaries, and did there break Priſon, it was now Declared Felony.

Divers other good Statutes paſſed alſo this Seſſion; which yet, for being meerly Legall, or limited to certaine places, are not here recited.

This Yeare alſo an Act paſſed, concerning *Annates* or the firſt fruits of Biſhopricks, paid uſually to the See of *Rome*, for the obtaining of Palls, Bulls, *&c.* The Preamble and conſideration whereof was (as I find in the Records.) 1. The great ſums of money already paſſed out of the Kingdome that way, (being no leſſe than one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds Sterling, ſince the ſecond year of *Henry* the Seventh.) Secondly, that more was like to be ſhortly tranſported, by reaſon many of the Biſhops are Aged. Thirdly, That the firſt uſe and grant of them was for maintaining Armes againſt Infidels. So that it was enacted, that they ſhould henceforth ceaſe, and no more money to be paid to *Rome* to that intent, except as is hereafter ſpecified, (*viz.*) Leſt the Court of *Rome* ſhould thinke themſelves irremunerated for their pain, in making and ſealing Bulls in Lead, *&c.* it was ordein'd, that there may be allow'd for the ſaid Bulls five pounds in the hundred, according to the rate of the Biſhopricks cleere value above all charges. And if any man, being choſen to a Biſhopricke, and preſented by the King to the Pope, ſhall hereupon find any lett or hindrance, by reſtraint of his Bulls, upon convenient ſuit for the ſame; then hee may be named and preſented by the Kings Highneſſe to the Arch-Biſhop of the Province; who ſhall Conſecrate him; or, the ſaid Arch-Biſhop delaying under pretence of want of Pall, Bull, *&c.* the perſon, ſo named, ſhall be Conſecrate, and inveſted by any two Biſhops of the Land, whom the King ſhall appoint thereto; and ſhall be held and reputed thereafter as a Compleat Biſhop. But of this Act wee ſhall ſpeake again when wee come to the 25th yeare of the King. For though it paſt the Parliament now, and the King gave his Aſſent thereto; Yet power was reſerv'd for him to annull or confirme the ſame any time within two years next following.

Records.

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Moreover, in this Statute, the King and his Parliament Declare, that they doe not intend to uſe any extremity or violence, before gentle and courteous wayes have been attempted. But if it ſhall pleaſe the King to propoſe an amicable Compoſition to the Pope, and his Holineſſe ſhall be content either to aboliſh or moderate thoſe *Annates*; then the Compoſition, ſo made, to ſtand firme. But if, upon the ſaid amicable Propoſitions, the Realme cannot be disburdned, and that, for the continuance of the ſame, the Pope ſhall unjuſtly vex, and diſquiet the King or his Subjects by any Excommunication, *&c.* Bee it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, that the Kings Highneſſe his heires and Succeſſours Kings of *England*, and all his Spirituall and Lay ſubjects of the ſame, without any ſcruple of Conſcience, ſhall and may lawfully, to the honour of Almighty God, the increaſe and and continuance of vertue, and good example within this Realme, (the ſaid Cenſures, Excommunications, Interdictions, Compulſories, or any of them notwithſtanding) miniſter, or cauſe to be miniſtred throughout this ſaid Realme, and all other the Dominions and Territories belonging or appertaining thereunto, all and all manner of Sacraments, Sacramentalls, Ceremonies, or other Divine Service of holy Church, or any other thing or things, neceſſary for the health of the Soule of Mankind, as they heretofore at any time or times have been vertuouſly uſed or accuſtomed to doe within the ſame. And that no manner of ſuch Cenſures, Excommunications, Interdictions, or any other Proceſſe or Compulſories ſhall by any of the Prelats, or other ſpirituall Fathers of this Region, ne by any of their Miniſters or Subſtitutes, be at any time or times hereafter publiſhed, executed, or divulged in any manner of wayes. 1532.

This Act being paſs'd, our King made uſe thereof, to terrifie the Pope, which alſo tooke effect; as I find by our Ambaſſadours Letters Dated from *Rome*, *April* 29th 1532. though together (as they were inſtructed from hence,) his Holineſſe was told by them, that our King had reſerved the whole buſineſſe to his own power and Diſcretion; which however it appeas'd the Pope awhile, yet as matters paſt afterwards, the Statute had his finall confirmation. *Anno* 25. *Henry* VIII. *April* 29.

I Shall begin this year's Hiſtory with the affairs of Queen *Katherine*; who, by her Proctor at *Rome*, aſſiſted with the adviſe and power of the Imperialiſts, Negotiated puiſſantly with the Pope; So that, notwithſtanding our Kings Indignation for her proſecuting him in this manner, Shee urged ſtill her Appeale, beſeeching the Pope to Cite the King, by himſelfe or Proctor to appeare. But the Pope thought fit rather gently thus to exhort our King to take againe his Wife *Katherine*.

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1532.

CLEMENS PAP. VII.

CHariſſime in Chriſto fili noſter, ſalutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Quod pro noſtra in te benevolentia, tuoq; honore & ſalute falſum eſſe cupimus, Relatum nobis eſt, & a multis confirmatum, Serenitatem tuam, quæ non ſolum antea, verum-etiam poſt motam litem inter te & chariſſimam in Chriſto filiam noſtram Catharinam Angliæ Reginam Illuſtrem, ſuper validitate matrimonii inter vos Contracti, eam apud ſe, ut decebat, in ſua Regia curia tenuerat, atque ut Reginam & uxorem habuerat, & tractaverat, a certo citra tempore eam non ſolum a ſe & ſua Curia, ſed etiam a Civitate ſeu loco ſuæ reſidentiæ ſeparaſſe, alioq; miſiſſe, loco autem ejus quandam Annam in ſuum contubernium, & Cohabitationem publice recepiſſe, eique maritalem affectum uxori tuæ debitum exhibere; Quæ res, fili Chariſſime, ſi modo vera eſt, tuq; parumper animum ab humanis affectibus collegeris, non dubitamus, quin, etiam tacentibus nobis, perſpecturus ſis, quam multis modis indigna te fuerit, vel ob contemptum litis-pendentiæ & Judicii noſtri, vel ob ſcandalum Eccleſiæ, vel ob communis pacis perturbationem; Quæ omnia ita a recto & religioſo Principe, qualem te ſemper habuimus, aliena ſunt, ut, tanquam tuæ naturæ & Conſuetudini repugnantia, & ſi nobis in dies magis confirmantur, difficilius tamen credamus. Quid enim minus tibi, & tuæ probitati convenit, quam hinc apud nos, per Oratores & literas, ſuper cauſa iſtuc remittenda, inſtare, inde te ipſum Tuo facto cauſa decidere? Quid ſimile tui, armis & ſcriptis olim Eccleſiam & ſanctam fidem defendiſſe, Nunc tali facto Eccleſiam videri Contemnere? Jam vero communis ſalus & tranquillitas a nullo unquam noſtri temporis Rege acrius quam a te cuſtodita eſt, qui bellum pro Eccleſia olim ſuſceptum, & glorioſe confectum, pro communi quiete depoſueris; ſemperque Arbiter quidam pacis & communis concordiæ inter Chriſtianos Principes

Principes Conciliandæ fueris exiſtimatus; Quo magis hæc 1532
nova de te audientes, admiramus ſimul ac dolemus, unum hoc tuum factum, ſi modo verum eſt, ab omni vitæ tuæ gloria & conſuetudine diſcrepare. Quamobrem cum nec rem tantam non explorare certius, nec neglectam omittere debeamus, Hanc ad te, quaſi amantis & ſolliciti Patris vocem procurrere voluimus, antequam Judicis ullas partes tecum ſumamus. Faciunt enim tuæ Celſitudinis dignitas, vetera tua in nos merita, noſtraq; ex his erga te benevolentia, ut tecum omni reſpectu & lenitate agere velimus, ſumpta parentis perſona, & Judicis tantiſper dedoſita, donec ex tuis literis conſilium progrediendi capiamus. Cupimus quidem, fili, ut diximus, hæc penitus falſa eſſe, aut non tam aſpera quam nobis referuntur, Teq; ipſum deinceps, pro tua ſingulari ſapientia, providere, ne cuiquam de Serenitate tua omni virtute conſpicua in hoc tantum obloquendi detur occaſio. Si quis enim vel ex Catholicis dolens, vel ex hæreticis gaudens audiat, te Reginam, quam in uxorem acceperiſti, Regumq; filiam, Cæſariſq; & Regis Romanorum materteram, viginti amplius annis tecum commoratam, prolemq; ex te ſuſceptam habentem, nunc a tuo thoro & contubernio procul amoviſſe, Aliam quoq; publice apud te habere, non modo ſine ulla licentia noſtra verum etiam contra noſtram prohibitionem; Is profecto neceſſe eſt, ut ſententiam quodammodo de optimo Principe ferat, tanquam Eccleſiam & publicam tranquilitatem parvi faciente, quod nos ſcimus ab intentione & voluntate tua longiſſime abeſſe; in tantum, ut ſi quis alius hoc idem in tuo regno audeat, quod a tua Serenitate factum dicitur, nullo modo te probaturum, ſed etiam ſevere vindicaturum pro certo habeamus. Quamobrem fili, etiam ſi tu rectiſſime ſentias, ut nos quidem conſtanter credimus, tamen cauſam præbere rumoribus & ſcandalis non debes; hoc præſertim tempore tam calamitoſo, plenoq; Hæreſum, & aliarum perturbationum; ne tuum factum latius pateat ad exemplum. Sunt enim facta regum, præſertim illuſtrium, ſicut tua Serenitas eſt, propoſita

1532. poſita quaſi in ſpecula, hominibus cæteris ad imitandum. Nec præterea negligenda tibi eſt communis ſalus, & totius Chriſtianitatis tranquillitas, quod ſemper fuit optimorum Regum. Nec, fili, debes Sereniſſimos Cæſarem & Romanorum Regem, dictæ Catharinæ Reginæ nepotes, nulla te proſecutos contumelia, hac tam gravi injuria, indeciſa lite, afficere, & exinde pacem perturbare univerſalem, qua ſola adverſus imminentem nobis Turcam tuti ſumus; ne ſcandali in Eccleſia, periculi in tota Chriſtiana republica cauſam præbeas, propteraq; Rex cœleſtis a te irritatus, tantam ſuam erga Te benignitatem aliqua ſeveritatis amaritudine permiſceat. Te igitur, fili, per eam, qua ſemper te ſumus proſecuti benevolentiam, ſemperque, ſi per te liceat, proſequemur, omni ſtudio & amore hortamur, & paterna charitate monemus, ut, ſi hæc vera ſint, quæ tuam veterem pietatem & gloriam denigrant, tute ea corrigere velis, ipſam Catharinam Reginam ad te humaniter revocando, atq; in eo Reginæ honore, & uxoris quo decet affectu, apud te habendo: Ipſam vero Annam a publico tuo convictu & cohabitatione, propter ſcandalum, removendo, donec noſtra ſententia inter vos ſubſequatur. Quod nos quidem, etſi eſt a te debitum, tibiq; eſt maxime futurum honorificum, beneficii loco recepiſſe a tua Serenitate videbimur. Nam quod te in priſtina tua voluntate erga nos, Obſervantiaq; erga hanc ſanctam ſedem, cum qua mutuis officiis & beneficiis ſemper certaſti, conſervare maxime cupimus; Summo ſane cum dolore, ad ea deſcenderemus Juris remedia, quorum neceſſitatem non noſtra privata contumelia, quam tibi libenter condonaremus, ſed Dei omnipotentis honor, publicæque utilitatis,& tuæ animæ ſalutis ratio ad poſtremum nobis, quanquam invitis, imponeret, Sicut Etiam Nuntius apud te noſter hæc Tuæ Serenitati uberius explicabit. Datum apud Sanctum Petrum ſub annulo Piſcatoris, die xxv^to^. Januarii 1532. Pont' noſtri Anno Nono.

Jan. 25

Bloſius.

But

But the Pope had no good Anſwer thereunto; For as the People for the moſt part exclam'd againſt the Match (as our Hiſtorians relate,) ſo the King would have found perchance ſome difficulty to appeaſe their ſcruples, when otherwiſe he could have ſatisfied his own. The Queen wanted not yet thoſe who Defended her cauſe publiquely both in books and Sermons (of whom the chiefe were *Thomas Abel* her Chaplaine, and *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*) and privatly in diſcourſe, (eſpecially women) though not ſufficiently either to clear all objections, or to remove the King from his affection to Miſtreſſe *Anne Bolen*. Among which I muſt not forget one *Temſe*, of the Lower Houſe of Parliament; who motion'd that they all ſhould petition the King, to take his Queen againe; which being adv ertis'd to our King, He ſent for *Thomas Audley*, the Speaker of the Houſe, and told him to this effect. That he marvail'd any among them ſhould meddle in buſineſſes which could not properly be Determined there. As for this particular that it concern'd his Soule ſo much, that hee many times wiſh'd the Marriage had been good, But ſince the Doctors of the Vniverſities had generally Declar'd it unlawfull, hee could Doe no leſſe, than abſtaine from her Company. Which therefore he wiſh'd them to take as the true reaſon, without imputing it to any wanton appetite: ſince, being in the 41th. yeare of his age, it might be juſtly preſum'd ſuch motions were not ſo quick in him. All which, that they might the better underſtand, he had inform'd himſelfe in all parts of Chriſtendome, concerning ſtrange marriages; and that, ſaving in *Spaine*, and *Portugall*, he could never find that any man had ſo much as married two Siſters, if the firſt were carnally known. But for the Brother to marry the Brothers wife was ſo abhorr'd among all Nations, that he never heard any Chriſtian ſo did but himſelfe; and therefore wiſhed them to beleeve that his Conſcience was troubled. Shortly after which, the King ſent for the Speaker againe, and told him that he had found that the Clergy of his Realme, were but his half Subjects, or ſcarce ſo much. Every Biſhop or Abbot, at the entring of his Dignity, taking an Oath to the Pope Derogatory to that of their fidelity to the King, which Contradiction He deſired his Parliament to take away: Whereupon theſe two Oaths by the Kings command being read and conſidered, the Parliament ſo handled the Buſineſſe, as it occaſion'd the finall Renouncing of the Pope's authority about two years after.

1532.

April 30. *Hall. Fox.*

May 11. *Hall.*

While theſe things thus paſs'd, King *Henry* commands his Agents at *Rome*, (the Biſhop of *Worceſter* and Sir *Gregory Caſalis*,) to preſent unto the Pope the opinion of Divers famous Lawyers, in favour of his cauſe; procuring alſo learned men from all parts of *Italy*, to come to *Rome*, to offer diſputation, for the ſame. To ſecond this againe King *Henry* in *January* 1532. ſends *William Benet*, Doctor of Law, to *Rome*, with inſtructions to this purpoſe. But becauſe it was found, that, by the continuall interceſſion of the Queen and Emperour, the Pope intended ſhortly to Cite the King to appeare at *Rome*, either in

Jan.

1532. in perſon or by Proxy; He Diſpatches thither about *February*, *Edward Karne*, Doctor of Law, to be his Excuſator, and to remonſtrate, that his Grace is not bound by Law ſo to appeare. But the Pope making difficulty to admit this Excuſator, It was Diſputed in the Conſiſtory, whether he ought to be heard or no? but much time being ſpent herein, the Queen's Agents require the Pope to proceed in the principall cauſe. In the meane while our King, by Sir *Francis Bryan*, importunes *Francis* to intercede for him with the Pope; who, thereupon, by Letter Dated *March* 16th. informs his Holineſſe, that the requeſt of the King of *England* is juſt, and he ought to relieve him. Or elſe they two, (being *une meſme choſe*, and who have ſo well Deſerv'd of him) ſhall be forc'd to ſeeke ſuch other Remedies, as ſhall not pleaſe him, *&c.* To enforce this moſt earneſt Letter, *Francis* ſends *Gabriel de Grammont*, Biſhop of *Tarbe* (lately made Cardinall) to the Pope, who yet, being continually urged by the Imperialiſts to proceed againſt the King, and hearing (beſides) firſt the prohibition of *Annates* above-mentioned, and afterwards that a certaine Prieſt was committed for maintaining the Papall Authority, and that another Prieſt (being put in Priſon by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* for favouring *Luther*) after hee had appeal'd to the King *tanquam Dominum Supremum*, was ſet at liberty, proceeds to Ciration; And, calling a Conſiſtory *July* 8th. committs the hearing of the cauſe to *Paulus de Capiſucci* Deane of the *Ruota*, and appoints the Month of *October* 1532. for the Kings Apparence, proteſting *alioqui procedetur &c.* In the meane time, he writes to our King, certyfying him, what was done, (yet emitting the Clauſe of *alioqui procedetur*) intreating him further to ſend a Proctor; making, alſo, this overture to our Agents, That hee will be content that all the Proceſſe ſhall be in *England*, except only the finall Deciſion, which (becauſe there is queſtion of the Papall Authority and the Law Divine) he will reſerve to himſelf. The terme prefixed for our Kings apparence being expir'd; *Capiſucci* Cites our King againe, or his Proctors, or finally his Orators. To all which *Edward Karne* anſwered publiquely the 14th. of *November* 1532. That the proceeding was undue, both as the queſtion concerning his Excuſation was not yet Decided, and that he could not get a Copy of the Citation; and finally as it was not congruous to the Breve ſent to the King concerning this buſineſſe. Beſides, that the Emperour was ſo powerfull in *Rome*, that he could not expect Juſtice. Wherefore, unleſſe they Deſiſted, he Declared, that, he muſt Appeale from thence to the able men in ſome indifferent Univerſities. And that, if this were refuſed, he proteſted then a Nullity in all that they did. But the Pope as little regarding this, goes to *Boxonia*, ſhortly after, to meet the Emperour, according to an agreement made a good while ſince betwixt them; promiſing our Agents yet, that notwithſtanding the Queen's Proctors ſollicitation, nothing of moment ſhould be Done in this cauſe, till the Emperour were departed.

Feb. *March.* *April.*

March 16.

April. *June.*

July 8.

July.

Novem. 4.

Novem. 14.

The

The Turke now threatning *Germany*, the Elector of *Ments*, and *Lodovicus* Prince *Palatine* interpoſed Offices for Reconciling the Emperour and the Proteſtants: The Treaty whereof began in *Aprill*, and ſo continued untill *July*. When Newes of the comming of the Turk being brought, both parties condeſcended to this Capitulation concluded at *Noremberg*. 1532. *April.* *July 23.*

That no man ſhould be troubled for cauſe of Religion, till the Councill be held, (which the Emperour will labour to procure to be ſummon'd within ſix Moneths, and held within a year following) or ſome other way of determination of controverted-points be found. *Sleid.*

Whereupon alſo the Proteſtants (being ſeven Princes, and twenty three Cities) offer'd him ayd againſt the Turke, Who, this Yeare 1532. upon Colour of putting *Johannes Sepuſius* in poſſeſſion of that Crown, invaded *Hungary*, which alſo hee proſecuted in that peremptory manner, as without admitting any reaſons from the Emperour, or indeed allowing him any other Title than the King of *Spaine*, (for hee ſaid there was no Emperour but himſelfe) hee brought in an Army of three hundred thouſand men into *Hungary*. And becauſe his equipage was ſingular, I preſume the Reader will take well the Deſcription of it. For his own Perſon he was cloath'd only in a rich Robe of Crimſon brodered with Gold; but his Cimitary and Dagger, as alſo the Saddle and Bitt of the Horſe, on which hee rid, was ſet with Stones of ineſtimable value. Then followed his Viſir-Baſſaes, and *Abraym* his Favorite and houſhold Retinue; being about twelve thouſand men. Before him went foure thouſand Horſe with the Standard Imperiall, and foure thouſand Janiſaries of his Guard, foure hundred ſlaves on horſeback in a rich Livery, and fifty Chariots carrying his moſt pretious Treaſure, and ſome of the Choyceſt beauties of the Serraglio, and eſpecially the admired *Eſpanziel* a Macedonian, and foure thouſand Horſe to Guard them, beſides two hundred brave Horſe richly furniſhed, which were led by the hand. His Pages were a hundred on Horſeback, whereof twelve more gorgeous than the reſt, and his Lacquies one thouſand, Richly apparelled likewiſe in a Livery, all of theſe (laſt mentioned) wearing great Plumes. After which followed his Doggs and Hawkes in no ſmall proportion.

With this Trayne *Solyman* marches to *Belgrade*, then turning to the left hand of the *Danubius* he beſieges *Giuntz*: whence being Repulſed, hee ſends out his Captaines to forrage the Country; Who after committing all ſort of cruelty, were at the laſt defeated and ſlaine: And now *Solyman* finding great Forces raiſed againſt him, and prepared to give him Battell, retir'd, with as little ſucceſſe as hee had, three years ſince, at *Vienna*; This Army of the Chriſtians conſiſting, as I find, of ninety thouſand Foot, and thirty thouſand Horſe was rais'd by the Emperour, who yet did not thinke fit to conduct them, in perſon, as comming from *Lintz* in *Auſtria* to *Vienna*, No ſooner than that *Solyman* was departed from *Hungary*; Whence he ſent to *Rome* *Octob. 16. 1529.*

1532. a Diſpatch of 4th of *October*, deſiring the Pope to meet him at *Genoua*. About which time hee received newes from *Andrea Doria*, whom the laſt Summer hee had commanded to ſcoure the Mediterrane Sea, and to land where hee thought fit. Whereupon *Doria* with a great Fleet, and ten thouſand Souldiers, ſetting forth from *Meſſina* in *Sicily Auguſt* 18 paſſing by *Cephalonie* and *Zante*, came to *Morea*, and landed at *Coron*, (antiently called *Corone*, not *Charonea*, in *Bœotia*, *Plutarch*'s Country, (as *Sandoval* miſtakes it) and battering it both by Sea and Land, took it by Compoſition, *Sept.* 21. where leaving fifteen hundred Spaniards, Hee return'd with great Spoyles and honour to *Genoua*.

Octob. 4.

Aug. 18.

Libro xx. p. 178

Sept. 21.

This while our King finding he could obtain no ſatisfaction from the Pope, haſtens the League with *Francis*, formerly projected, to a concluſion; and the rather, that hee heard this meeting betwixt the Pope and the Emperour would ſhortly follow. In emulation whereof therefore an Interview betwixt him and *Francis* was concluded, in that forme which Cardinall *Woolſey* heretofore had ſet down upon the like meeting projected *Anno* 1527.

Bellay. 1527.

The Articles of Treaty formerly concluded betwixt *Thomas* Earle of *Wiltſhire*, and *Ormond* Lord Privy Seale, together with *Edward Fox*, the Kings Almoner, on the one part, and *Gilles de la Pommeraye* on the other part, were theſe.

Tillet.

I. That all former Treaties ſhall remain in force, ſo that, if any Conditions in this Treaty be not performed, the former Treaties yet, eſpecially that of perpetuall Peace, ſhall ſtand firme.

June 23.

II. That if the Emperour *Charles* any way ſhall Invade each of them directly or indirectly, in the Lands they now hold, they ſhall be bound to ſend mutuall Ayd, (*viz.*) The King of *France* to the King of *England* (within three moneths warning) to the place appointed five hundred men at Armes, (armed *a la Françoiſe*,) or any other leſſe number, which the King of *England* ſhall pay according to the rate they uſe to have of the French King. The King of *England* to the King of *France* ſuch a number of Archers on foot as hee ſhall require, ſo it exceed not five Thouſand; to receive pay of the French King according to the rate of *England*. And if either the Horſmen or Archers paſſe the Sea, theſe into *France*, or thoſe into *England*, then, beſides this pay, there is ſuch proviſion to be made for victuall, by the Prince under whom they ſerve, that the Souldiers may well live and maintain themſelves by their Pay. And if the ſaid Emperour ſhall attempt any thing by Sea, the Prince invaded giving two Moneths notice to the other, ſhall receive for Ayd a Navy, (in which ſhall be fifteen thouſand Souldiers,) well armed and equipped, which Navy both Kings ſhall be bound to maintain for ſix Moneths together, or longer if need be, at their own coſts, to defend and ſecure againſt the ſaid Emperour the Sea and ſhores on both ſides, from the Iſle of *Uſhant* to the place call'd the *Downes* between *Sandwich* and *Dover*.

III. If

III. If the Emperour or his Governours ſhall detaine the goods, or ſhips, or perſons of the Engliſh Merchants in his Dominions, the King of *France* ſhall ſummon him to make reſtitution, which if hee denies, hee ſhall lay hold on and arreſt the Emperour's Subjects, and goods in his Kingdome, *&c.* nor ſhall releaſe them till ſatisfaction be given. And in like manner is the King of *England* bound to the King of *France*. 1532.

(But, if for any probable cauſe, and particularly for any contained in the Articles of the former Treaty between him and the Kings of *England* and *France*, or for Juſtice denied, after hee hath requir'd it, the Emperour ſhall arreſt any of the Subjects of the two Kings, or their goods, then the other is not bound to ſee him indemnified, according to the former Article. Provided, Firſt, that the Emperour make it appeare, that it is for a juſt cauſe. Secondly, That hee arreſt no more than may countervaile his pretended loſſe. Thirdly, Provided alſo that the Number of Ships arreſted by the Emperour, bee not above five or ſix, and that for ſome particular intereſt or deed betwixt them and him.) This third Article ſhall not be extended to the Merchants of Higher *Germany*, and the Subjects of *Charles Jure Imperii*.

Neither of the two Kings may make a new League, Friendſhip, or affinity with any Prince or Eſtate, to the prejudice of the other. If hee doe, it ſhall be counted voyd, and of no effect : This Treaty, being Minuted 23 *June*. 1532, was to be ſigned five Moneths after.

And now the time of the Interview approaching, our King paſs'd the Seas to *Calais*, xi. of *October* 1532, with a Royall traine, and Miſtris *Anne Bolen*, (lately * Created Marchioneſſe of *Pembroke*.) And going thence to *Bologne*, the young Princes, the Children of *Francis*, meeting him, were recommended to Him by the King their Father. Who, after many complements, conducted him to the Abbey; where they both lodg'd in the ſame houſe. Many curteſies were exchang'd, and many deſignes projected betwixt thoſe Princes concerning Religion, and other affaires of Chriſtendome, for the ſpace of foure daies that they ſtay'd together ; Which being paſt, *Francis* return'd with our King to *Calais*, in this order, that, while *Francis* was on French ground hee gave place, but when hee came to the Engliſh pale, hee receiv'd it. Being now come neer *Calais*, the Duke of *Richmont*, a goodly young Gentleman, bravely attended met them. All the Souldiers of the Town alſo, and ſervants to the Nobility, richly apparel'd, made a Guard for their entrance into the ſtreets. The lodging which *Francis* was brought to, was moſt richly furniſh'd with Cloth of Gold and Tiſſue, Imbroidered in ſome places with Pearle and Pretious Stone. And their ſeveral ſervices brought in a hundred and ſeventy Diſhes all of Maſſive Gold. The Marchioneſſe alſo made them a curious and rich Maſque, in which both Kings danc'd. After which, *Anne de Montmorencie*, a Noble man of moſt Antient and generous Family, Grand-Maiſtre, and Mareſchall of *France*, and *Philip Chabot Seigneur de Bryon*, and Admirall of *France*, were accepted into the

October 11.
* *Septemb.* 1.
October. 20.

October. 25.
Hall.

October. 27.

October. 28.

1532. Order of the Garter. *Francis* himſelfe (who was alſo of this Order) ſitting in his Stall at their Election. And this was in lieu of the taking of the Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke* into the Order of St. *Michael* by *Francis* at *Boulogne*. And, here, the two Kings adviſed what in their particular ſhould be done againſt the Turke; For, though Newes was already brought of his Retrait, yet becauſe that hee had left behind him a great part of his Forces, and that it was thought hee intended to returne, It was agreed betwixt theſe Princes, the next year to bring an Army into the Field of ſeventy thouſand Foot, and ten thouſand Horſe, and not to part without mutuall conſent. That they ſhould ſend to the Princes in *Italy* or *Germany* to require paſſage and victuall at a reaſonable price, *&c.* This being ſettled, our King complained of the ill uſage the Pope gave him in the affairs of his Divorce, in regard he was Cited to appeare at the Court of *Rome* by himſelfe or Proctor; Whereas it was uſuall in theſe caſes to ſend Judges to the place; It being not reaſonable that either a Proctor ſhould be truſted with the ſecrets of his Conſcience, or that himſelfe ſhould abandon his Realm to go in Perſon to ſo remote a place. Whereupon they began mutuall complaints againſt the Pope for the *Annats* and exactions taken upon the Subjects in either Country, which they promis'd to remedy, by ſummoning him to a Councill, and in the mean while to ſend their Ambaſſadours to require reparation, proteſting, that otherwiſe (by calling Provinciall Councills in their ſeverall Kingdomes) they would give that order which was fitting: And, for this purpoſe that the Cardinalls of *Tournon* and *Grandmont*, ſhould be employed; who alſo were Authoris'd to tell the Pope, that, whereas an Interview had been propos'd betwixt him and the French King at *Avignon* or *Nizza*, that it might be, that the King of *England* his good Brother, could be perſwaded eaſily to go along with him, for ending all controverſies, if his Holineſſe were diſpos'd thereunto. In the mean while, the Biſhop of *Auxerre* the French Ambaſſadour at *Rome* ſhould cetifie the Pope, that the ſaid Cardinalls would be preſent at the Interview betwixt the Pope and Emperour, to the end they might mediate with the Pope, for giving King *Henry* Judges in his own Kingdome, to decide the point of the Divorce. After which, comming to ſpeak, (as I find by our Records) concerning his intended Match with the new Marchioneſſe, *Francis* incourag'd him to proceed; promiſing, if the Cauſe were queſtiond, to aſſiſt him to the uttermoſt, whatſoever ſhould come of it. In which Diſcourſes purpoſing *fier la Partie* for the chiefe affaires of *Europe*, they paſſed four daies at *Calais*. After which time the King conducting him to the French ground bid him farewell 30 *October* 1532, and ſo return'd to *Calais*. Yet as the weather was then tempeſtuous, hee paſſed not the Seas before the 14th of *November*; on which day ſome write, He privately marryed the Marchioneſſe, though others place it on the 25 of *Jan.* following, *Rowland Lee* afterwards Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, and Preſident of *Wales*, (under whom it began firſt to bee govern'd

Octob. 25.

Bell.

Octob. 30.

Novemb. 14. *Holinſh. Stow. April.* 94. 1534.

govern'd by the Lawes of *England*) celebrating the Marriage in the presence of Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, the Duke of *Norfolke*, and her Father, Mother, and Brothers, *&c.* which yet was not published till the Easter following. Not long after which (or as some have it in the beginning of the next Spring) the King sent *George Bolen*, Lord *Rochfort*, to *Francis* to acquaint him with the Marriage, and to desire him (if occasion were) not to faile his promise. Furthermore he requir'd his advice, how it were best to publish it, since it could not be long Conceal'd. He also acquainted him how the Earle of *Murray* had done some hostile Acts in his Kingdome; wishing him therefore not to take it ill if he Reveng'd himselfe on the Scots; Intreating him further that if the Interview betwixt the Pope and him (then secretly projected) must needs follow (which yet he wished were protracted) that he would remember his Cause, then depending in *Rome*, as he was often desir'd. 1532. Ellay.

The Emperour who was well inform'd of this Interview, hastened his with the Pope. And because the Pope could not be perswaded to come to *Genoua* by Sea, the meeting was agreed at *Bononia* 20th. *December* 1532. where also the two Cardinalls above mentioned, were on the part of *Francis*. And now they treated of the generall affairs, but not with that intireness and satisfaction which formerly past; for the Pope retained still some grudge Concerning the businesse of *Ferrara* above-mentioned. Therefore, when the Emperour (according to his promise given to the German Princes) prest him to call a Councill, he deferr'd it; and, wheu he wish'd him to renounce all Friendship with our King and *Francis*, he excus'd himselfe, saying, they were Christian Princes. Again, when he required that *Catharina de Medicis* the Popes Neece (between whom and the Duke of *Orleans*, second Sonne to *Francis*, a Treaty past) should be disposed of to *Francesco Sforza*, he replyed she was already promis'd. Only, it seems, he accorded all that could be requir'd Concerning our King. Insomuch that unless he would Contribute puissantly for and against the Turke (for which purpose the Pope promis'd his Letters) the Emperour was then assur'd that all that conld bee done in favour of Queene *Katherine* should bee immediatly dispatched. Which also the Emperour (now more than ever offended at our Kings League with *Francis*) tooke so well, that in Contemplation thereof, he not only withdrew his forces out of *Lombardy*, but gave Peace to *Italy*, as by a League then Concluded betwixt them more fully appear'd. Some Cardinalls being made at this Interview, the Ambassadours of *France* demanded a Cardinalls Hat for *Hierome*, Bishop of *Worcester*; which the Emperour oppos'd, saying he would have taken it lesse ill, that the French King should have sued for four Hats for his owne Subjects, then one for any appertaining to our King, especially for him who had been a diligent Agent in the Divorce. Many designes here likewise were projected, and among them one by the Bishop of *Como*, who for deciding all controversies, Decem 20.

1532. *Bellay.* said it was neceſſary that the Pope, the Emperour and French King ſhould meet together, which, yet, was not finally approv'd unleſſe our King made the fourth. But this alſo in reguard of the little ſecurity thoſe Princes Could mutually give or receive, being Judg'd improbable, was rejected. Shortly after which the Pope and Emperour tooks leave of each other. During this Interview I find in our Records a *Portugues* in the name of *David* King of the *Ethiopians* (vulgarly Called *Prete Jan* preſented himſelfe Ambaſſadour to his Holineſſe; for authoriſing of which Charge he brought with him not only Letters of Credence (tranſlated out of the Chaldee to the Italian and Portugall Tongues) wherein the ſaid King declared himſelfe to be deſcended from Queen *Candace* mentioned in the Acts of the Apoſtles, but a Crucifix of Gold; the further effect of his Employment being to require ſome excellent Artificers, and 2000. Arquebuſiers, whom he would uſe in a Warre againſt the Turke in *Egypt*, when his Holineſſe would Compoſe the differences in the Weſterne parts, and joyne all Chriſtian Princes for recovery of the Holy-Land; pretending thereupon in the name of that King to render Obedience to his Holineſſe as the true Succeſſour of St. *Peter*. But this (as *Auguſtino de Auguſtini* an Italian there preſent, and ſometimes ſervant to Cardinall *Woolſey* hath it in his Letter to *Cromwell*) made the reſt ſuſpected; And the rather, that other Circumſtances made it probable, that this Ambaſſadour was ſuborn'd partly by the *Portugall* to countenance his Monopoly of Spices towards thoſe parts (much grudg'd at by his neighbour Princes) and partly by the Pope to advance his Authority and Reputation. But to returne to our Hiſtory.

Feb. 28. 1533. *Jan.* 31. 1533. *Febru.* 2. 1533.

Our King having notice of the foreſaid Interview, and finding that the Emperour who ſeem'd a while to deſiſt from the eager proſecution of his Aunts Cauſe, was now more vehement than ever; ſends Inſtructions to his Agents at *Rome* to proteſt in his name that he was not bound either in his owne Perſon, or by his Proctor to appeare there, urging, for this purpoſe, the Determination of ſome Univerſities, and particularly of *Orleans* and *Paris*. Notwithſtanding which he permitted Doctor *Bennet* to make (as of himſelfe) divers motions to the Pope, the principall whereof in our Records I find theſe. Firſt, That ſeeing by the opinions of Lawyers, and the Councill of *Nice*, the matter ought to be decided *in partibus*; and that by the Lawes of *England* the Determination (it Concerning the Succeſſion) Cannot elſewhere be made; it would pleaſe his Holineſſe that the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* taking to him two eminent Biſhops or Abbots, or the whole Clergy of his Province, ſhould decide the ſame. But this being diſlik'd by the Pope, *Bennet* ſecondly propos'd, Whether he would referre the Determination to Sir *Thomas More* or the Biſhop of *London* to be nominate by the King, and let the Queen or Emperour name another, and the French King the third, and let the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* be the fourth. But this alſo

alſo being rejected, *Benet* Came, it ſeems, to the laſt degree of the Inſtructions, which was, That if the Cauſe might be heard in *England*, and that the Queen refuſed the ſentence, ſhe ſhould have the benefit of her appeale before three Judges, one of *England*, one of *France*, and the third from the Pope, who alſo ſhould diſcuſſe the matter in ſome indifferent place. But the Pope allowed not this, ſaying, ſince he ſaw the King would needs Conſerve his Authority, he would likewiſe Conſerve his, and proceed *via ordinaria*. Before yet, I conclude this yeare, I ſhall relate ſome particular home-buſineſſes, Among which I find that our King having gotten *Yorke*-houſe (now *White-Hall*) upon the Cardinalls Conviction in a *Præmunire*, did newly enlarge and beautify it, buying alſo the hoſpitall and Fields of St. *James*, and building the Palace there. For which purpoſe he Compounded with the Siſters of the houſe for a Penſion during their lives. Not long after which hee ſuppreſs'd the Priory called Chriſt-Church in *London*, diſtributing the Canons being Franciſcans into other houſes of that kind, and beſtowing the Church-Plate, and Lands, on Sir *Thomas Audeley*, newly made Lord Chancellour, Keeper of the Great Seale. For Sir *Thomas More* Lord Chancellour of *England*, after divers ſutes to be diſcharg'd of his place, (which he had held two years and a halfe) did at length by the Kings good leave reſigne it. The example whereof being rare will give me occaſion to ſpeake more particularly of him. Sir *Thomas More*, a Perſon of ſharp wit, and endewed beſides with excellent parts of learning (as his works may teſtify) was yet (out of I know not what naturall facetiouſneſſe) given ſo much to Jeſting that it detracted no little from the gravity and importance of his place, which though generally noted and diſliked, I doe not thinke was enough to make him give it over in that Merryment we ſhall find anone, or retire to a private life. Neither can I beleeve him ſo much addicted to his private opinions, as to deteſt all other governments but his own *Utopia*, ſo that it is probable ſome vehement deſire to follow his booke, or ſecret offence taken againſt ſome Perſon, or matter (among which perchance the Kings new intended Marriage, or the like might be accounted) occaſion'd this ſtrange Counſell, Though, yet, I find no reaſon pretended for it, but infirmity and want of health. Our King hereupon taking the Seale, and giving it, together with the Order of Knight-hood, to *Thomas Audeley* Speaker of the Lower-Houſe, Sir *Thomas Moore* without acquainting any body with what he had done, repairs to his family at *Chelſey*, where after a Maſſe Celebrated, the next day, in the Church, he comes to his Ladies Pew, with his hat in his hand (an office formerly done by one of his Gentlemen) and ſays Madam, my Lord is gone. But ſhe thinking this at firſt to be but one of his Jeſts was little mov'd, till he told her ſadly, he had given up the Great Seale; whereupon ſhe ſpeaking ſome paſſionate words, he Call'd his Daughters then preſent to ſee if they Could not ſpye ſome fault about their Mothers dreſſing, but they after

1532

June 4.

May 16.

June 4.

Life of Sir *Tho: More* by *T. M.*

1532. after ſearch ſaying they could find none, hee replied, doe you not perceive that your Mothers Noſe ſtandeth ſomewhat awry, of which Jeere the provoked Lady was ſo ſenſible, that ſhe went from him in a Rage. Shortly after, hee acquainted his ſervants with what hee had done, diſmiſſing them alſo to the attendance of ſome other great Perſonages, to whom he had recommended them. For his Foole hee beſtowed him on the Lord Major during his office, and afterwards on his Succeſſors in that Charge. And now comming to himſelfe, hee began to conſider how much he had left, and finding that it was not above one hundred pounds yearly in Lands, beſides ſome money, hee adviſed with his Daughters how to live together. But the grieved Gentlewomen (who knew not what to Reply, or indeed how to take theſe Jeſts) remaining aſtoniſh'd, hee ſayes, Wee will begin with the ſlender dyet of the Students of the Law, and if that will not hold out, wee will take ſuch Commons as they have at *Oxford*; Which, yet, if our purſe will not ſtretch to maintain, for our laſt refuge wee will goe a begging, and at every mans dore, ſing together a *Salve Regina* to get Almes. But theſe Jeſts were thought to have in them more levity, then to be taken every where for currant; hee might have quitted his dignity, without uſing ſuch Sarcaſmes, and betaken himſelfe to a more retired and quiet life, without making them or himſelfe contemptible. And certainly whatſoever hee intended hereby, his Family ſo little underſtood his meaning, that they needed ſome more ſerious Inſtructions. So that I cannot perſwade my ſelfe for all this talke, that ſo excellent a Perſon would omit at fit times, to give his Family that ſober account of his relinquiſhing this place, Which I find hee did to the Arch-Biſhop *Warham*, *Eraſmus*, and others.

1532. *Feb.* 4. *Regn.* 24.

THis yeare of 1533. *February* 4. the Parliament ſate againe.

The chiefe Lawes enacted were; That all Victuals ſhould be ſold by the larger kind of weight call'd Haverdepois. That the price of a pound of Beefe or Porke ſhould be a halfe-penny at moſt, and of Mutton or Veale three farthings, and leſſe, where it was uſually ſold for leſſe. Which I therefore remember that we may compare the Rate of thoſe times with theſe. This Law yet was finally Repeal'd in regard unſeaſonable years did not permit a certaine rule in theſe things, and ſome of the Lords of the Counſell appointed to ſet the prices; whereof in its due place.

That they who kill'd any Perſon attempting to Rob by or neere the high-way, or that broke Houſes, ſhould be acquitted without forfeiting either goods or lands.

That no appeals ſhould be made out of this Realme for theſe reaſons (*viz.*) That whereas the Kingdome of *England* was a juſt Empire furniſh'd with ſuch able Perſons both Spirituall and Temporall, as could decide all Controverſies ariſing in it; And whereas *Edward* I. *Edw.* III. *Rich.* II. *Hen.* IIII. and other Kings of this Realme, have made

made ſundry Ordinances, Lawes, and Statutes, for the Conſervation of the Prerogative, liberties, and preeminences of the ſaid Imperiall Crowne, and of the Juriſdictions Spirituall and Temporall of the ſame, to keep it from the annoyance of the See of *Rome*, as alſo from the Authority of other Forreigne Potentates attempting the diminution or violation thereof; And becauſe notwithſtanding the ſaid Acts, divers Appeals have been ſued to the See of *Rome* in cauſes Teſtamentary, Cauſes of Matrimony, and Divorces, Right of Tythes, Oblations and Obventions, to the great vexation and Charge of the Kings Highneſſe, and his Subjects, and the delay of Juſtice; And, foraſmuch, as the diſtance of the way to *Rome* it ſuch, as the neceſſary prooſes and true knowledge of the Cauſe, cannot be brought thither, and repreſented ſo well, as in this Kingdome; And that therefore many Perſons be without remedy: It is therefore enacted, That all cauſes Teſtamentary, Cauſes of Matrimony, and Divorces, Tythes, Oblations, and Obventions, either Commenc'd or depending formerly, or which hereafter ſhall Commence in any of the Kings Dominions, ſhall be heard, diſcuſſed, and definitively determin'd, within the Kings Juriſdiction, and Authority in the Courts Spirituall and Temporall of the ſame, any forreign Inhibition or reſtraints to the Contrary Notwithſtanding. So that, although any Excommunication or Interdiction on this occaſion ſhould follow from that See, the Prelat's and Clergy of this Realme ſhould adminiſter Sacraments and ſay Divine Service, and doe all other their duties, as formerly hath been uſed, upon penalty of one years Impriſonment, and fine at the Kings pleaſure; And they who procur'd the ſaid ſentences, ſhould fall into a *Præmunire*. As for the Orders to be obſerv'd henceforth, It was enacted, That in ſutes Commenc'd before the Arch-Deacon or his Officialls, Appeale might be made to the Biſhop of the ſaid See. And from thence within 15. dayes to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, or Arch-Piſhop of *Yorke*, reſpectively in their Provinces, and ſo likewiſe to the Arch-Biſhops in the Kings other Dominions. Or if ſute be Commenc'd before the Arch-Deacon of any Arch-Biſhop or his Commiſſaries, then Appeale may be made within 15. dayes to the Court of Arches and ſo to the Arch-Biſhops without further Appeale. In all which Caſes, the Prerogative of the Arch-Biſhop and Church of *Canterbury* was reſerved. That if any ſute aroſe betwixt the King and his Subjects Appeale might bee made within 15. dayes to the Prelats of the upper Houſe in the Convocation then ſitting, or next Called by the Kings Writ, there to be finally determined. And that they who ſhall take out any Appeale Contrary to the effect of this Act, or refuſe to obey it, They, their adherents, and Counſellours, ſhall incurre the penalty of the Statute of XVI. *Rich. Secundi*. 1533 32

All former Statutes alſo made againſt the exceſſe of Apparell were repealed, and new orders given, which yet ſtood not long; There being no meaſure it ſeems for things that depended ſomuch upon

1533. upon fancy and opinion It is now time that we returne to our Hiſtory.

Among the many things Concluded at the late Interview at *Bononia*, we may remember one was that the Pope ſhould write to our King to ſend Ayde againſt the Turke, who having fayld (accidentally) in his intentions, He ſayd this Summer would puiſſantly Invade Chriſtendome. But our King anſwer'd by his Ambaſſadours. That the Emperours Ambition was the Cauſe thereof, and the raſheneſſe of the Pope, who at the Emperours requeſt had lately Excommunicated *John Sepuſe Vayuode* of *Tranſilvania* and Elect King of *Hungary*, and ſo forced him to ſeeke forreign Ayde; which ought to put his Holineſſe in mind, that he be wary how he proceeded with potent Princes. Yet if the Pope in his owne particular were afraid of the Turke, that he ſhould come to *Avignon*, and that hee and *Francis* would undertake his protection, ſince the Emperour was reſolv'd to Conſent to the German Princes, about ſome Innovation in Religion; only to diminiſh his Holineſſe power. How the Pope yet reliſh'd this motion, appears not; But certainly I find that as long as hee was ſo aw'd in *Italy*, neither did *Francis* thinke it ſafe to Treat, or our King to repoſe intire Confidence in him; though now the Cæſarean Forces being withdrawn a private Treaty betwixt the Pope and *Francis* tooke effect, Inſomuch that *Francis* now began ſecretly to fall off from our King. For as the Pope together with giving *Catharina de Medices* (Daughter to *Lorenzo*, late Duke of *Urbin*) in Marriage to the Duke of *Orleans*, had promis'd his aſſiſtance to him for recovering his Claymes in *Italy*, which hee paſſionatly deſir'd, ſo hee was diſpoſed now, though not altogether to forſake our King, yet at leaſt to decline the Conventions betwixt them, at their late Interview. And to induce the Pope to draw *Francis* on his ſide, it may be thought no ſmall motive, that hee had upon his own Authority not only levied ſome Tenths upon the Clergie in *France*, but prepared Forces to aſſiſt the Proteſtant Princes, which ſo ſcandaliz'd his Holineſſe, as hee thought it ſafer to permit a Warre of Dominion (though in *Italy*) then of Religion in *Germany* aſſiſted by the French. And certainly, as the times then ſtood, the Pope had reaſon to feare a defection in more than one Prince. The Pope alſo wanted not his deſignes upon *Modena* and *Rheggio*, wherein hee hoped *Francis* would ſecond him, againſt the Emperour, whom hee hated ſtill for approving the late Sentence in favour of the Duke of *Ferrara*. Which places now hee intended to give his Neece, together with the Dutchy of *Urbin*, when it could be gotten. For performance of all which, the French Writers ſay a Treaty was concluded. Our King being well inform'd of all, and particularly knowing that *Francis* notwithſtanding both their late private Treaty at the Interview, and divers Reiterated profeſſions of friendſhip, had upon the Popes Breve and requeſt executed ſome Perſons in *France*, who it ſeem'd oppos'd the Papall Authority, and recall'd from Baniſhment one *Bede* a bitter enemy

Jan. 4.

Records.

1531. *March. Sleid.*

Octob. 28.

enemy to the Kings Divorce, thought it now his expedient to ſtand to the deciſion of his own Clergie, Whereunto it conduc'd much, that *Warham*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, being lately dead, *Thomas Cranmer* (an able Perſon) much favour'd by the Nobility, as our Hiſtorians ſay, and lately employed in the Kings buſineſſe in *Italy*, and at this preſent in *Germany*, was though abſent choſen to this Place. Neither indeed could the Kings Clandeſtine Marriage be much longer hidden, the new Queen being quick with Childe, So that hee reſolv'd ſhortly, both to publiſh his Marriage, and to require his Clergie to proceed to a Sentence concerning the Divorce. His Parliament, in the mean time, ſo favouring his intentions, that they made the aforeſaid Act againſt Appeales to *Rome*, to the no little diſpleaſure of Queen *Katherine*, who found thereby how dangerous it would be (in point of our Law) to inſiſt on hers. Howſoever, I find, ſhe had many openly favour'd her cauſe, without that our King thought fit to puniſh them. 1533

Aug. 23. 1532.

Queen *Katherine* was now at *Ampthill* in *Bedford*-ſhire; And becauſe it concern'd the King to acquaint Her with the Cauſes of this ſecond Marriage, hee ſent again, ſome grave Perſons to prepare her thereunto, wiſhing her together to ſubmit. But ſhee perſiſting ſtill, *Cranmer* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* Cited her to appeare at *Dunſtable* being ſix miles off. Where for deciding this buſineſſe, hee appointed a Court to be held; And with him came the Biſhop of *London*, *Wincheſter*, (being *Stephen Gardiner*) *Bath*, *Lincolne*, and many great Clerkes. Their firſt proceedings (as *Sanders* hath it) was a Citation to our King to put away his Wife *Katherine*, proteſting otherwiſe that they would Cenſure him. But the Records which I have ſeen, mention only that *Cranmer* demanded and obtained leave of the King to determine the matter, ſince it caus'd much doubt among the Common People, and feares of great Inconveniencies in matter of Succeſſion. The Court being now held, and the Queene ſummond fifteen dayes together, without yet that ſhee appear'd, The Arch-Biſhop having firſt pronounc'd Her Contumacious, proceeds to Sentence, which alſo hee caus'd to be publikely Read in the Chappell of our Lady in the Priory of *Dunſtable*, before two Notaries, and then ſent to the King, deſiring further to know his Mind concerning his ſecond Marriage, aſſoon as he had adviſed with his Counſell.

May.

Sand. Schiſ. Angl.

April. 11.

May 10.

May 23.

The Tenor of the Sentence was this.

IN Dei nomine Amen: Nos Thomas permiſſione divina Cantuarien. Archiepiſcopus, totius Angliæ Primas, & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatus, in quadam Cauſa inquiſitionis de & ſuper viribus Matrimonii inter illuſtriſſimum & potentiſſimum Principem & Dominum noſtrum Henricum Octavum, Dei gratia Angliæ & Franciæ Regem, Fidei Defenſorem,

1533. fenſorem, & Dominum Hiberniæ, ac Sereniſſimam Dominam Catharinam, nobilis memoriæ Ferdinandi Hiſpaniarum Regis filiam contracti & conſummati quæ coram nobis in Judicio ex officio noſtro mero aliquamdiu vertebatur, & ad huc vertitur & pendet indeciſa, Rite & legitime procedentes. Viſis primitus per nos & diligenter inſpectis Articulis ſive capitulis in dicta Cauſa objectis & miniſtratis una cum reſponſis eis ex parte dicti illuſtriſſimi & potentiſſimi Principis Henrici Octavi, factis & redditis, viſiſq; & ſimiliter per nos inſpectis plurimorum Nobilium & aliorum teſtium fide dignorum dictis & depoſitionibus in eadem cauſa habitis & factis, Viſiſq; præterea & ſimili modo per nos inſpectis quam plurium & fere totius Chriſtiani Orbis principalium Academiarum cenſuris ſeu concluſionibus Magiſtralibus etiam tam Theologorum quam Juris peritorum Reſponſis & Opinionibus, utriuſq; deniq; Provinciæ Anglicanæ Conſiliorum Provincialium aſſertionibus & affirmationibus, aliiſq; Salutaribus monitis & doctrinis ſuper dicto Matrimonio de ſuper reſpective habitis & factis. Viſiſq; ulterius et pari modo per nos inſpectis, tractatibus ſeu fœderibus pacis & amicitiæ inter perennis famæ Henricum Septimum nuper Regem Angliæ & dictum nobilis memoriæ Ferdinandum nuper Regem Hiſpaniæ, de ſuper initis & factis, viſis quoque peramplius & diligenter per nos inſpectis omnibus & ſingulis actis, actitatis, literis, proceſſibus, inſtrumentis, Scripturis, munimentis, Rebuſq; aliis Univerſis in dicta cauſa quomodolibit geſtis & factis, ac hiis omnibus & ſingulis ita per nos viſis & inſpectis atq; a nobis cum diligentia & maturitate ponderatis & recenſitis: Servatiſq; ulterius per nos in hac parte de Jure ſervandis; Nec non partibus prædictis (viz.) præfato illuſtriſſimo & potentiſſimo Principe Henrico Octavo per ejus Procuratorem idoneum coram nobis in dicta cauſa legitime comparente dicta vero Sereniſſima Domina Catharina per contumaciam abſente (cujus abſentia divina repleatur præſentia) de Concilio Juris peritorum et Theologorum

gorum cum quibus in hac parte communicavimus ad ſententiam noſtram diffinitivam, ſive finale decretum noſtrum in dicta Cauſa ferendam ſive ferendum ſic duximus procedendum et procedimus in hunc modum. Quia per acta inactitata, deducta, propoſita, exhibita, allegata, probata pariter & Confeſſata, articulataq; Capitulata partis, Reſponſa teſtium, depoſitiones & dicta inſtrumenta, munimenta, literas, Scripturas, cenſuras, concluſiones Magiſtrales, Opiniones, conſilia, aſſertiones, affirmationes, tractatus & fœdera Pacis, proceſſus, res alias & Cætera præmiſſa coram nobis in dicta Cauſa reſpective habita, geſta, facta, exhibita & producta. Necnon ex eiſdem & diverſis aliis ex cauſis ac conſiderationibus, argumentiſq; & probationum generibus Variis et multiplicibus validis quidem et efficacibus quibus animum noſtrum in hac parte ad plenum informavimus plene et evidenter invenimus et comperimus dictum matrimonium inter præfatos illuſtriſſimum Principem et Dominum noſtrum Henricum Octavum, ac Sereniſſimam Dominam Catharinam, ut præmittitur contractum et conſummatum, nullum omnino et invalidum fuiſſe et eſſe, ac divino Jure prohibente, contractum et conſummatum extitiſſe. Idcirco nos Thomas Archiepiſcopus Primas et Legatus antedictus Chriſti nomine primitus invocato, ac ſolum Deum præ oculis noſtris habentes, pro nullitate et invaliditate dicti matrimonii pronunciamus decernimus et declaramus, ipſumque prætenſum matrimonium fuiſſe et eſſe nullum et invalidum, ac divino jure prohibente contractum et conſummatum, nulliuſq; valoris aut momenti eſſe, ſed viribus et firmitate juris caruiſſe et carere, præfatiſq; illuſtriſſimo et potentiſſimo Principi Henrico Octavo ac Sereniſſimæ Dominæ Catharinæ non licere, in eodem prætenſo matrimonio remanere etiam pronunciamus, decernimus, et declaramus, ipſoſq; illuſtriſſimum et potentiſſimum Principem Henricum Octavum, et Sereniſſimam Dominam Catharinam quatenus de facto et non de Jure dictum prætenſum matrimonium ad invicem contraxerunt et conſummarunt ab invicem ſeparamus et Divor- 1533

1533. tiamus,atq; ſic ſeparatos et divortiatos necnon ab omni vinculo matrimoniali reſpectu dicti prætenſi matrimonii, liberos et immunes fuiſſe et eſſe pronunciamus, decernimus, et declaramus, per hanc noſtram Sententiam diffinitivam, ſive hoc noſtrum finale Decretum, quam ſive quod ferimus et promulgamus in hiis ſcriptis.

Maii 23. 1533.

The King hereupon (according to the Decree of the laſt Parliament) commands ſtrictly *Katherine* ſhould no more be call'd Queen but Princeſſe Dowager, and Widow of Prince *Arthur*, and diſpatches Meſſengers both to *Rome*, and to the Emperour (then in *Spaine*) to declare and Juſtifie the Proceedings, not omitting together to ſatisfie *Francis* thereof, as ſhall be told in his place. The Oration made to the Emperour (whether by Doctor *Hawkins* then reſident in his Court, or Sir *Thomas Wyat* as *Fox* hath it) did in effect remonſtrate, that ſince his Highneſſe did ſtill eſteem him to be his friend Confederate and Ally, hee thought good to acquaint him with Actions, and among them, his Divorce, and therein particularly the Juſtice of the Cauſe, and order of the Proceſſe, In which nothing being omitted, which might ſatisfie himſelfe or others, Hee hath found, at laſt, that the Marriage with Queen *Katherine* was indiſpenſable, as being againſt the Law of God, Nature, and Man, yet that herein hee uſed not his own Judgement alone, or his Subjects (though enough to quiet his Conſcience) but requir'd it of forreigne parts and Univerſities, and among them thoſe of *Bononia* (though depending of the Popes) and *Padoua* (though menac'd by the Venetians) and hath found them, and many other ſo conſentaneous to his Divines, that (ſome few partiall places and perſons only excepted) they all determined in favour of his Highneſſe Cauſe; The further Confirmation whereof, by publike diſputation and proofe, Hee ſhould willingly offer his Majeſty, were it not too great an Injury to that which is paſſed in this Realme, to diſpute it in any other Country; eſpecially when it is contrary to the Lawes of the Land: ſo that hee truſted his prudency would take it as a thing done, and juſtly done, and not to marvell if the King his maſter, for the weale of his Soule aſwell as benefit and Peace of his Realme, had taken a courſe which otherwiſe hee would ſo little have thought of, as hee wiſheth no ſuch Occaſion had ever been given him, wherein, hee hopes it will appeare, how much Reſpect is given both to the Pope and your Selfe; ſince otherwiſe his Highneſſe ſhould not have ſent ſo many Ambaſſages to you both, or ſpent ſo many years in clearing theſe points without receiving yet any fruit but delay and inſatisfaction. Inſomuch, that hee perceived after the cauſe had depended almoſt ſeven years ſpace, hee was in a Labyrinth, out of which he ſaw no likelihood to get, had he not

Fox. July 6.

not ſtept right forth at once to the Mazes end. Yet if this were all, he could better ſuffer it : for ſince at laſt the neceſſity of clearing his Conſcience, and ſatisfying his People, had made him give a period to his ſutes, the Pope not content with his former Vexations, Cited him to appeare at *Rome*, and publiſh'd divers ſlanderous Breves againſt him, Requiring the Cauſe to be determined before him; though a Generall Councill hath long ſince determined that all matters ſhould be ended, where they began. So that if the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* as Metropolitane of the Realme had at length given Sentence on the Kings part, Hee thought the queſtion ſhould not bee ſo much, whether it were done according to the common faſhion, as whether in it ſelfe it were right, whereof therefore Hee would Treat with the Pope apart, deſiring his Majeſty howſoever to take well this Declaration, ſince his Highneſſe reputing him ſtill his friend, thought this accompt due to him, as hoping further, he would not be leſſe friendly hereafter, than hee had been heretofore. To which the Emperour anſwered little more that I can find, than that Hee well knew how matters paſſed, and that hee would adviſe with his Counſell, what further was to be done; giving by this ſhort and ſharpe Reply juſt ſuſpition of preparing warre againſt *England*, as hee had more than once threatned. For which purpoſe, as 1529. hee had practis'd with the Earle of *Deſmond* in *Ireland*, ſo now hee Treated ſecretly with *James* King of *Scotland*, to whom alſo hee ſent his Order. Our King not ignorant hereof, takes occaſion (upon expiration of the late five years Truce) to give eare unto the complaint of the Earle of *Anguis*, (then at *Barwick*) and to permit Sir *Arthur Darcy* to enter the Country and forrage it. Which Hee did in *April* 1533. burning divers Towns, and carrying away much booty. Pretending for cauſe thereof, the Reſtitution of the *Douglaſſes*. But while *James* a valiant Prince (as his many Expeditions in Perſon againſt the Out-Lawes did declare) prepared to be Reveng'd, the French King taking notice of this difference compos'd it, though not without ſome difficulty. Notwithſtanding which, the Treaty with the Emperour continued. For whereas the young King being not long ſince deſirous to Match in *France*, found ſome interruption, Hee hark'ned now to an offer from the Emperour. And his faithfull ſervants thought it time, as having runne no ſmall hazard in his Night-walkes. And now three *Maries*, all of the Emperours Family, were mention'd to him; His Siſter *Mary Dowager* of *Hungary*, *Mary* of *Portugall* his Neice by his Siſter *Leonora*, and *Mary* our Princeſſe. Neither will the Reader thinke it ſo ſtrange, that the Emperour preſum'd here ſo farre with our Kings Daughter, when hee ſhall conſider (as I find in our Records and *Bellayes* Hiſtory) that hee offer'd her afterwards to the *Daulphin*. The Anſwer which *James* return'd was, That hee ſhould moſt deſire the Match with *England* if conveniently it could be effected, ſaying yet that after Her hee would gladlieſt have a Daughter of his Siſter of *Denmarke*. But *Charles* ſaying Shee was already

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1533. promis'd, the buſineſſe of Marriage ended ſo, for the preſent, the Treaty of Friendſhip nevertheleſſe being in ſome kind entertain'd. Whereof our King being advertiſed, labour'd to break it, propoſing to his Nephew a Match with *Iſabel*, Siſter to *Henry* King of *Navarre*. For which purpoſe he alſo ſent Sir *Henry Knevet* to *Margaret* Queen of *Navarre*, who gladly entertain'd the motion.

This while, the Duke of *Albany* was ſent by *Francis* unto the Pope, to Treat in apparance of a warre againſt the Turke, but really to conclude the deſigned Marriage with *Catharina de Medices* to whom the ſaid Duke was neere allyed. Which Match though the Emperour had heretofore oppos'd; yet now conſidering how expedient it was for his Affairs to divide *Francis* from our King, hee reſolv'd privatly to give aſſent to it, as judging fewer Inconveniences would follow that way, than if both Kings joyn'd againſt him. Before yet hee would declare himſelfe, he told the Pope hee ſhould require theſe Conditions from *Francis*. 1. To Innovate nothing in *Italy*. 2. To confirme againe
Bell. the Treaty of *Madrid* and *Cambray*. 3. To obtain ſome aſſurance from him, that hee ſhould conſent to the calling of a Generall Councill. 4. That Hee would labour effectually with the King of *England* not to proceed any further in his Divorce. To all which the Pope gave no other anſwer, but that he would mediate therein, being not able (as hee alleg'd) to diſpoſe otherwiſe of ſo puiſſant a Prince.

And now becauſe the Reader may expect an account why this Ge-
1532. nerall Councill, promis'd within a years ſpace to the Germans, formerly by the Emperour, ſollicited by our King and *Francis*, ſubmitted unto by the Proteſtant Princes, tooke yet no effect at the time appointed; I thought fit to deliver the chiefe paſſages thereof: ſince I dare ſay no Age ever produc'd a juſter occaſion for the calling of it. Which therefore alſo I ſhall relate with more particularity, that none was more forward herein than our King, only when it might be held in ſome free Place and manner; as knowing well that nothing either formerly had, or could now more authoriſe any ſolemne error, than a factious and Partiall Aſſembly, under what generall or ſpecious Title ſoever. Nevertheleſſe, as it concern'd the Emperour in point of Honour and advantage, chiefly to procure this worke, our
Bell. l. 4. King and *Francis* were content awhile to looke on. And three motives I find were preſented by the Emperour to the Pope. 1. The ſetling of the buſineſſe of Religion. 2. Reſiſtance againſt the Turke. 3. Accommodation of Differences, betwixt Chriſtian Princes. The Pope having received theſe, replied only, That Hee would commit the buſineſſe to ſome principall Perſons of his Counſell, who making this following Remonſtrance, the Pope thought fit to ſend it to the Emperor. And firſt concerning Religion, They thought it a dangerous point to admit Proteſtants or Heretiques to diſpute any of the Opinions, which Holy Councills have formerly determin'd. Since thereupon alſo they might take Occaſion to call in queſtion

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the Articles of Christian Faith: On the other side, when they were forbidden to defend their Doctrines, they might thinke themselves worse us'd than the Arrians, and other Heretiques heretofore, and pretend they were condemn'd unheard, and so return home more obstinate than ever. Secondly, If they have contradicted the Determinations of former Councills, What hope is there that they should stand to this? And what a scandall it would prove to be disobeyed. Besides, how unseasonable and hard would it be for the Pope to compell them to a strict observation of the Decrees establish'd there, when the Emperour and other Christian Princes, had so much to doe both one against another, and against the Turke? Thirdly, That there was small likelihood of convincing the Protestants as long as they wholly adhered to the Letter of the Holy Scripture, without admitting the Interpretation of Fathers or Councills, who by divine Inspiration may be thought to have clear'd many doubtfull Places; So that if once they call'd in question the authority of the Church, there could be no ground for deciding Controversies. Fourthly, That it is probable, their demand of a Councill, was not so much with the intention to Obey it, as to avoyd the punishment due from the Magistrate; since their request was to have liberty of Religion, till a Councill had determined the Controversies, which could not be suddenly done. Fiftly, That the Protestants might find some excuse to depart before any determination, as they did from the Diet at *Augsburgh*. Besides, if there were difference of Opinions, and some should condescend to an alteration in part, it might cause a Schisme, and consequently a setting up of Councill against Councill, or of Pope against Pope, as hath formerly hap'ned. And again, that whether the Pope were declared above a Councill, or a Councill above the Pope, Inconveniences would follow. Finally, That whether the Authority of convoking this Councill were permitted to them, or to the Emperour, it might take up more time and years, than the Emperour could spare to attend it. 2. As for the second motive of calling this Councill, being the Invasion of the Turke, It was answer'd, That the Hostile Preparatives being ready, and the Assembly of a Councill in all likelyhood so slow, it was more fit to thinke of taking Armes, than of entring into Schoole disputations, especially since under this colour, the Protestants might evade, alleging they were not oblig'd to contribute any thing till the businesse of Religion were setled. Moreover, that this would but occasion the Turks comming, as knowing it would tend wholly to his Dammage and hurt, and consequently would but hasten him the more to prevent it. Furthermore, that if the Councill gave no content to the Protestants, it might cause them to seeke Protection from the Turke, as the *Voyvod* of *Transilvania* had lately done, and under pretence of Evangelicall libertie seize on the Goods of the Church. These Motives from the Emperour, together with this Politique answer of the Pope, being brought to *Francis* by the *Seigneur de Praet*, and his Reply requir'd thereunto, *Francis* after

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1533. deliberation ſaid, that notwithſtanding there were Inconveniences in calling a Councill, there were farre greater if they omitted it. It being certain there was never any other Lawfull and ordinary way for deciſion of Controverſies in Religion. Inſomuch, that all future Ages would condemne not only his Holineſſe, but all the Chriſtian Princes of the time when they did not procure it. Wherefore his Opinion was, that they ſhould aſſemble a Councill without yet neglecting the other point propos'd. And for this end that all Chriſtian Princes by their Letters, and Ambaſſadours ſhould adviſe together before the Councill were call'd, and each of them ſet down what they in their particular thought fit to bee done. Whereupon, alſo, they ſhould ſend to *Rome* joyntly to demand a free and ſecure Place of meeting, where the points projected might bee reſolved. In diſcuſſion whereof, therefore, ſuch intire and honeſt liberty ſhould be permited to all and every one, as they might frankly diſcover themſelves. Only, that they ſhould not interpoſe any thing concerning their private differences and quarrels. For the better performing whereof, it ſhould be agreed that no deciſion of former Councills ſhould be urged to the hinderance of an Ingenuous and free communication concerning theſe points; when yet it ſhould be alleged that the queſtioning of former Acts would but open the way to fruſtrate this. Since it would give occaſion unto many to withdraw themſelves, who otherwiſe would be preſent at the Councill. For preventing whereof, therefore, it were expedient that each of them ſhould ſend their Ambaſſadour or Deputies with unlimited Commiſſion to treat concerning the points in controverſie. Which alſo ſhould be lay'd down in writing, to the intent that by common Vote and conſent they might afterwards be determined. With this caution, yet, that in the mean while all particular Enmities ſhould bee layd aſide or quenched. And that till this were done, and the ſeverall Superiours of the ſaid Ambaſſadours or Deputies acquainted with the proceedings (ſo that abſolute power thereupon might be given them to conclude) it was unſeaſonable to call a Councill. But if they choſe this way, it would follow that either the Inferiour Number would ſubmit to the greater, and conſequently conforme themſelves to one common way in Religion, or at leaſt they would remaine without excuſe or cauſe of exception, when on ſo good and indifferent tearms the determination of a free Councill had been offer'd them. All which he ſignified by his Ambaſſadours.

Feb. It was now towards the end of *February* 1533. when the Emperour received this Anſwer, who as Hee was diſaffected to *Francis*, did eaſily miſ-interpret his meaning, taking all his adviſe in a counter-ſence. Firſt, becauſe hee thought it unreaſonable that the Ambaſſadours of Chriſtian Princes and Proteſtants ſhould project the points and Articles to be Treated of in the ſaid Councill, ſince it could be thought no leſſe than an Artifice and Invention to reſtraine and diminiſh the Authority of the ſaid Councill, which together with all that could

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be Treated therein ought intirely to depend on the inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt and not upon the Opinions of Men. Secondly, Becauſe *Francis* had made no particular Anſwer concerning Contribution for reſiſting of the Turke, as if He thought the danger of his Neighbours in this kind did not concerne him. 1533

Which Remonſtrance being brought (in forme of a Reply or Complaint of the Emperour) to *Francis*; He anſwer'd; That he Could not but marvaile how the Emperour ſhould ſo much miſtake him, ſince together with an ample Declaration of his Opinion concerning the Affaire of Religion, He had declar'd likewiſe that the Ambaſſadours and Deputies ſhould not neglect the other point, whoſe Reſolutions alſo concerning reſiſtance of the Turke, he thought not only more effectuall and proper than thoſe of a Councill, but of a quicker diſpatch. And for the other point concerning the reſtraint or diminution of the Councill, it was ſiniſterly and malignly interpreted. For when they ſhould ſend Ambaſſadours from all parts with ſo pure and ſincere affection, and zeale for the good of the Church, and defence of Chriſtendome, he could doe no leſſe than beleeve that the Holy Ghoſt will aſſiſt and direct their Aſſembly. And howſoever that any thing Concluded in this kind ſhould be eſteemed no more than as a beginning or preamble to the Councill. Nevertheleſſe for the giving more intire ſatisfaction to the Emperour, he thought fit to declare, that if the Emperour did not approve the ſaid Aſſembly of Ambaſſadours, He for his part would mention it no further; Only when the Emperour would but pleaſe to take notice that himſelf made the firſt Overture thereof, as by the Articles brought by *Du Praet* might appeare. For the reſt He wiſh'd it might be a true Univerſall Councill and not a Nationall or Provinciall as it muſt bee tearm'd, when all Chriſtian Nations did not aſſiſt therein. And as for War againſt the Turke though He had already paid 1200000. Crowns, and muſt pay 800000. more, Yet if the Turke in Perſon ſhould aſſaile Chriſtendome, He would not only hazard his owne blood and his Subjects to oppoſe him, but hope the Emperour would doe the like. But neither was the Emperour ſatisfied herewith. For as He thought *Francis* would make uſe of this Aſſembly for Contriving ſome Deſigne or Enterprize againſt him; ſo he ſecretly declin'd it. *Francis* likewiſe as he was wholly wonne to the Pope, and intentive to the buſineſſes of *Italy*, labourd not much to advance a buſineſſe, ſo ſuſpected and dangerous to the Roman See. So that the diffidence and Jealouſie betwixt theſe Princes broke off the Councill at this time, when it ſeem'd ſo neceſſary for the Peace and welfare of Chriſtendome. Howbeit the Emperour (who departed from *Genoua April* 8. and was now in *Spaine*) left He ſhould be thought not to comply with his promiſe, obteined from the Pope, that theſe following Conditions ſhould be offer'd to *John Frederic* Elector of *Saxony* in the roome of his Father, lately deceaſed. That it ſhould be free and open to all as in times paſt: That aſſurance ſhould be given on both ſides

Bellay.

April. 8.

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1533. sides to ſtand to whatſoever ſhould be decreed there. That they who could not be preſent, ſhould ſend their Deputies. That in the meane while, nothing ſhould be Innovated. That the Place ſhould be *Piacenza*, *Bononia*, or *Mantoua*, at their choice. That if any Princes neither came themſelves, nor ſent, they ſhould yet be concluded by the Decrees of the Councill, and if they diſobeyed, that the Emperour and other Princes ſhould ſee Juſtice done. That if theſe Conditions were accepted the Councill ſhould be ſummon'd within ſix Moneths following the Date hereof (being towards the end of *March*, or beginning of *April* 1633.) and held within a yeare after. For more authoriſing of which Propoſitions, the Emperour commanded His Ambaſſadours to ſecond the Legate. The Duke of *Saxony* hereupon, after deliberation with the other Proteſtant Princes and States at *Smalcald*, returned this Anſwer; That the Councill could not bee free as long as the Pope who was a Partie ſhould ſit as Judge. That the cauſe of Religion as being grounded on the Scriptures ſhould be determined by them, and not by Schoole Opinions. That the Place ought to be (as the Emperour had promis'd) in *Germany*, if it ſhould be free and open unto all. Our Hiſtorians ſay, alſo, that the Pope ſent (in *May*) to our King to be preſent at the Councill, or at leaſt to ſend thither. But when the Meſſenger (being requir'd to it) ſhew'd a Commiſſion, which had neither Place nor time expreſt, hee was diſmiſt.

June 30.

Hall.

While theſe things paſt, our King by a Diſpatch to *Francis* requires him to ſend hither ſome truſty Perſon to whom he might with all confidence communicate ſuch things as could not fitly be committed to paper, intreating alſo that the ſaid Perſon might be inſtructed in all the paſſages of Affaires (whereſoever) ſince the Interview. For though the King by Meſſage, ſent formerly by the Lord *Rochfort* had acquainted *Francis* that Hee was privatly Married, yet as Hee had many particularities to ſpeak of, and might beſides have uſe of the Aſſiſtance which *Francis* had offer'd, ſo Hee deſir'd one on that part to whom Hee might freely open Himſelfe. Hereupon *Francis* ſends *Guillaume du Bellay Seigneur de Langey* with theſe Inſtructions. That he ſhould perſwade our King to be at the Interview betwixt the Pope and him, as being better able than any elſe to juſtifie and defend His proper Cauſe, Aſſuring him, that he ſhould be as ſafe, both in his paſſage to, and ſtay there, as in his own Kingdome. Nevertheleſſe if he thought not fit to come, that at leaſt he ſhould ſend one in whom he might repoſe intire confidence. Hee was charged alſo to informe our King how *Francis* had made thoſe Ordinances concerning Horſe and Foot, and Sea-buſineſſes, which were agreed betwixt them. Laſtly, he was commanded to deſire our Kings Advice concerning the Affaires of the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, who inſtantly crav'd their joynt aſſiſtance.

March.
Bell. l. 4.

When *Monſieur de Langey* was come, and had expos'd theſe particularities; Our King anſwer'd. That ſince the Biſhop of *Rome* (for

ſo

ſo he now tearm'd the Pope) after many diſſimulations, and delayes would not decide the buſineſſe of the Divorce; Hee had for diſchatge of his Conſcience, Referr'd it to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, as being not able to ſupport any longer the continnall vexations wherewith his mind was afflicted. And that the ſaid Arch-Biſhop and divers Biſhops and principall Perſons of the Clergy having ſentenced a nullity in his former Marriage, and declared the Diſpenſation for it voyd, as given in a Caſe which being *ex Jure Divino*, could not bee diſpenced with; Hee had thereupon privatly Married the Marchioneſſe without yet that he had intention to diſcloſe it before *May* next. About which time hee hoped alſo that the Interview betwixt his Maſter and the ſaid Biſhop would be, and that the ſaid Biſhop therefore would doe him Juſtice. If not, that he would publiſh his Marriage, and withdraw himſelfe totally from the Yoke and Dominion of the Biſhops Church. Concerning the Tyranny and Uſurpation whereof, hee had compos'd a large and ample Treatiſe; The Title whereof was, *De Poteſtate Chriſtianorum Regum in ſuis Eccleſiis, contra Pontificis Tyrannidem & horribilem Impietatem* as *Beutherus* hath it; though (for my part) having ſeen no ſuch Book, I conceive it was that *De vera differentia Regiæ Poteſtatis & Eccleſiaſticæ, & quæ ſit ipſa virtus & veritas utriuſq;* made about this time, which nevertheleſſe he ſaid he would not publiſh, untill he ſaw what Right the Biſhop would doe him; deſiring the ſaid King in the mean time, not to abandon him, ſince the Biſhop had vaunted, hee would ſet all Chriſtendome againſt him, which the Emperour alſo, in his diſcourſe with the Pope had averred, diſcovering how by the means of *Scotland* he would Revenge his Aunts quarrell. Some Intelligence whereof was brought our King by the ſaid *Seigneur de Langey*, who croſſing the Seas from *Boulogne* to *Dover* was aſſaulted by ſome Scotchmen of warre, who hovering in our Seas to eſpy their advantage, ſet upon the Gallion that *Langey* went in, ſo that had he not made uſe both of Sayles and Oares, he had been overtaken or ſunke; their number being ſuperiour, and Ordnance playing continually on him. They overtook yet a Ship of his conſort, which having Sayles only, and not Oars, could not eſcape them. *Monſieur de Langey* being now diſmiſs'd, acquainted *Francis* with our Kings reſolution, Whereupon, alſo, hee haſtned his Interview with the Pope, which after variety of Places propos'd, was finally reſolv'd at *Marſeilles*, the Emperours Ambaſſadours at *Rome* in vain oppoſing it. 1533

Beuth. hiſt. lib. 4.

And now the Newes of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterburies* Sentence, and open Marriage of Miſtris *Anne Bolen* being come to the Popes eares, and together with it an information concerning the Booke our King had compos'd againſt the Popes Authority (which alſo more than any thing elſe offended him) the whole College of Cardinalls, eſpecially ſuch as were for the Emperour, became humble ſuppliants to the Pope, that hee would proceed rigorouſly againſt our King; which alſo the Pope accorded, though not in that peremptory and

June.

1533. and publique manner as was afterwards done; For I find that this Sentence was not definitive in the principall cauſe (as the Imperialls deſir'd, and *Sanders* miſtakes it) but only declarative in the point of Attemptats (as they call it) in that King *Henry* (the cauſe yet depending) had Divorced Himſelfe without the leave and Authority of the Pope. Therefore it was declar'd that all his Actions herein were ſubject to a Nullity, and Himſelfe to Excommunication, unleſſe He reſtored things *in integrum*, for which time was allowed him, till the end of *September* following. Theſe Proceedings being reſerved, and the Cenſures thus ſuſpended, argued that the Pope was willing before he went any further to ſee the ſucceſſe of his Interview with *Francis*. For as the Pope knew well that the Emperour was already ſufficiently incens'd againſt our King, ſo it was eaſie for him to collect, that if he could gain *Francis*, nothing afterwards could hinder him to fulminate. And hee had reaſon to chooſe this way of Treaty; for I find all his Interviews ſucceeded well with him. Nevertheleſſe, the Emperour as hee knew not how farre this new Treaty might extend, labours by his Ambaſſadours to retard it. But they failing, he tooke another courſe, for being advertis'd that the Pope intended to make uſe of ſome of his Galleys for this Journey, he ſends a Command that they ſhould bee employed againſt the Turke. But neither could this keep back the Pope, who rather than not goe, reſolv'd to commit himſelfe to the French Galleys, and ſo to paſſe to *Marſeilles*. Things being thus advanc'd, our King (in conformity to the Propoſition of *Francis*) ſends the Duke of *Norfolke* lately made Marſhall of *England*, the Lord *Rochefort*, Sir *William Paulet*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, and Sir *Francis Bryan*, followed with ſome hundred and ſixty Horſe to repaire to *Francis*, and afterwards attend the Interview.

Concil. Trid. Records.

July 11.

May 18. 1532.

This while, our King being confident, that either by the Popes good permiſſion, or his proper Authority, he ſhould be able to Juſtify a cauſe which ſo many Univerſities had ſentenc'd on his ſide, proceeds to the Coronation of his new Queen, which alſo was perform'd with much ſolemnity. And the rather that the murmure of thoſe who objected againſt the irregularity and deviation of our Kings proceeding herein might be hidden and cover'd in the Pompe. Shortly after which, our Hiſtorians ſay, *Mary* the Dowager of *France* dyed, and was buried at St. *Edmundsbury*.

June 1.

June 23.

July. The Duke of *Norfolke* being now come to *Francis* (who was upon his Journey to *Marſeilles*) acquaints him with part of his Inſtructions, which were to diſwade him from the Interview and Marriage propos'd, or, at leaſt, to ſuſpend it, till the Pope hath given our King ſatisfaction, offering alſo ayd for a War in *Piemont* if he would ſuffer no more moneys to goe out of his Realme to *Rome*, and inſtead of the Pope to erect a Patriarke, which it ſeems was one of the private Articles treated betwixt them, at the Interview; but hearing, at the ſame time, of the Declaration paſt at *Rome* againſt our King, thought it

Records.

too

too late to expect any favour from the Pope, and therefore demanded leave to returne. Notwithstanding which *Francis* desir'd his stay, promising all the best offices and assistance to our King he could require, assoone as he should come to *Marseilles*, protesting furthermore, that what Offence soever was done to our King, he would take as to himself. But the Duke being informed againe, by our diligent Agents, what had past at *Rome*, would omit no longer to advertize the King. Therefore, he posted away the Lord *Rochefort* to acquaint his Highnesse with what was done, and to know his Gracious pleasure, whereupon, the King upon advice with his Counsell, thought fit to Revoke together with the said Duke, the Duke of *Richmont* then living in the French Court, Commanding also his Ambassadours with the Pope to returne. Nevertheless as *Francis* insisted still with our King to send some other, if for no other end yet at least to witnesse that earnestnesse and sollicitation wherewith he would pursue the Kings affaire with the Pope; So our King thought fit to send *Stephen Gardiner* not long before made Bishop of *Winchester*, and Sir *Francis Bryan* together with Sir *John Wallop* to attend him at the Interview. And here it is probable, that *Francis* had many Designs whereof also he resolv'd to prevaile himselfe according to the Occasion. For if he Treated with the Pope, he no lesse entertain'd his former Correspondence with the Princes of Germany, who sent to him (then being at *Tholouse*) a Secretary of the Dukes of *Bavaria* to tell him how, upon the Consignation of 100000 Crowns, which the said King by Treaty was oblig'd to pay in ayd, and for the Restitution of the Duke of *Wirtenberg*, whose Possessions were withheld by *Ferdinand*, they now all agreed that it should be put into the hands of the said Duke, desiring nevertheless that it might be done with all secresie. To which *Francis* Answered: that the Interview being past, hee would send some one to acquaint him with his Intentions.

1533.

Aug. 8.

Decem. 5. 1531.

This while the Duke of *Albany* being departed with the Galleys of *France*, to conduct the Pope to *Marseilles*, newes was brought to *Francis* of the death of one *Merveilles* employed by *Francis* to *Francesco Sforza* (then in possession of the Dutchy of *Milan*, by the Emperours favour, though not as yet of the Daughter of *Denmarke*, formerly destin'd unto him) The occasion whereof also I have thought worthy my Relation. This *Merveilles* being a Milanesse, had served long in the French Court, and was now by the good leave of *Francesca Sforza* Received as a secret Agent or Ambassadour for *Francis*; The tearms on which *Sforza* stood with the Emperour not admitting a more ouvert accesse. The servants of this *Merveilles* having a quarrell with one *Castiglione* concerning some words he had spoken against their Master, did at last kill him in the streets, which was Reveng'd by the Magistrate on *Merveilles* himselfe, whose goods he seized on, and afterwards by order of the Duke privatly cut off his Head. Which being advertis'd to *Francis*, he fell into an extreame passion, Saying, he was his Ambassadour, and that herein the Law of Nations was violated.

Bell.

July 3.

July 6.

1533. Violated. The reſentment whereof alſo, hee thought common to all Princes, ſo hee acquainted the Pope, Emperour, and other Potentates of Europe therewith in high tearms, not forgetting alſo to give our King a particular account thereof, together with his Intentions; proteſting to them all, he would have Reparation. But when the Emperour had received his Letter, hee return'd no other Anſwer, but that *Merveilles* had deſerv'd death, and was juſtly puniſhed, hee being no Ambaſſadour, but a ſubject of the Duke of *Milans*. Whereupon the French Ambaſſadour hoping to ſatisfie the Emperour, ſhewed him private Diſpatches, by which it appear'd, that the Duke acknowledg'd him under that Title. Notwithſtanding which, the Emperour made ſmall account of them, as ſuppoſing the quality of an Ambaſſadour not wronged as long as the Perſon in queſtion (beſides, that he was no ſubject of the French King) did not openly ſuſtaine the dignity of his Place; Whereupon alſo this Act was ſo farre from being chaſtiſed by him, that it did but haſten the Marriage of *Sforza* with *Chriſtine* the King of *Denmark*'s ſecond Daughter whom the Emperour immediatly ſent for, and gave much about the time that the Duke of *Orleans* Married *Catherina de Medices*. Notwithſtanding which, *Sforza* ſent his Chancellour to *Francis*, alleging by way of excuſe, that *Merveilles* was no more but a private Perſon, though authoriz'd ſometimes to Treat, neither was he ever acknowledg'd publikely by any other title than his Vaſall and ſubject, ſo that not to have done Right to another ſubject kill'd by his procurement, had been to the derogation of Juſtice and his own Authority. Beſides, he ſayd *Merveilles* was ſuch an outragious and miſchievous Perſon, that hee had been told divers times on the Dukes Part, that he did not like of his abode there. As for the ſecret manner of his being put to death, he ſaid, it was to avoid ignominy, in caſe *Francis* for delivering ſome of his Meſſages (when there was occaſion,) ſhould repute him his Ambaſſadour. But this excuſe, (as it implied ſome contradiction) did but exaſperate *Francis*, Who told the Chancellour, that if intire ſatisfaction were not given, he would in ſome fitting time and place procure it.

Sept.6. *Sept.10.* About this time, the Queen being brought to bed of the Princeſſe *Elizabeth* (who happily ſucceeded to this Crown) the Chriſtening followed ſhortly after, with much ſolemnity, where the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* was Godfather, and the Dutcheſſe of *Norfolke*, and Marchioneſſe of *Dorſet* Godmothers. Howbeit the Divorced *Katherine*, and her Daughter were not only much grieved, but divers that favour'd her Cauſe, writ, and ſpoke againſt the late Marriage; a Nunne of *Kent* alſo, pretending to Prophecy thereon, of whom and her feigned Miracles (about this time diſcovered) wee ſhall make mention hereafter.

Novemb.

Octob.6. It was now in *October* 1533. when the Pope conducted by the Duke of *Albany* came by Sea to *Marſeilles*, where *Montmorency* received him. His publike entrance into the Town (being the next day after his arrivall) was in a rich Chaire, carried on the ſhoulders of

two

two men, Himſelfe wearing his Pontificall Ornaments (the Tiara or Triple Crown only excepted) before him a white Hackney was led, on which the Sacrament was carried. After him followed all the Cardinalls, and his Neece *Catharina de Medices* (the Dutcheſſe of *Urbin*) with a great Traine of Cavaliers and Ladies. *Francis*, at the ſame time, that he might ſeeme to give the Pope entire poſſeſſion of the Towne, going out thereof, but the next day returning thither, and after many complements to the Pope, comming to buſineſſe, the intended Marriage was concluded, the Pope himſelfe Marrying the young couple. Her Portion in money was but little, being only 100000 Crownes, but in expectation and Titles great; Since a pretence to *Urbin* in the Right of her Father *Lorenzo de Medici*, to whom *Leo* the tenth gave the Inveſtiture to the diſ-inheriſon of *Franceſco Maria Conte di Feltri*, (who at this preſent was in poſſeſſion thereof) as alſo the Donation of *Rheggio*, *Modena*, *Rubieira*, *Piſa*, *Ligorno*, *Parma*, and *Piacenza* by the Pope, or ſomething equivalent to them, did make her thought a Match worthy of the Son of *Francis*, eſpecially, when ſo potent a Prince ſhould undertake her Cauſe, not without hope of uniting theſe places to the Rights hee claimed in *Italy*. After which, the Pope was often ſollicited by *Francis* in the behalfe of our King, that, at leaſt, the time of declaring the Cenſures againſt him, might be prorogued. But the Pope anſwering only, that though the terme prefixt for fulmination were now paſt, yet he would omit further proceſſe till he came to *Rome*: Our Agents not content herewith, proceed in their Inſtructions, and *Edmund Boner* (as I find by an Originall of his to our King) getting audience of the Pope, *November* 7, in reſpectfull tearms, and under proteſtation that his Majeſty intended no contempt of the See Apoſtolique or Holy-Church, intimated to him King *Henry*'s Appeale to the next Generall Councill lawfully aſſembled, exhibiting alſo the Authentique Inſtruments thereof (made before the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*) at which the Pope being much incens'd, ſaid, he would referre it to the Conſiſtory, Which being held *November* 10. hee Anſwer'd *Boner*, That, concerning the Kings Appeale, hee rejected it, as being unlawfull, and againſt a conſtitution of Pope *Pius*. Secondly, for the Councill, hee would procure it, as belonging to his Authority, and not to King *Henries*. Thirdly, for the Originall Inſtructions (which *Boner* required back) hee denied them, and ſo diſmiſt him; deſiring *Francis*, only, that hee would perſwade our King to conforme himſelfe to his antient Devotion and Obedience to the Roman Church. Shortly after which, being 12th of *November* 1533. the Pope return'd. I find moreover that the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* at this time ſuſpecting the Pope would proceed againſt him, by the adviſe of our King made his Appeale alſo to the Councill. Which hee deſir'd our Agents to intimate to the Pope. The ſucceſſe whereof yet doth not appeare in our Records. Here alſo, at the requiſition of *Francis*, he made foure French Cardinalls, which added to ſix more, who held that Dignity, made the

1533.

1556.

Novemb. 13.

Novemb. 7.

Novemb. 10.

Novemb. 12.

1533. Emperour ſee that the Pope intended to ſtrengthen the French Party in *Rome*. Beſides, as the Pope did feare leſt *Francis* ſhould uſurpe upon the Eccleſiaſticall Juriſdiction in his Kingdome, hee gave him the Nomination of the Heads and Chiefs, not in Monaſteries alone, but in all Elective Benefices in his Kingdome, which was politiquely done, for he prevented thereby, that power, which *Francis* might have aſſumed, eſpecially when he had ſtood to the Conventions hee made with our King at their laſt Interview. By which means alſo, hee diſpoſed *Francis* to oppoſe the Emperour about calling a Councill, ſhewing together how inconvenient it would bee to the Roman Church, as Affairs then ſtood.

Francis not forgetting, this while, to ſend to *Germany*, both in favour of the Duke of *Wirtenberg*, and to comfort the Proteſtant Princes, in their perſeverance, promiſed to doe all that he could for them in a Defenſive way: Hee omitted not, alſo, to ſend *Jehan du Bellay* Biſhop of *Paris* to our King, both to acquaint him with all paſſages at *Marſeilles*, and to Induce him to ſend Ambaſſadours to *Rome* to treat with the Pope concerning the ſuſpending of this Fulmination, Which hee ſaid highly concern'd him. But our King who was in ſome part acknowledged already *ſupremum Caput Eccleſiæ* in his Dominions replying, hee would adviſe with his Counſell hereof, one who much favourd the Papall Authority, ſpake in this manner.

Sir, Your Highneſſe is come to a point which needs a ſtrong and firme reſolution, it being not only the moſt important in it ſelfe, that can be preſented, but of that conſequence as will comprehend your Kingdome and Poſterity. It is, whether, in this buſineſſe of yout Divorce, and ſecond Marriage, as well as in all other Eccleſiaſticall affaires in your Dominions, you would make uſe of your own, or of the Papall Authority? for my part, as an Engliſh man, and your Highneſſe ſubject, I muſt wiſh all Power in your Highneſſe: But when I conſider the antient practiſe of this Kingdome, I cannot but chinke any Innovation dangerous: For if in every Temporall eſtate it be neceſſary, not only to keep order, but to come to ſome Supreme Authority, whence all Inferiour Magiſtracy ſhould bee deriv'd; It ſeems much more neceſſary in Religion; both as the body thereof ſeems more ſuſceptible of a Head, than any elſe, and as that Head againe muſt direct ſo many others. Wee ſhould above all things therefore labour to keep an unity in the parts thereof, as being that ſacred bond which knits and holds together not his own alone, but all other Government. But how much Sir, would wee recede from the Dignity thereof, if we (at once) retrenched this his chiefe and moſt eminent part? And who ever liked that body long, whoſe Head was taken away? Certainly Sir, an Authority Received for many Ages, ought not raſhly to be rejected; for is not the Pope *Communis Pater* in the Chriſtian World, and Arbiter of their differences? Doth hee not ſupport the Majeſty of Religion, and vindicate it from neglect?

neglect? Doth not the holding of his Authority from God, keepe men in awe, not of Temporall alone, but Eternall punishments, and therein extend his power beyond death it selfe? And will it be secure to lay aside these potent means of reducing People to their Duty, and trust only to the sword of Justice, and Secular Arme? Besides, who shall mittigate the rigour of Lawes in those cases, which may admit exception, if the Pope be taken away? who shall presume to give Orders, or Administer Sacraments, or grant Pardons, Dispensations, Indulgences, and other Mysteries of the Church? Who shall be Depositary of the Oathes, and Leagues of Princes, or Fulminate against the perjur'd Infractors of them? for my part, (as Affairs now stand) I find not, how either a Generall Peace among Princes, or any equall moderation in humane affaires can be well conserv'd without him. For as his Court is a kind of Chancery, to all other Courts of Justice in the Christian world; so if you take it away, you subvert that equity and Conscience which should be the rule and Interpreter of all Lawes and Constitutions whatsoever. I will conclude, that I wish your Highnesse, as my King and Soveraigne, all true greatnesse and happinesse, but thinke it not fit (in this case) that your subjects should either examine by what right Ecclesiasticall Government is Innovated, or inquire how farre they are bound thereby; Since, besides that it might cause division, and hazard the overthrow both of the one and the other Authority; it would give that offence and scandall abroad, as Forreigne Princes would both reprove and disallow all our proceedings in this kind, and together upon any occasion, bee dispos'd easily to joyne against us. 1533.

To which was replied by one in this manner.

SIR, If hee who propos'd this question, had resolv'd it aswell, I should not have needed to returne an Answer, But since from Principles wee admit as true, he draweth Consequences which follow not, I shall according to common reason, crave leave to examine his Arguments, without insisting upon any thing urg'd out of either Testament, or controverted by the Theologians of this time. Nothing is more certain, than that there is a necessity of establishing some supreme power in Spirituall as well as Temporall affairs; Only the question will be, whether they be better united in one Person, or divided into two? I am for one, especially while the Precincts of both be of the same extent, and the Magistrate no way obnoxious: For can we suppose a Government without Religion, or a Religion without a Government? will the bare precepts of Theology containe People in their Duties, unlesse the Secular Arme concurre? or the inflicting punishment with a high Hand suffice to teach a good life, or bring men to everlasting happinesse? Besides, can a Kingdome be safe, if the Secular Magistrate command one thing, and the Spirituall another? Must not the subject on these termes be suspended betwixt his Obe-

1533. diences, or distracted into some Schisme or Rebellion? which Inconveniences as they cannot be denyed, so neither doe examples want thereof, both antiently betwixt Emperours and Popes, and of latter times as well in this Kingdome as divers others, Where not only scandall and dissention, but even Ruines and Desolation followed on this occasion. It being manifest thus, how fitly both Powers are conjoyned; The next question will be, Who is most proper to exercise them in this Kingdome? But it is cleare that Popes are not. For besides that they want Title, Succession, Election, Possession, or whatsoever else may establish Government for the Temporall part, they cannot so much as aptly administer the Spirituall, while the distance betwixt us and them is so great, that they neither can take timely notice of the proceedings and deviations of the Clergy, or give that order and redresse which is fitting; So that although by a frequent admitting of Appeals to *Rome*, they strive to take away this Difficulty, it is rather increased. The Causes brought thither being sometimes undecided for a long space, sometimes wholly frustrated, while People had rather let fall their Sutes, then be at the cost of bringing their Witnesses with them to so remote a Place, as neither their health or means can reach unto. Of which, as also many other Inconveniences in this kind, the Germans in their *Centum Gravamina* have not long since complained, without that the whole Court at *Rome* could devise a due Remedy, as long as the determination of Ecclesiasticall Affairs was so commonly avoked thither. Whereby it follows, that the Pope, as being neither Secular Magistrate in this Kingdome, nor within a Just distance to exercise the Spirituall, cannot lawfully pretend to an absolute power in either Jurisdiction. It remaines, that Princes of this Kingdome successively assume it, both as their Person and office hath in it a mixture of the Temporall and Spirituall Power, and as the Precincts they claime in Ecclesiasticall affaires, are no larger than their swords can reach to, and secure, nor their Interests other, than to conserve at home, a perpetuall Peace of Religion; which also will be with so much advantage to their subjects, as while the same Authority animates and gives life unto all, none of the members can easily prevaricate, or fall away. If any yet will deny this Maxime, hee may be convinc'd by examples of Popes themselves, who practise this mixed power not only in their Territories about *Rome*, the *Patrimonio della Chiesa*, but in their more remote Dominions with that singular benefit to their Vassalls, that they more than any other in *Italy*, are exempt from being drawn into contrary parts. So that, if it be cleare aswell by reason as by Precedents, that both powers may subsist together, and be exercised by one and the same Person, I thinke none will deny, but that it will bee so much the more equall, to place them in a Temporall than a Spirituall Monarch, as it imports more to give good Lawes, and exhibite Justice, than to dispute Controversies (where the grounds of Religion are already setled,) and to resist Forreigne Invasions, than to declame against Vice,

and

and the Non-payment of Church-duties : out of which therefore may be concluded, That there is no more neceſſity of a Pope over us, or (if you will) over all Churches in the World (when they could be converted to Chriſtianiſme) than to aſſigne one Univerſall Monarch over it. There being in the frame of Government aſwell as all other bodies, a certaine Symmetrie and proportion, beyond which it cannot conveniently be dilated. Theſe things thus appearing, it may be conſidered now, whether the Pope have not yet another Incapacity, for ſwaying all the Eccleſiaſticall Affairs of this Kingdome, in his being ſo obnoxious to other Princes. But this alſo is evident, ſince the French and Spaniard ſo conſtraining him of either ſide that hee muſt ſubmit to the ſtronger, or ſuffer ſuch Impriſonment and outrages as hee hath lately done, it will be dangerous to Conſtitute him our Supreame Judge, in theſe Affaires of Religion, which regard matter of State. For ſuppoſe he would be Impartiall between ſuch Princes as may preſſe him equally ; Shall wee preſume he will be ſo to us, who ſtand not in the ſame Relation of neereneſſe and Intereſt unto him ? Nevertheleſſe, I ſhall eaſily grant that hee may wiſh us well, or beſtow his Bleſſing on us : But where his Perſon or Eſtate will be concern'd, I doe believe it would be ſo unſafe for him to doe us Right, that it would be an unmannerly thing to aske it. But may hee not in ſome caſes yet be retain'd as Judge in Eccleſiaſticall affaires, and Arbiter of the differences of Chriſtendome ? for my part, I ſhall accord it ; as long as Hee complies with his Place of *Communis Pater*. But if through Interdictions, Cenſures, Excommunications, Fulminations, and the like, he preſcribe, and exterminate thoſe, who otherwiſe might give him a due reſpect, doth hee not relinquiſh his Name ? eſpecially while without regard to the quietneſſe of mens Conſciences, the Peace of Chriſtendome, or the Unity of Religion, (which might eaſily follow, when the unneceſſary points were layed aſide) Hee, (for the conſervation of his Authority in this Kingdome only) procures Forreigne Princes to Invade it. Wherein therefore, hee ſo little exerciſeth his Paſtorall Charge (Inſtituted at firſt for the ſafeguard and eaſe of the Secular Magiſtracy) as hee now diſturbeth all, whereas he ought ſo much rather to uſe a diſcreet Moderation, as hee ſees that Princes can both Reigne without him, and contain their ſubjects (whether Spirituall or Temporall) in their accuſtomed Obedience and Devotion, out of which therefore he may collect, that untill theſe Eccleſiaſticall affairs be permitted to Princes, which cannot aptly be determined without them, there will be ſmall hope of an accommodation. And for theſe reaſons alſo, Wee can as little admit him, Arbiter of the Temporall Cauſes betwixt us, and any other Chriſtian Prince, though otherwiſe the function be ſo neceſſary, as (it ſeems) there is no ſo good means for avoyding the many Warres, and deciding the Controverſies betwixt them. But it is alleged ſtill, That in deſerting the Popes Authority ſome diminution of Religion may follow ; Alas, if Religion ſtood not on firmer Princi- 1533.

1533. ples than theſe, it were worſe grounded than any other knowledge; For were not the Lawes of Piety and goodneſſe ſo written (at firſt) in the heart, as Mankind had no other direction for attaining his everlaſting happineſſe, for about two thouſand years, and untill the Decalogue was given? And is that againe any thing elſe but an Explication of theſe Lawes? Beſides, is there not a Doctrine of Faith deliver'd us in ſome part of our Beleefe or Creed (and I ſay in ſome, for the beginning thereof, aſwell as certaine Articles towards the end, are generall Notions both written in our hearts, and Received in all Religions.) And have we not through the Reverend Authority of the Church for many Ages, declaring and confirming this Faith, accepted thereof, and the ten Commandements, and therein ſubmitted our ſelves to all that is required in either Teſtaments, and will they yet exact new Beleefes, and obtrude new Articles? When the Lawes of God, only written in Mens hearts, and the Decalogue, for ſo many Ages were thought to ſuffice for Salvation? Let them ſay what they will; I find no reaſon to believe, that the Divine wiſdome impoſeth more, or proceedeth by other Rules than thoſe that were delivered to our Fore-Fathers; or that ſome ſuch obliquation of Religion hath hap'ned as the courſe of his Providence ſhould be varyed too. And therefore, though I ſhall be content, that the Illuſtration or Explication of ſome points, may be worth the Churches labour, I can never agree that the Principles and foundation of this Structure, ſhould be ſtir'd, or exhibited on other tearms. Neither indeed ſhould the Roman Church, in true wiſdome procure it, the Majeſty of Religion being no wayes ſo well conſerv'd, as by aſſerting ſuch a perfection, Antiquity, Univerſality, and Viſibility in the more neceſſary parts thereof, as may argue the care God hath over Mankind in all Ages, without omitting, together, to repreſent the Doctrines of Faith, and of Gods mercy, in middle times after ſuch manner, as may be for our Inſtruction. And thus their Auditours, being informed, not only what parts of Religion have been received in all Ages and Countries, but what his particular Providence hath added in ſequent times, may Glorifie him for both. Nevertheleſſe, if Popes ſhall be ſo farre from theſe charitable and temperate wayes, as they will ſtill Intermixe and trouble all things; if they ſhall confound and Joyne together the certaine, and the uncertaine, and compell Men equally to the belief of all they teach, ought not Princes in this caſe to prevent diſtractions? ought they not to extinguiſh Uſurpations in Religion, and together, vindicate her from Errour and neglects? While in giving a due Luſtre and Protection with the Temporall ſword, they make her become more Reverend and Awfull. Which Duty alſo is ſo much more requiſite in them, as it is not in the power of any elſe to performe it. Neither ſhould wee feare, leſt our Princes ſhould grow too abſolute hereby; When it is the moſt aſſured way for conſerving, not the outward only, but inward Peace of this Kingdome. Nor that this Authority may be at length devolv'd to ſuch as would

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abuſe it; there being a poſſibility of bad Popes, as well as bad Princes. And that *Incommodum non ſolvit Argumentum.* And thus Sir may all Innovation be taken away in Religion, and all defects reſtored by your Highneſſe in your Dominions, without either ſuffering Sophiſtry or Pedantiſme to be taught in ſtead of true Doctrine, or that the Hierarchy of your Kingdome ſhould be deveſted from their antient Dignities and Rights. Since as your Highneſſe pretends not to Create new Articles of Faith, they may continue ſtill, to expound the old, in their ſeverall kinds, and give light to the hard places in the Scripture, Read Divine Service, Adminiſter Sacraments, and the like, and together, exhort men to Piety, Charity, Good life, Repentance, and what ever elſe may conduce to everlaſting happineſſe; Whereof alſo when the Pope would take ſuch notice, as to confirme and approve our proceedings, wee might (if your Highneſſe ſo pleas'd) returne that reſpect to him, as upon his publike Declaration, that he doth not only Ratifie our Confeſſion of Faith, but relinquiſh all his pretences, which may Derogate from your Regall Authority, and behave himſelfe (for the reſt) *tanquam Communis Pater*, ſuch points might be referr'd to him, as your Clergy could not conveniently determine, and his Dignity together, be ſo farre-forth acknowleg'd, as he might ſtill retaine a Primacy, according to his antient Patriarchall Right, without Intermedling yet with that Supremacy, which your Convocation-houſe hath already Decreed for your Highneſſe. And now to come to the preſent queſtion concerning the Divorce; I muſt ſay, I cannot find what the Pope ſhould take ill. For is any thing done by our Arch-Biſhop, but what, not only the Pope, himſelf, but the moſt famous Univerſities of Chriſtendome have declared Lawfull? So that, if after ſix years ſuſpenſion of the Cauſe, we have Determined the buſineſſe, as himſelfe confeſſed he would have done, but for feare of the Emperour; What offence can he take? will hee complaine, he is not able to doe us Juſtice, and yet be ſcandalized if it be done by others? or ſhall the Executing of what he thought reaſonable, be Judg'd a fault, when the not executing thereof muſt (in all equity) have made us the greater Criminalls? Let us therefore, ſend to deſire his conſent; It hath been already Intimated unto us, that it was not ſo good to aske a Licence, as a Pardon, we will hope then from him a Confirmation of the Arch-Biſhop's Sentence. And thus both the one and the other Authority may be conſerv'd, without that we ſhould need to feare any Forreigne Invaſion, as long as the generall Vote of our Kingdome ſhall eſtabliſh what (in a ſort) it hath agreed unto. 1533

And to this opinion our King inclin'd, and ſo much the rather, that about this time the Popes Sentence againſt him, was openly ſet up at *Dunkirke* in *Flanders*; So that to prevent further Inconveniences, the King (as our Records ſhew) adviſed with his Counſell *December* 2. Firſt, to informe his Subjects of his Appeale to the Councill Generall, and the Juſtice thereof. Secondly, of the unlawfulneſs of *Hall.* *Records.*

1533. of the Dowagers Appeal to *Rome*, and the late Statute againſt it, which ſayd Statute was (for that purpoſe,) to be ſet upon every Church dore in *England*, as alſo his Majeſties ſaid Provocation or Appeale, whereof Trans-ſumpts alſo were to be ſent into *Flanders*.) Thirdly, to command it to be taught, that the Generall Councill is above the Pope, and that he hath no more Authority in *England* by Gods Law than any forraigne Biſhop. Laſtly, to ſend into *Germany*, to Confederate with the King of *Poland*, *John King* of *Hungary*, the Dukes of *Saxony*, of *Baviere*, the Lantgrave of *Heſſe*, *&c.* as likewiſe the *Hanſe-Teutonick* Townes, being *Lubeck*, *Danſick*, *Norembergh*, *&c.* Theſe things being reſolv'd on; for a finall Anſwer, hee deſir'd the Biſhop of *Paris*, to certifie *Francis*, That if the Pope would ſuperſede from Executing his Sentence, untill hee had Indifferent Judges, who might heare the buſineſſe, hee would alſo ſuperſede of what he was deliberated to doe in withdrawing his Obedience from the Roman See. But the Biſhop, who thought this alone not enough to reduce things into good termes, made an offer to Negotiate the buſineſſe at *Rome*. Which our King gladly accepted, aſſuring him withall, that aſſoone as he had obtained what was demanded, he would ſend ſufficient power and authority to confirme as much as was accorded on his part, as having intire confidence in his diſcretion and ſufficiency, ever ſince his two years employment as Ambaſſadour in this Kingdome. Whereupon the Biſhop, though in the Chriſtmas-Holidaies, and an extreame Winter, poſted to *Rome*. Where he came before any thing was done, more than what formerly paſt; And here obtaining a publike Audience in the Conſiſtory, hee Eloquently Declared our Kings Meſſage, repreſenting both what hee had obtained of our King, and ſhewing withall how advantageous it would be to the whole Church. Which ſo prevail'd that they prefixt a Day for receiving from our King, a Confirmation thereof. Inſomuch, that a Currier was diſpatched to King *Henry*, deſiring his Anſwer within the time limited. But the terme being expired, and no Anſwer brought, the Pope reſolved to proceed to Fulmination of the Sentence, which being advertis'd to *Bellay*, he repair'd to the Pope and Cardinalls (then ſitting in full Conſiſtory) deſiring them to ſtay awhile, it being probable that the Currier, either through croſſe winds, or other accidents in long Journeys, might be detain'd; concluding his Speech, that if the King of *England* had ſix years together been patient, they might attend ſix dayes; which ſpace only, he deſir'd them to give him, for the receiving of our Kings Anſwer; this propoſition being put to the queſtion, the plurality of Voyces carried it againſt our King, and the rather, that in this mean time, Newes came to *Rome* that the King had Printed and publiſhed the Book, written againſt the Popes Authority (which yet was untrue, for it came not forth till afterward, though it was not yet kept ſo cloſe, but a Copy was now come to the Popes hands,) and that there was a Comedy repreſented at Court, to the no little defamation of certain Cardinalls. By reaſon whereof the Sen-

Bell. 4.

Decemb.

March 19. *Records.*

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Concil. Trid.

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tence was ſo precipitated, that, what according to their uſuall formes could not be done in leſſe than three Conſiſtories, was now diſpatch'd in one. And ſo by a finall Determination (the Copy whereof is in *Fox*) the Marriage with Queen *Katherine* was Pronounced good, and King *Henry* commanded to accept her for his Wife, and in caſe of refuſall Cenſures were fulminated againſt him. But two dayes of the ſix were not paſt, when the Currier arriv'd with ample Commiſſion and Authority from our King to conclude and confirme all that the Biſhop had agreed in his Name. Which was this, (as the Writer of the *Concilio Tridentino* hath it) That King *Henry* was content to accept the Judgement of that Court, upon condition that the ſuſpected and Imperiall Cardinalls ſhould not intervene, and that indifferent Perſons ſhould be ſent to *Cambray* to be informed of the merits of the Cauſe; Giving Authority further for his Proctors to appeare in that Court. At which, the more wiſe and temperate Cardinalls were ſo aſtoniſh'd, that they became humble ſuppliants to the Pope, that hee would adviſe how all things might be repair'd; Whereupon the buſineſſe was again diſcuſs'd. But all Remedies being Judged either late, or impoſſible, the Sentence ſtood, and the Emperour was made the Executer of it; The Biſhop now returning towards *France* met (as I find by our Records) *Edward Karne*, and *William Revet*, who was employ'd by our King for ſolliciting this important buſineſſe. But as they underſtood by the Biſhop, that the firſt Marriage was pronounced good, and the iſſue by it Legitimate, ſo they judg'd it loſt labour to proceed, and advertis'd all to our King, who became ſo ſenſible of the Indignity wherewith hee was us'd in this important Affaire, that he ſeparated himſelfe from the Obedience of the Roman Church, but not from the Religion thereof (ſome few Articles only excepted) as ſhall appeare hereafter. And thus (according to the Relation of *Martin du Bellay*) did our King fall off. Who therefore in this preſent condition found nothing ſo fitting to be done, as to cheriſh the good affection of his ſubjects, who in a Parliamentary way he found did many wayes advance, and ſecond his Deſignes. I ſhall for a concluſion, adde only the Cenſure of *Thuanus*, concerning our King in this buſineſſe, *Certe in reliqua vita ita ſe geſſit ille Rex, ut eum, ſi æquiores & prudentiores Pontifices Nactus fuiſſet, ſponte ſe ſubjecturum ipſorum poteſtati fuiſſe appareret.*

1533

March 23.
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Concil. Trid. L. 1.

April 7.

The Emperour (now in *Spaine*,) being much troubled at the Interview at *Marſeilles*, yet conniv'd at it, as hoping at leaſt, the Pope would diſwade *Francis* from favouring our King, or aſſiſting the Proteſtant Princes. Therefore he did not much indeavour to hinder it; For as he knew the Pope was paſſionatly affected to the advancement of his Kindred, ſo he Judged it loſt labour to oppoſe him therein; ſince by ingraffing his Family now in *France*, as well as by his former Alliance with *Spaine*, he might hold himſelfe ſecure on either hand. Neither did he thinke that Terrours could prevaile, at a time, when the Pope muſt know, there would be uſe of all the Imperiall Forces, againſt

1534. Sandov. against the Turke, who beſides that he threatned a generall Invaſion, had now particularly beſieged *Corron*, taken a yeare ſince by *Andrea Doria*, which a Spaniſh Garriſon held till they were forc'd to leave it again to the Turke about *April* 1534.

April 1. 1534. I will come now to the buſineſſe of our Parliament, holden this yeare from *Jan.*15. till 30th of *March* next, wherein the Statutes were Enacted.

*Jan.*15. *Regn.*25. That the Prices of Victuals ſhould not be inhanſed without juſt ground and reaſon. If they were, then upon complaint thereof, the Lord Chancellour (and others, who had Authority given them herein) ſhould tax the ſaid Victuals how they ſhould be ſold, either by the Owners or by Victuallers. Alſo that no Corne or Cattell bee carried beyond Sea without the Kings Lycence, unleſſe either to *Calais*, *Guiſnes*, *Hammes*, and their Marches, or for Victualling of Ships, *&c.*

That no Man Indicted of Murder, Burglary, or other Felony, and upon his Arraignment ſtanding mute, to prevent the Proceſſe of the Law againſt himſelfe, ſhall have Benefit of his Clergy; But Law ſhall proceed againſt him for the crime whereof hee is Indicted, as if hee had pleaded to the ſame, and thereupon had been found guilty.

Buggery was made Felony.

Elizabeth Barton (call'd the *Holy-Maid* of *Kent*) and her Complices were attainted of High-Treaſon, for conſpiring to ſlander the Divorce between the King and Queen *Katherine*, and the late Marriage between him and Queen *Anne*.

Becauſe by the greedineſſe of ſome, who have gotten into their hands much Cattell, and many Farmes, which they have turned from Tillage to Paſture (eſpecially for Sheep) old Rents are rayſed, prices of things Inhanſed, and ſo, much Poverty and Theft enſued; It was Enacted, that no Man ſhould have in his own or Farmed lands above 2000 ſheep (yet that every Temporall Perſon may keep upon his Inheritance as many as he will.) Secondly, that no Man ſhall take and hold above two Farmes at once, and thoſe to be in the ſame Pariſh; upon certain Penalties there ſet down.

The Statute of *Henry* 4th concerning Heretiques was Repeal'd. And it was Enacted, that Sheriffs in their Turnes, and Stewards in their Leets may make Inquiry and Preſentment of Heretiques; Who being by two Lawfull Witneſſes accuſed, may be Cited and Arreſted by an Ordinary, and being convict in open Court, ſhall abjure their Hereſies, and refuſing ſo to doe, or relapſing, ſhall be burnt.

Alſo the Statute of *Richard* the third permitting free importation of all kind of Bookes, was Repealed. And (for the benefit of our Book-binders) it was Enacted that no Book-ſeller ſhould buy any Books bound beyond Sea; nor any (though unbound) of any ſtranger, but by engroſſe. And if the Prices of Books chance to be raiſed above reaſon, the Lord Chancellour, Lord Treaſurer, the chiefe

Juſtice

Juſtice of either Bench, or any two of them ſhall moderate the ſame, upon a certain Penalty. 1538.

Whereas the Clergy have truly acknowledged that the Convocation is alwayes aſſembled by the Kings Authority, and have promis'd his Majeſty, that they will not henceforth make or allege any new Conſtitutions, without his Highneſſe aſſent and Licence; And whereas divers Conſtitutions and Canons Provinciall and Synodall heretofore Enacted, are thought to be Prejudiciall to the Kings Prerogative, and contrary to the Statutes of the Realme, and enormous to the People; and the ſaid Clergy therefore hath humbly beſought his Majeſty that the ſaid Conſtitutions and Canons may be committed to the Examination of thirty two men to be named by his Majeſty, of 16 of both Houſes of Parliament, and ſixteen of the Clergy, who may annull or confirme the ſame, as they find cauſe; It is enacted that all Convocations ſhall be henceforth called by the Kings Writt, and that in them nothing ſhall be promulged or executed without his Highneſſe Licence, under pain of Impriſonment of the Authors, and mulct at the Kings will. And that his Highneſſe ſhall at his pleaſure (ſeeing the time of this Parliament is too ſhort) appoint thirty two men as aforeſaid to ſurvey the ſaid Cannons and Conſtitutions, for the Confirmation or Abolition of the ſame.

And as concerning Appeales, they ſhall be made (according to the Statutes made the laſt yeare) from Inferiour Courts, to the Arch-Biſhops, and for lack of Juſtice there, to the Kings Majeſty in his Court of Chancery.

As concerning *Annates* uſed to be payd to *Rome* by Arch-Biſhops, and Biſhops, and Bulls and Palls to be had from thence, ſince there hath been heretofore an Act paſſed, and the Biſhop of *Rome*, otherwiſe called Pope being Informed thereof, hath as yet devis'd no way with the Kings Highneſſe for redreſſe of the ſame; his Highneſſe hath now Confirm'd and Ratified the ſame Act, and every Article thereof, and the Parliament doth Enact the ſame, with this Addition, that from henceforth no Biſhop ſhall be commended, preſented or nominated by the Biſhop of *Rome*, nor ſhall ſend thither to procure any Bulls or Palls, *&c.* but that at every vacation of a Biſhopricke, the King ſhall ſend to the Chapter of the Cathedrall a Licence (as of old hath been accuſtomed) to proceed to Election, which Election being deferr'd above twelve dayes next enſuing ſhall belong to the King, but being made within the time limited ſhall be held firme and good, and the Perſon ſo Elected, after certification of his Election to the Kings Highneſſe, and Oath of fealty taken to him, ſhall be ſtyled Biſhop Elect; and ſo by his Majeſty, bee commended to the Arch-Biſhop of the Province, to be Inveſted and Conſecrate. And if the Perſons to whom this Election, or Conſecration belongeth, neglect or refuſe to performe the ſame, or admit, or execute any Cenſures, Interdictions, *&c.* to the contrary, they ſhall incurre the Penalty of the Law of *Præmunire*.

Where-

1534. Whereas the People of this Land hath been much impoveriſhed by the uſurped Exactions of the Biſhop of *Rome*, under the titles of *Peter*-pence, Procuration, Expedition of Bulls, Delegacies, Diſpenſations, *&c.* It is enacted that ſuch Impoſitions be no more payd; And that neither the Kings Highneſſe, nor any ſubject of his, ſhall ſue for any Diſpenſation, Faculty, Delegacy, *&c.* to the See of *Rome*, but that any ſuch Diſpenſation, *&c.* for Cauſes not being contrary to the Law of God, which were wont to be had from *Rome*, may be now granted by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, as well to the Kings Highneſſe, as to his ſubjects: but in thoſe things which were not wont to be granted by the See of *Rome*, the ſaid Arch-Biſhop ſhall not meddle, without the Kings Licence. Provided, that all Diſpenſations, *&c.* whoſe Expedition at *Rome* came to foure pounds and upwards, ſhall be confirmed by the Kings Seale, and enrolled in Chancery, thoſe below foure pounds paſſing under the Arch-Biſhop's Seale only. That the Fees for theſe Diſpenſations ſhall be limited by the ſayd Arch-Biſhop, and the Lord Chancellour, and a part of the ſame (bee they great or ſmall) ſhall alwayes come to the Kings hands. As for all Monaſteries, Colleges, Hoſpitalls heretofore exempt, the King only, and not the Arch-Biſhop ſhould have Authority to viſit them.

Laſtly, upon the ſute of the Parliament to the King for the eſtabliſhing of the Succeſſion to the Crowne (the uncertainty whereof hath cauſed heretofore great diviſion and bloudſhed in this Realme) It was enacted that the Kings Marriage with the Lady *Katherine*, Wife and carnally known to his Brother Prince *Arthur* (as was lawfully proved before *Thomas* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*) as contrary to Gods Law, ſhall be held voyd: and ſhe ſtiled no more Queen, but Dowager to Prince *Arthur*, and the Matrimony with Queen *Anne* ſhall be taken for firme and good; and the Iſſue thence procreate bee accompted lawfull; the Inheritance of the Crowne to belong to the ſame in manner following, (*viz.*) Firſt to the eldeſt Sonne begotten by the King on Queen *Anne*, and to the Heires of the ſaid Son Lawfully begotten; and for default of ſuch Heire, then to the ſecond Son, *&c.* and if Queene *Anne* Deceaſe without Iſſue Male, then the Crown to deſcend to the Sonne and Heire of the Kings Body lawfully begotten, and the Heires of the ſaid Sonne Lawfully begotten, and for a default of ſuch Iſſue, to the ſecond Sonne in like manner, *&c.* And for default of Sonnes, that then the Crown ſhal belong to the Iſſue Female of the King by Queen *Anne*; and firſt to the firſt begotten the Princeſſe *Elizabeth*, and to the Heirs of her body Lawfully begotten. And for default of ſuch Iſſue, then to the ſecond Daughter in like ſort, *&c.* And for default of all ſuch Iſſue, to the Right Heires of the Kings Highneſſe. It was Ordained that this Act ſhall be proclam'd before *May* next throughout the Kingdome. And all Perſons of age ſhall ſweare to accept and maintain the ſame. They who refuſe the Oath ſtanding guilty of Miſpriſion of High Treaſon; And they who ſpeake or write againſt the Marriage or Succeſſion

Succeſſion here eſtabliſhed, to bee adjudged Traitours. 1534.

Beſides all this, the preſent Statute expreſſed certain Degrees of prohibited Marriage; (amongſt which, that between the Brother and the brothers Wife, was one) which being againſt Gods Lawes, could not be Diſpenced with by Man, and therefore no ſuch Marriages ſhall hereafter be made; and thoſe that are made already ſhall bee by the Ordinary diſſolved, and thoſe that are already ſo diſſolved, ſhall bee eſteemed juſtly and Lawfully diſſolved, and the Iſſue thence proceeding Illegitimate.

The Parliament riſing, Commiſſioners were ſent abroad to require the Oath of Succeſſion, which nevertheleſſe *John Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Sir *Thomas More*, late Chancellour, denyed, yet ſo as they both profeſſed a readineſſe to ſweare to the Succeſſion, but not to the whole Act, (it conteining divers other rhings. Firſt, the indiſpenſability of the firſt Marriage, as being againſt the Law of God. Secondly, of the Legall proceeding in the Divorce by *Cranmer*. Thirdly, ſome touches againſt the Popes Authority, *&c.*) But which of theſe in particular offended them, they would not diſcover; Therefore though Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer* told *Cromwell* it were not amiſſe to accept the Oath as they offer'd it, both for ſatisfaction of the People, and the Dowager with her Daughter, and the Emperour, (who much relyed on theſe Mens Authority,) they yet refuſing were ſent to the Tower, where they continued till they were brought forth to their tryall and Death, as will appeare hereafter. *March* 30. *April* 17.

The Pope having proceeded in thoſe Rigorous termes with our King (as is formerly mention'd) and for more Authoriſing his Sentence, made the Emperour Executour thereof, hoped now to have his Revenge, but he was deceiv'd. For though the Emperour did gladly accept this Overture, for his Aunt Queen *Katherines* ſake, and the hope he had to diſpoſe of the Princeſſe *Mary*, as Inheritrix of the Crowne, yet as he had deeper deſignes, in aſpiring to the Conqueſt of *Italy*, and indeed to an Univerſall Monarchy, Hee was no leſſe glad of the occaſion to take off our King from the Pope; Howſoever each ſide prepared for warre. The Emperour's intention was, to give the Princeſſe *Mary* to ſome one, who upon her Title might pretend to the Crowne, whom therefore he promis'd to ſecond. Our King and *Francis* not ignorant of the Emperours deſignes, agreed on the other ſide, partly to joyn with the Duke of *Gueldres* for invading the adjoyning territories of *France*, and partly to renew the antient Claim to *Navarre*, and aſſaile the Emperour in thoſe quarters. Yet neither did that of the Emperour take effect, becauſe there was no means to recover the Perſon of the Princeſſe *Mary*. Nor this of our Kings, becauſe *Francis* employing his thoughts wholly on the Affaires of *Italy*, did not think fit to comply openly with one againſt whom the Pope had Fulminated. Howbeit, our King for defence of his Authority and ſecond Marriage, neglected not to obtain from the Parliament a confirmation thereof, and of the Succeſſion in that Line (as is mention'd

1534. *May* 11. before) ſending alſo to Queen *Katherine* at *Bugden* neere *Huntingdon*, in ſequence thereof, *Edward* Arch-Biſhop of *Yorke*, and *Cuthbert Tonſtall*, Biſhop of *Dureſme*, to ſignifie unto her, that he tooke it ill that ſhe ſtill claimed the title of Queen, *&c.* the paſſages of which Negotiation I have thought fit to tranſcribe out of the Originall Record, as containing many materiall points concerning the whole frame of the buſineſſe.

Their Letter to the King, was this.

PLeaſe it your Highneſſe to underſtand, that this day we repaired to the Princeſſe Dowager, and there I the Arch-Biſhop of *York* for an Introduction to declare to her the effect of our Commiſſion, ſayd to her. Firſt, that your Highneſſe had often ſent to her, divers of your Counſell, and amongſt them mee, one, to declare unto her the invalidity of the Marriage, between your Highneſſe and her. Secondly, that Carnall knowledge which is the great key of the matter is ſufficiently proved in the Law, as alſo ſome that were of the Counſell do avow. Thirdly, that upon proofe ſo ſufficiently made of Carnall knowledge Divorce was made between your Highneſſe and her. Fourthly, that upon Divorce made by Lawfull ſentence, ſhe was admoniſhed to leave the name of a Queen, and not to account or call her ſelfe hereafter your Highneſſe Wife. Fiftly, how that after your Highneſſe was diſcharged of the Marriage made with her, you contracted new Marriage with your deareſt Wife Qeen *Anne*. Sixtly, that for ſo much as (thanked be God) faire Iſſue is already ſprung of this Marriage, and more likely to follow, by Gods Grace, that the whole Body of your Realm gathered together in Parliament, hath for the ſtabliſhment of this Iſſue, by your deareſt Wife Queen *Anne*, and the Succeſſion comming of this Marriage, made Acts and Ordinances againſt all them that would in word or in deed withſtand them, and that for theſe purpoſes, we were ſent to her Grace, to the intent ſhe might underſtand the true purpoſe of theſe Acts, with the paines; leſt by Ignorance ſhe ſhould fall in any of them, and ſo I declar'd the Act. Which thing being thus declared to her, ſhe being therewith in great Choler and Agony, and alwaies interrupting our words to the aforeſaid points, made theſe Anſwers following. To the firſt, that ſhe took the Matrimonie between your Highneſs and her for good, and ſo alwaies would account her ſelfe to be your Highneſs Lawfull Wife, in which opinion ſhe ſaid ſhe would continually (till Death) perſiſt. To the ſecond, ſhe utterly denied that ever Carnall knowledge was had between her and Prince *Arthur*, and that ſhe would never confeſſe the contrary, and with lowd voice when mention was made of this point, ſhe ſaid, they Lyed falſly that ſo ſay'd. To the third, ſhee anſwered, that ſhe is not bound to ſtand to that Divorce made by my Lord of *Canterbury*, whom ſhe called a Shaddow, and that although he had given ſentence againſt her, yet the Pope had given ſentence with her, whom ſhe took for Chriſts Vicar, and therefore would alwaies obey

obey him, as his faithfull Daughter: To the fourth, ſhe anſwer'd, that ſhe would never leave the name of a Queen, and ſhee would alwaies take her ſelfe for your Highneſs Wife. To the fifth, ſhe ſayd, that this Marriage, made after her Appeale, which ſhe made by your Highneſs leave and conſent, is of no value. To the ſixth, ſhe anſwer'd, that ſhe is not bound to the Acts of the Parliament, for ſo much as ſhe is your Highneſs Wife, and not ſubject to your Highneſs, and alſo becauſe theſe Acts were made by your Highneſs ſubjects in your favour, your Highneſs being partie in this matter; with divers other unſeeming words. Unto which her Anſwer I the Biſhop of *Dureſme* replying, foraſmuch as ſhe had ſaid in her communication that both I and the reſidue of her Counſell had alwaies ſhewed unto her, that her matter is Juſt and good; I ſayd that all the queſtion whereupon we were conſulted at ſuch time as the Legats were here, depended only upon the validity of the Bull and Breve, albeit I ſayd, that ſith that time divers other queſtions had riſen and been debated by many Univerſities, the chiefe of Chriſtendome, of which one was *Bononia*, the Popes owne Town; and by them concluded, that after the deceaſe of the Brother, who had had carnall knowledge with his Wife, the Brother living might not Marry the ſaid Wife by any Diſpenſation of the Pope, becauſe it was forbidden by the Law of God. And foraſmuch as the Pope (albeit the ſayd concluſions have been by Learned Men ſent from your Highneſs, declared unto him) never made anſwer to maintain Lawfully his power to the contrary, but rather in confirmation of the opinions of the ſayd Univerſities, at *Marſeilles*, that if your Grace would ſend a *Proxie* thither, hee would give the ſentence for your Highneſs againſt her, becauſe that he knew that your Cauſe was good and Juſt, which his ſaying was according alſo to an Epiſtle Decretall ſent hither by the Legat *Campegius*, whereof the effect was, that if Marriage and carnall knowledge were had betwixt Prince *Arthur* and her, the Legates ſhould pronounce for the Divorce, according whereunto proofes were brought in before the Legates, and alſo ſince, before the Convocations of this Realme, and the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and by them allowed, and approved as ſufficient and Lawfull: whereby it doth plainly appeare, that the Sentence given by the Pope to the contrary was not vailable, becauſe it pronounced the Diſpenſation, (which he had no power to grant, ſeeing it was againſt the Law of God) to be good; therefore I had now changed my former opinion, and exhorted her to do the ſemblable, and forbeare to uſurpe any more the Name of a Queen, ſpecially for that the Sentence ſhee ſticketh ſo greatly unto, was given after your Graces Appeale to the Councell Generall, and intimate to the Pope, ſo that it could not bee vailable. And that if ſhe ſhould ſo doe, ſhe might thereby attaine much quietneſſe for her ſelfe, and her friends. and that ſhe being conformable ſo to doe, I doubted not but your Highneſs would ſuffer her to have about her ſuch Perſons as ſhould be to her pleaſure, and intreat her as your Graces moſt deareſt Siſter, with all liberty and plea- 1534. *May* 20.

1534. ſure, with divers other things, which by her much enterlacing, I was forced to anſwer unto. The ſpecialties whereof, and of her obſtinacy, that ſhe will in no wiſe, ne for any perill of her life or goods relinquiſh the name of a Queen, wee do remit for tediouſneſſe unto the wiſdomes and diſcretions of my Lord of *Cheſter*, Mr. *Almoner*, and Maſter *Redell*, who like as they have very ſubſtantially, wiſely, and effectually, ordered themſelves in the Execution of the premiſſes, ſo we doubt not, but that they will ſincerely report the circumſtances of the ſame unto your Highnes, whom we beſeech Almighty God long to preſerve in much honour, to his pleaſure, and your hearts deſire. At *Huntington* the 21th day of *May*.

By your Highneſſe moſt humble Subjects Servants and Chaplaines.

Edouard Ebor.
Cuthbert Dureſme.

Dec. 18. 1533. *Hall.* Notwithſtanding which anſwers of the Princeſſe Dowager, ſuch was the gentleneſſe of our King, as betwixt the memory of his former love and pitty on her preſent condition, contenting himſelfe to have diſſolv'd her Family, and remov'd from her, all ſuch as would not ſerve her as Princeſſe only; hee paſs'd them over with much calmneſſe. Howbeit he reſolved to puniſh rigorouſly her adherents, and particularly *Elizabeth Barton* (called the Holy Maid of *Kent*) who had almoſt ſtirred up more than one Tragedy; for being ſuborned long ſince by Monks, to uſe ſome ſtrange geſticulations, and to exhibit divers feigned Miracles, accompanied with ſome Wiſardly Unſoothſayings, ſhe drew much credit and concourſe to her, inſomuch that no mean Perſons, and among others *Warham*, late Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Sir *Thomas More*, gave ſome beliefe to her; ſo that notwithſtanding the danger that was to give eare to a Prediction of hers, that *Henry* VIII. ſhould not live one Moneth after his Marriage with Miſtris *Bolen*, ſhe was cryed up with many voyces, *Silveſter Darius*, and *Antonio Pollioni*, the Popes Agents here, giving credit and countenance thereunto. But the Plot being at laſt diſcovered, ſhe was attainted of Treaſon in the Parliament, and executed with her chiefe Complices ſhortly after. At which time alſo ſhe confeſſed their names who had inſtigated her to theſe practiſes, and whom ſhe had acquainted with her Revelations. Among whom were *More* and *Fiſher*; whom yet the King Pardoned upon their ſeverall ſubmiſſions, not ſuffering the Bills to paſſe, which were put into the Parliament againſt them.

Hall. Moriſin Apomaxis. Novemb. 1533. *Ia.* 15. 15$\frac{34}{33}$. *April* 21

More, March 5. *Fiſher, Feb.* 27. 15$\frac{34}{35}$.

After many bickerings betwixt the Engliſh and Scottiſh, a Truce firſt, and afterwards a Peace was concluded betwixt our King and King James. On the King of Scots part *March* 23. came to London *William Stuart* Biſhop of *Aberden*, *Robert Reid* Abbat of *Kinlos*, and *Adam Otterburne*, a Lawyer. To treat with theſe on our Kings behalfe, were appointed *T. Audley*, Chancellour; *Cromwell*, Secretary, and *Edward Fox* Almoner.

1533. *Sept.* 1534. *March* 23.

April 12.

The

The Treaty was for perpetuall Peace, which was concluded *May* 20. during their joynt lives, and a yeare after, and ſworne by King *Henry Aug.* 2, and by King *James*, *July* 9. It was alſo agreed, that King *Henry* ſhall redeliver to the King of Scots the Fortreſſe of *Edrington*, lately taken by the Engliſh, and the King of Scots ſhall not impute breach of Peace to King *Henry*, if he entertain *Archibald* Earle of *Anguis* his Brother, or his Uncle, and if the ſaid *Duglaſſes* ſhould chance to Invade *Scotland*, Redreſſe ſhould be made according to the Lawes of the Marches, and the Peace remain between the two Kings. Which that it might continue during their lives, as was then agreed, Queen *Margaret* by Letters ſollicited Queen *Anne* and *Cromwell* the Secretary. While this Peace was treated, I find by our Records the Lord *william Howard*, Brother to the Duke of *Norfolke*, was ſent into *Scotland*, to carry King *James* the Order of St. *George*, whereunto hee was alſo accepted at *Windſor* the next year *July* 28. he had Inſtructions alſo to acquaint him, with an Interview intended betwixt our King and *Francis*, whereat he was intreated to be preſent, and for this purpoſe to paſſe through his Kingdome, that they both together might go to *Calais*; Which favour was acknowledg'd by *James*. But as the Interview in *France* was diſappointed, ſo our King who deſired much to conferre with his Nephew, invited him to *York*. Whereupon King *James* propos'd the buſineſſe to his Counſell, who judging *New-Caſtle* to be the fitter place, made an excuſe for the preſent, promiſing yet the yeare following to meet, if he ſo thought good. Nevertheleſſe, as our King well knew upon what ground this meeting was deferr'd, the Lord *william Howard*, and *William Barlow*, Elect Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, were ſent to make certaine Overtures and Propoſitions to that King, whereof in its due place.

1534.
May 20.

July 4.

This yeare *Charles* the Emperour being in *Spain*, intentive chiefly to the proceedings of the Turke, and his Brother *Ferdinand* in *Germany*, deſirous to govern without home-oppoſition, ſuch a Peace was accorded with the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and ſuch favourable uſage given the Proteſtant Princes, that the Pope complained openly of *Ferdinands* Partiality to them. But *Ferdinand* excuſed all with Reaſon of State. Which alſo the Pope accepted the rather, that the Anabaptiſts (who taught a Doctrine more contrary to Monarchy than the Lutherans) did then prevaile in many places, and particularly held *Munſter* in *Weſtphalia*. So that becauſe the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, promiſed to contribute ſome Forces to the beſieging of that place, hee ſaid hee had concluded an advantageous Peace. For as no man knew how farre the Innovations of theſe times might reach, it was thought to be of much importance, that they had drawn one ſide to oppoſe the other. In *France* alſo about this time, the Evangeliques began to take Root, though ſo covertly, that few durſt openly avow it, yet as they found favour and Protection from *Margaret* Queen of *Navarre*, and *Anne* Dutcheſſe *d'Eſtampes*, So the King himſelf whether for deciding the Cauſe, or love of theſe two Ladies (whereof one

June 29. *Sleid. l.* 9.

Flor. Ramund. l. 7.

1534. was his Sister, and the other his Favourite) refused not to conferre privatly with divers of the reformed, and to give some such tacite Assent to their Doctrines, as thereupon growing audacious, they adventured to set up Papers in the Court and publish Libels against the Church of *Rome* in such manner, as *Francis* being incensed thereat, caused the Authors to be sought out, and burnt. Not yet but that hee could have been content to have had some points reformed, and the Papall Authority diminished a little, but that hee feared it might cause a division in his Realme, as he saw it had done in the Empire. Therefore, following a violent course, and improper to convince those who are well perswaded of their Religion, hee condemned the Professours thereof to the fire. While yet on the other side (as the French Historians confesse) Hee entred into a League with the Turke, to the no little scandall of his own, and all the Christian Religion. But as this was not without some great Designe, so he instituted certain Legionary Souldiers, or Regiments of Foot throughout *France*, to the number of 42000 Men, each of the Legions being compos'd of two thousand Harquebusiers, and foure thousand Pikes, and Halberdiers, who were Commanded by twelve Captaines (having five hundred a peice) under six Collonels; While to draw the People voluntarily to support this Charge, the King exempted the Gentry from the service they owed the Crown, by reason of their Tenures and Fees, and the Roturier or Pesant from all Impositions, saving twenty Sols apeice. Many good Ordinances also were made for the entertaining and ordering this Militia, Neither did the King misdoubt that the putting of Armes into so many of his Subjects hands would redound to his prejudice, or the People feare that their liberty should be oppresst thereby. So that it gave not only security at home, but reputation abroad; All which was done, while the Emperour prepared for a Voyage to *Tunis*, the Relation whereof also, I shall set down in its due place.

Sleid. Com l.7.

Novemb.

Dupleix De Serv.

De Serv.

Sept.26. This yeare upon the 26th of *September*, Pope *Clement* the VII took his end, For as he had been troubled long, with a weaknesse in his Stomack, which his Physitian *Curtio* advis'd him to Remedy by change of Dyet, so being not able in an infirme State to suffer such an alteration, he sunke under his Disease and dyed. This Pope was one, who having prov'd the variety of good and ill Fortune, more than any other of his sort, had learn'd at last to make use of all; Hee was happy in his Interviews, as returning ever with some advantage, without that the committing himselfe to the power of those puissant Princes whom he met, did diminish his Authority, in a time when they wanted neither will nor occasion to bring it lower. Hee was a passionate lover of the advancement of his Family, for which purpose also, hee sometimes chang'd the whole face of the Affairs of *Europe*. His Riches were rather in Jewells than money, as being more proper to dispose unto them he affected. Hee was provident enough in conducting all Affairs where Armes did not Intervene, but withall so timerous

rous, that it was reproached to him. The Hiſtorians of thoſe times beſides Note him to have been of little Faith. Both which properties ſeeme the more credible that he ſo often varied in his Treaties with our King. Inſomuch that he may be thought for more than one Reaſon ro have wilfully loſt him. Into this Place ſucceeded *Aleſſandro* of the houſe of the *Farneſi*, as being by a full Conclave immediately Choſen, neither did his Age being 67. exempt him while every one thus might hope in his turne to ſucceed. Which opinion alſo hee ſo cunningly entertain'd, as he was thought to have uſed ſome Art to make himſelfe thought ſtill more ſickly than he was. 1534. *Octob.* 12.

Our King who ſtill ſuſpected that the Pope and Emperour had their Deſigns upon him, did now labour every where to hinder them, and ſtrengthen himſelfe. For which purpoſe alſo this occaſion was given, *Frederic* King of *Denmarke* dying about this time, and leaving the Crown in competition between his Son *Chriſtian* (yet a child) and *Frederic* Count *Palatine*, who had married *Dorothie*, elder Daughter to *Chriſtiern* II, and the Emperours Siſter, the Lubekers and Hamburghers offer'd our King for the ſumme of 100000 Crowns to make a King in that Country which ſhould be at his devotion, and thereby exclude the Intereſt which the Emperour or his Neece had to that Crowne. Concerning which our King taking advice with his Counſell, It was thought fit to propoſe the buſineſſe to *Francis*, both that our King might experiment his affection, (which he had lately found cold) and eaſe himſelfe of the charge, the halfe whereof therefore hee deſir'd *Francis* to ſupport. But what anſwer *Francis* return'd, appears not, only I find by a Dutch-Hiſtory, that a great ſumme of money, was lent by our King, whereupon alſo they proceeded in their warre, which yet at laſt being compos'd, our King demanded Repayment. *Bewther.* 1535. *May* 25.

The Lord *Dacres* of the North (on the 9th of *July* as our Hiſtorians have it) was Arraigned at *Weſtminſter* of High-Treaſon, but as the principall Wineſſes produced againſt him by his accuſers (Sir *Ralph Fenwick* and one *Muſgrave*) were ſome mean and provoked Scottiſh men, ſo his Peeres acquitted him, as believing they not only ſpoke maliciouſly, but might be eaſily ſuborned againſt him, who as one (having been Warden of the Marches) by frequent Inroads had done much harme in that Country. And thus eſcaped that Lord to his no little honour, and his Judges, as giving example thereby how Perſons of great quality, brought to their Tryall, are not ſo neceſſarily condemn'd, but that they ſometimes may ſcape, when they obtaine an equall Hearing. The 11th of *Auguſt*, this yeare, our King, as hee was watchfull over the voice and affection of his People, ſo for the finding out how they would take his Deſigne of putting downe Religious Houſes, began with the remove of ſome. And therefore ſuppreſſed at *Greenwich*, *Canterbury*, *Richmont*, and other places the Obſervant Fryars noted to be the moſt clamorous againſt Him, and for them ſubſtituted the Auguſtines, placing the Obſervants again in the Room of the Gray Fryars, as ſome have it, though others mention *July* 9. *Holinſh.* *Spucd.*

not

1534. not this latter Exchange; Which paſſages though of no great moment, in regard of that which followed, our King was glad to find no worſe interpreted, ſince they ſerved to eſtabliſh his Authority.

Regn.26. Novemb.3. I ſhall come now to the Lawes Enacted in the Parliament held *Novemb.3.* this yeare, which were important, and ſuch as teſtified the great reſpect and awe born by our Nation unto their King.

The firſt was to this effect. That albeit the King was Supreme Head of the Church in *England*, and ſo recogniſed by the Clergy of this Realm in their Convocations, yet for more corroboration thereof, as alſo for extirping all errours, hereſies, and abuſes of the ſame; It was Enacted that the King his Heirs and Succeſſours, Kings of *England*, ſhould be accepted and reputed the Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of *England* (called *Eccleſia Anglicana*) And have and injoy united and annexed to the Imperiall Crown of this Realme aſwell the Title and Stile thereof, as all Honours, Dignities, Preeminences, Juriſdictions, Privileges, Authorities, Immunities, Profits, and Commodiries to the ſaid dignity of Supreme Head of the ſame Church belonging or appertaining. And that our ſaid Soveraigne Lord his Heirs and Succeſſours, Kings of this Realme, ſhall have full power and Authority from time to time, to viſit and Repreſſe, redreſſe, reforme, order, correct, reſtrain and amend, all ſuch errours, hereſies, abuſes, offences, contempts, and enormities, whatſoever they be, which by any manner of Spirituall Authority or Juriſdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, repreſſed, ordered, redreſſed, corrected, reſtrained, or amended moſt to the pleaſure of Almighty God, the encreaſe of Vertue in Chriſts Religion, and for the conſervation of the Peace, Unitie, and tranquility of this Realme, any uſage, cuſtome, forreigne Lawes, forreigne Authority, preſcription, or any thing or things to the contrary hereof notwithſtanding. Which Act, though much for the manutention of the Regall Authority, ſeem'd yet not to be ſuddenly approved by our King, nor before hee had conſulted with his Counſell (who ſhewed him precedents of Kings of *England*, that had uſed this power) and with his Biſhops, who having diſcuſſed the Point in their Convocations, Declared, *June 1. Records.* That the Pope had no Juriſdiction warranted to him by Gods word in this Kingdome, Which alſo was ſeconded by the Univerſities, and *June 27. Sept.11.* by the ſubſcriptions of the ſeverall Colleges, and Religious-houſes ſo farre as they bound their Succeſſours thereunto. The particulars whereof are to be ſeen in our Records. Howſoever, the Buſineſſe was both publiquely controverted in forreigne Countries, and defended here by many at this preſent, while they produced Arguments for rejecting the Popes Authority, and together maintained it neceſſary, that ſuch a power ſhould be extant in the Realme for ſupporting and ſtrengthning of the Religion profeſſed in it, and excluding the Impertinent and ill-grounded Reformations of many Sectaries of thoſe times. The Arguments of all which, may be ſeen in the Kings Booke *De vera differentia Regia, & Eccleſiaſtica Poteſtatis* (which we have formerly

formerly mentioned) as being Printed, and Publiſhed on this Occaſion ; Whence alſo the learned Biſhop *Andrews* in his *Tortura Torti*, ſeemes to have drawn divers Aſſertions of the Regall Authority, to which therefore the curious Reader may have further recourſe. 1534.

It was alſo declared Treaſon to attempt, I magine or ſpeake evill againſt the King, Queen, or his Heirs, or to attempt to deprive them of their Dignity or Titles.

Alſo, that no Traitor ſhall have benefit of Sanctuary. And though he be out of the Realme, yet upon Commiſſion given by the King for his Tryall, if he be found guilty by the Jury, the Law ſhall proceed againſt him, as effectually, as he were preſent.

An Act alſo made the laſt Parliament for an Oath to be taken by all the Kings ſubjects for the ſurety of the Succeſſion by Queen *Anne* was now Confirmed, and the Oath preſcribed, for the more validating whereof alſo, it was declared that all former Oaths concerning Succeſſion taken by the Kings ſubjects, ſhould be reputed thenceforth vain and annihilated.

That towards the Augmentation, maintenance and defence of the Kings Royall Eſtate and Dignity of Supreme Head, the Firſt-fruits of all Benefices, Dignities, Offices, *&c.* Spirituall, ſhall be paid to his Highneſſe. As alſo a yearly Revenue, being the Tenth part of all ſuch Livings (the Prior and the Brethren of St. *Johns* of *Jeruſalem* not excepted.)

Whereas alſo it was doubted, leſt in theſe troubleſome times ſome Commotion might follow in this Kingdome, and that particularly *Wales*, as being a ſtrong and faſt Country might be a refuge for ill affected Perſons, and the rather that there were ſo many Lordſhips Marches in thoſe parts (the ſeverall Lords whereof having ampler power than they now enjoy, did protect Offenders flying from one place to the other) Divers Lawes were enacted againſt Perjuries, Murders, Felonies in *Wales* ; Paſſage over Severne alſo at unlawfull times was prohibited, and Clerkes convict in *Wales*, not to be releaſed till they found Sureties for their good abearing. Notwithſtanding which, the yeare following upon mature deliberation, *Wales* was united and incorporated totally unto the Crown of *England*, it being thought better to adopt that People into the ſame forme of Government with the Engliſh, than by keeping them under more ſevere and ſtrict Lawes than others in the Iſland were ſubject unto, to hazard the alienating of their affections.

An Act alſo was made, declaring by whom, and in what manner Biſhops Suffragans ſhould be nominated and appointed, and what their Authority and Privileges ſhould be.

And thus after a free and Generall Pardon from the King, enacted, the Parliament was prorogued. The Act of Supremacy being thus paſſed, the King proceeded more confidently to aboliſh by Proclamation, the Popes Authority out of his Kingdome, and eſtabliſh his own, the Doctrine whereof hee commanded not only to be often

Preached

1535. Preached in the moſt frequent Auditories, but taught even to little children, injoyning further that the Popes name ſhould be razed out of all bookes, his Reſolution being after this time to treat with him no otherwiſe than as an ordinary Biſhop, In ſequence whereof alſo, hee not only proceeded with an high hand againſt all the oppoſers of his Supremacy, (as ſhall be related in its due place) but accepted a voluntary Oath or promiſe, under their hands and Seale from his Biſhops, declaring their acknowledgement of the ſame, together with Renunciation of the Popes pretended Authority, and any Oath or promiſe made to him heretofore. The forme of this Oath or promiſe

June 25. 1535.

Feb. 10. 1535. given by *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Febr.* 10th, 1535, may be ſeen in *Fox*, to which we remit the Reader.

1535. IN the beginning of this yeare *Philip Chabot Seigneur de Bryon*, Admirall of *France*, being ſent to our King, acquainted him how the Count of *Naſſaw* had been on the Emperours part with the King his Maſter, and among other Overtures of agreement, propoſed to him two Marriages; to which yet he would returne no anſwer without our Kings advice. One, was betwixt the *Dolphin* and the Princeſſe *Mary* our Kings Daughter (which alſo *Bellay* mentions, adding that notwithſtanding, the inſtances which *Francis* made, the Emperour would not declate his further intentions herein;) the other was betwixt the Emperours Sonne and the French Kings youngeſt Daughter. To which points as alſo ſome others here following, our King commanded his Agents in *France* to return this anſwer. That he marvaild much at the Emperours malice, in medling with things which belong'd not to him; and therefore deſired *Francis* to ſurceaſe this Treaty, ſince hee knew well enough how to keep his Daughter out of the Emperours reach. Secondly, he commanded them to tell *Francis* that the Emperours intention (Notwithſtanding all his promiſes) was to divide him firſt from his League with *England*, and afterwards diſappoint him; for though he had underſtood by the ſaid *Bryon*, that the Emperour upon ſome conditions had offer'd to *Francis* (for one of his Sonnes) a Penſion of a hundred thouſand Crownes, payable yearly out of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and *Milan* it ſelfe after the death of *Sforza*, hee deſired him to give no credit to ſuch improbabilities. And, here, I muſt obſerve that *Bellay* who ſpeaks of the Penſion, ſaith nothing of the Dutchy it ſelfe, ſo that it may be that *Bryon* ſtretched this point. And whereas the ſaid *Bryon* had told him theſe things ſhould be Treated of by the two Siſters, Queen *Leonora*, Wife to *Francis*, and *Mary*, the Widow of *Hungary*, (now Regent of the *Low-Countries*, who, I find by the Spaniſh Hiſtory did afterwards meet at *Cambray*) Hee thought hee diſparag'd this Buſineſſe, to commit it to Women. After theſe points, and ſome others (which as they followed not, I ſpare to reherſe) he commanded them to intreat *Francis* to procure a Revocation of the Cenſures of *Clement* late Pope againſt him. And to tell him, that he would ſend Commiſſioners ſhortly to

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treat

treat of a Match betwixt the Duke of *Angouleſme* (his third ſonne) and the Princeſſe *Elizabeth* our Kings Daughter, which ſhould bee more advantageous than the Emperours Offer. Whereupon, this year in *May*, our King who knew there was no ſo good way, to prevent the danger on the part of *Scotland*, as by taking off the French, and beſides would have been glad that the Popes Cenſures were retracted, ſent the Duke of *Norfolke*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, Sir *William Fitz-William*, and Doctor *Fox*, to Treat with the French Kings Commiſſioners, being *Philip Chabot* Admirall, and *Guillaume de Poyet* afterwards Chancellour of *France*, to this effect, as I find by their Inſtructions. 1535. *May.*

To require *Francis* together with his Children, as alſo his Spirituall and Temporall Nobility, to enter into bond to revoke the Cenſures given at *Rome*, (which I conceive had his Original from ſome propoſition which *Francis* made of Reconcilement with the Pope.) That hee, his Nobility and Univerſities ſhould declare the late Marriage to bee good, and bind themſelves to maintain the ſame, which if granted, then to proceed to the Treaty of Marriage, upon certain conditions, whereof theſe are the Principall.

That all former Treaties ſhall ſtand in force. That when the Parties came to ſufficient years they ſhould ratifie the Marriage. That *Monſieur de Angouleſme* ſhould be preſently ſent to our King to bee brought up in *England*. That if hee ſucceeded to the Crowne, the Dutchy of *Angouleſme* ſhould be free from homage to the French Kings. That he ſhould not change the Lawes of the Realme, and that ſufficient ſecurity and caution ſhould be given for this purpoſe. But ſome of theſe being thought to be high demands, our King ſent ſhortly after *George Bolen* Lord *Rochford* with power to modifie and allay ſome points, yet ſo as Hee inſiſted ſtill, *Francis* ſhould bind himſelfe and his three ſons to revoke the Cenſures. And to declare, that it was enough if the Duke of *Angouleſme* came hither when the Eſpouſalls were to be made. At laſt by third Inſtructions our King ſaid, he was content to accept the ſingle Bond of *Francis* for Revocation of the Cenſures, and that he was pleas'd that the Duke of *Angouleſme* came ſix Moneths only before the compleat Marriage. To the firſt of which points the French Commiſſioners agreed, but the latter they refus'd, affirming that it was ſufficient, if the young Duke came to conſummate the Marriage. This while Sir *John Wallop* (Ambaſſador in *France*) being commanded to propoſe the ſame Conditions to *Francis*, was ſo ſharply anſwer'd, that our Commiſſioners reſented it. Nevertheleſſe as ſome Articles were agreed on the part of the French Commiſſioners: ſo they again demanded what help our King would give to the King their Maſter towards the recovery of his Mothers Land in *Savoy*. Whereupon, as alſo about the Penſion uſually paid to our King, ſome wrangling words were interchang'd, while wee demanding that which was in Arreare, they deſired to be exonerated of the whole; And thus the Treaty remained imperfect; yet ſo as I find *June.* *June 6.*

by

1535. *May* 14. by a Letter of Sir *Gregory Caſalis*, how *Francis* had propos'd this Revocation with much earneſtneſſe, and not a few threats unto the new Pope. Though as *Paulus* III. was by nature ſlow (as *Caſalis* obſerves) and that the Emperour, beſides, had his deſignes in *Scotland* and *Ireland* at that time againſt our King, ſo no effect followed. For which yet none ſuffer'd ſo much as the Pope himſelf, It being certain our King hitherto paſſionatly deſir'd to be, if not reintegrated, yet at leaſt in good termes with the Roman Church, as far as with his dignity he might.

This while, *Haradin Barbaroxa* King of *Argel*, that famous Pyrate (who for commanding in an unbounded and higher Element than the Earth gloried in ſome ſort to be ſuperiour to the Princes thereof) obtained the Kingdome of *Tunis*, ſo true is the antient Verſe, *Ille Crucem pretium Sceleris tulit, hic Diadema.* This man being ſent for, by *Solyman*, and conſtituted Admirall in the Spring 1534, with 100 ſayle of all ſorts; 8800 ſouldiers, and 800000 Duckats, began his expedition for Chriſtendome the ſame day that *Solyman* undertooke his for *Perſia*. His principall deſigne was upon *Genoua*, as being incited thereunto by *Francis*, as the Spaniſh Hiſtory hath it; In his way to which, he burnt or took many ſhips in *Sicily* and *Italy*, ſacking divers Towns, and making many Captives; yet as he knew all this would not be ſuch a Prize for *Solyman* as the beautifull *Julia Gonzaga*, Hee commanded two thouſand Turks to land by night, and ſeize on her Perſon, being then in *Fundi* in the Kingdome of *Naples*, but ſhe halfe naked eſcaped them. Some difficulties yet appearing about the deſign of *Genoua*, *Barbaroxa* makes for *Tunis*, which at laſt between Stratagem and force hee tooke 22 *Aug.* 2534, and made himſelfe King thereof, *Muley Hazem* the true Prince flying for his more ſecurity unto the Mountaines. Which being advertis'd to the Emperour, hee thought fit to prevaile himſelfe of the occaſion. As hoping that *Solymans* being in *Perſia*, and the troubles, and confuſions, which are incident to unſetled and uſurped Governments, would make his deſigne eaſie. And as hee was one who knew the uſe of Spies in any great enterpriſe, hee deſcended ſo low, as to give particular Inſtructions to one *Luys Preſendes* a Genoueſe well acquainted with *Africa*, which are at large ſet down by *Sandovall*. The effect of which were, That he ſhould have certain moneys given him, wherewith he ſhould buy a ſhip and commodities to Traffique with *Tunis*, and by thoſe meanes inſinuate himſelfe into the acquaintance of the principall Perſons both in the Town, and about *Barbaroxa*, and therupon either to make a Party with the diſcontented Citizens, with whom the Emperor might Joyn, or elſe to penetrate the deſigns of *Barbaroxa*; For which purpoſe alſo he had liberty, & Letters of Credence to make himſelf Ambaſſadour and Negotiate with *Barbaroxa*, when he thought it expedient for the Emperours ſervice to proceed that way; Giving him Authority further, to promiſe aſſiſtance to *Barbaroxa* for the Conqueſt of *Africa*, when he might be drawn to depend on the Emperour. But whether through want of dexterity to uſe ſuch different Inſtructions, or that other-

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Aug. 22. 1534.

Sand. Nov. 14. 1534. *Sandov.*

otherwiſe another who was privy to his Imployment, did diſcover him (which ſome affirme) he was ſeiz'd on by *Barbaroxa* and put to death. Which being related unto the Emperour did but haſten his Expedition, wherein he reſolved to goe in Perſon. 1535. *Sandov.*

This while, *Francis*, who was intire to the Actions of the Emperour, both as himſelfe had his deſignes in *Italy*, at that time, and that he had entred into a ſecret League with the Turke, thought fit to acquaint *Barbaroxa* therewith, by the means of one *Monſieur de Forreſt* a French-man, who from thence was commanded to go to *Conſtantinople*, and procure ſuccours for him; the ſucceſſe whereof wee ſhall tell hereafter; And now the Emperour being aſſiſted by the Pope, and *John* King of *Portugall*, and attended by *Don Luys*, Son to the ſaid *John*, *Andrea Doria*, and the prime Nobilitie of *Spaine*, ſet ſayle from *Barcelona*, *May* 13. and come to *Calari* in *Sardinia*, departed thence 13 of *June* 1535. with twenty five thouſand Foot, and about two thouſand Horſe, beſides the Nobilitie and Adventurers, and ten thouſand Seamen. All which being carried in two hundred and fifty, or three hundred Sayle, came before *Goleta*, a Fort of ſixty paces one way, and ſixty five the other, ſituate on a ſtrait at the Mouth of the Lake or Bay within which *Tuniz* ſtands. Which place, though defended bravely, was at laſt taken, together with a great part of the Fleet of *Barbaroxa*. After which, the Emperour leaving the Lake on the left hand, Marched to *Tuniz* (where *Barbaroxa* was) being a City of about ten thouſand Houſes, and three Leagues South from *Goleta*. But certain Slaves whom the Moores intended to burne with their Priſon, eſcaping out of it and taking Armes at the ſame time that the Forces which *Barbaroxa* ſent to defend the Paſſage were routed by the Imperialiſts, *Barbaroxa* with about ſeven thouſand men, and much riches, fled out of the Towne, quitting his Raigne ſo, after that hee had enjoyed it not a full yeare; ſome of the Townes-men hereupon comming to the Emperour, and acquainting him Herewith, *Muley Hazem* interceded with the Emperour, that two houres ſpace might be given before he permitted the Army to enter, alleging for this purpoſe alſo ſome probable inducements; When yet the crafty Moore, intended nothing thereby, but the gaining ſo much time for the Townſ-men to hide their moſt pretious riches, from the rapine of the ſouldiers; To which purpoſe alſo, hee gave them privat warning. The Emperour, at laſt, entering, and together giving Liberty to many Slaves, reſtored it to *Muley Hazem* upon theſe Conditions. That hee ſhould ſuffer him to retaine *Goleta*, *Bona*, *Vizerta*, and ſome other places belonging to the Kingdome of *Tunez*. That certaine Churches for Chriſtians ſhould bee allowed. That hee ſhall no more make Chriſtians Slaves, or protect Pyrats, from whom that King drew a great Revenue, being a fifth of all they tooke. And now *Charles* finding no more to bee done in thoſe parts, the yeare being farre ſpent, and his men ſicke of Calentures, and being not ignorant beſides, of the

1534.

July 14.

Iuly 20.

Iuly 21.

*Aug.*6.

1535. Aug. 28. designes of *Francis* in *Italy*, came to *Trapaca* in *Sicily* the twentieth of *August* 1535. from whence hee went shortly to *Naples*.

During this Expedition *Francis* fell sicke, the supposed cause whereof (as I find by our Records) was, a griefe hee tooke, that a servant of *Monsieur de Forrest*, returning with a Dispatch concerning his Negotiation with the Turk, was intercepted by the Duke of *Urbin*, and all the Treaty by this means, discovered to the Emperour; yet, at length taking Heart, and recovering, he sent our King word therof, who thereupon commanded a solemne Procession to be made in *London*. Nov.

While the Emperour was at *Tunez*, *Francis* having provided a great Army under the Command of *Philip Chabot*, Admirall of *France*, sent to his Uncle *Charles*, Duke of *Savoy*, for passage through his Country, giving out that he desired it only, to Revenge the death of his Ambassadour *Merveilles* upon *Francesco Sforza*. But the Duke conscious that he had lent Money heretofore to *Bourbon*, and bought lately the *Contado* of *Asti* (belonging to the House of *Orleans*) of the Emperour, and besides, had accepted the Emperours Order, when he refused the French, wanted not occasion to suspect the entrance of so potent an Army into his Country. Therefore he denyed Passage. Whereupon *Francis* incensed, sends to require of the Duke the Inheritance, falling to him by *Louise* of *Savoy* his Mother. Demanding also restitution of a great part of *Piemont*, and the Marquisat of *Salusses* as belonging antiently to the Counties of *Provence* and *Dauphine*, and Seignory of *Arles*. The Duke (as being allied to *Charles*, by his Wife *Beatrix*, Sister to *Isabella* the Empresse) sends to him for Ayde, being now in *Sicily*, and to induce him hereunto, he offer'd to give him all the Lands, he held on this side the Mountaines in exchange for so much in *Italy*. This being reported to *Francis*, inraged him so much the more against the Duke, so that hee commanded his Army to enter *Savoy*; whereof in his place. Dupleix. G. Bellag.

Charles seeing these preparations of *Francis*, and being unable for the present to resist them (his Army being return'd sick & much weakned from *Tunez*) for gaining of time, thought fit to renew the Propositions of Allyance and Accord, formerly mention'd to *Francis*. Not omitting the while to Leavy Forces in *Germany*. Neither did hee thinke to find any so strong opposition in *Francis*, as long as he hoped that hee had given our King enough to doe in the parts of *Scotland* and *Ireland*. But as that of *Scotland* by our Kings industry tooke no effect, so that of *Ireland* was prevented, as by this Narration drawne chiefly out of our Records may appeare.

The Earle of *Kildare* being (as is aboveSaid) now restor'd again to his Liberty and Pardoned, return'd into *Ireland*, conducted by Sir *william Skiffington*, Master of the Kings Ordnance, who was also made Deputy there about 1530. and *Osorey* displac'd. But some stirs arising, which *Skeffington* was not able to quiet, the King thought fit to reinplace *Kildare*, as a man much esteemed by his Country-men. Thus was Hee made Deputy in *Ireland* again about 1532, where hee 1530. Campion.

pacified

pacified the Country, and *May* 19. 1533. unger the Title of Deputy to *Henry* Duke of *Richmond* and *Sommerſet*, Lieutenant of *Ireland*, held a Parliament at *Dublin*. But the old grudges between his family and *Oſſorei*'s, beginning to break out anew, and himſelfe being accuſed to have invited *O Neale* and others to ſpoile the Countries of *Oſſorey*, not without ſuſpition of further deſigne, he was ſent for by our King, with command to ſubſtitute at his departure ſome able Man, who might govern during his abſence. This charge was committed to *Thomas* his eldeſt ſonne. Who ſhortly after (hearing that his Father was convict and to be put to death in *England*) roſe up in Armes, and combining with *O Neale*, *O Carol*, *&c.* of the Iriſh Nobility, committed divers outrages, and particularly *July* 26. 1534. Murder'd Doctor *John Allen* Arch-Biſhop of *Dublin*, heretofore *Woolſey*'s Chaplain and Commiſſarie, and forced the Citizens of *Dublin* to take Truce with him till Michaelmas, and in the mean time to admit ſome Bands of his men, into the City, to lay ſiege to the Caſtle; (which was defended againſt Him,) while himſelfe with the reſt of his Army depopulated the Country of *Oſſorey*. The News wherof being brought into *England*, the old Earle then in Priſon, died as is thought of griefe, and the King appointed Sir *William Skeffington* by the name of Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, under the Lieutenant thereof, the Duke of *Richmont*, with a well-provided Army to ſuppreſſe the Rebell. For though ſome of the Iriſh Nobility ſtood firme to our King, and particularly the Earle of *Oſſorey*, and his ſon *James* Lord *Butler*, whom *Fitz-gerald* had in vain ſollicited; yet they were not able to make Head againſt him. And here it is remarkable how politiquely that Family ſtrove to preſerve it ſelfe. For though three of five Brothers of the late Earl of *Kildare* were againſt our King, two others offer'd their ſervice to him. Who yet (as it was danger either to receive or refuſe them) were but coldly welcomm'd. Michaelmas now approaching, (when the Truce with *Kildare* expired) *Francis Herbert* having been ſent from *Dublin* at the beginning of theſe Stirs, to give notice thereof to King *Henry*, returned with a comfortable promiſe of Succours, and a command to defend themſelves; Whereupon the Citizens ſuddenly laying hold on the Rebells, who beſieged the Caſtle, ſhut their gates, and ſtood upon their guard. Which *Fitz-gerald* underſtanding, comes, with an Army of 15000, and aſſailed the City, which yet was ſtoutly maintained, by the Townſmen, and particularly by *Francis Herbert*, who behaved himſelfe ſo well, that as I find by ſeverall Originall Diſpatches of *Finglas*, Chiefe Juſtice of *Ireland* Dated in *November* 1534, the City by his Politique and manfull defence was preſerved; Inſomuch, that if he had tarryed three dayes longer, it was ſaid, both it and the Caſtle had been loſt. I find alſo by their Originall Diſpatches, dated in the ſame Moneth, that he ſhot and kill'd twenty foure of the Rebells with his own hand, whereof twenty in one day. For which ſervice alſo, he was afterward made Knight, and one of the Kings Counſell in *Ireland*. Notwithſtanding which, as he was ſingle,

1535. Iriſh Stat. xxv. H. VIII.

June 11. 1534.

Auguſt. Holling.

Sept. 24. *Hollinſ. Records*

Records.

1535. and the City much preſſed by *Kildare*, who had intercepted all Victuals, Water and Fewell, ſo at laſt they were inforced to Treat upon
October 14. certain Conditions, which were, That the Citizens ſhould ſet at liberty ſuch of his men, as they had taken, and labour to procure his Pardon of the King, within ſixteen weeks; And he on the other ſide ſhould deſiſt from Hoſtility, during the ſaid ſpace, and redeliver their Children. Being thus departed from *Dublin*; two daies after, Sir
Octob. 16. *William Skeffington* arriving on the coaſt of *Ireland* with his Army, a falſe Report came, that the City was yeelded, whereupon a Counſell of Warre being aſſembled, the reſolution was, that *John Salisbury* and Sir *William Brereton* (two of the Captaines newly come over) ſhould be ſent to *Dublin* with ſome Forces being about five hundred men, to relieve it (if it were poſſible,) and that the Lord Deputy ſhould ſet ſayle for *Waterford*, where, about the ſame time, Sir *John Saintlo*, and Sir *Rice Manſell*, landed with five hundred Souldiers; who, joyning with the Earle of *Oſſorey*, ſpoiled the Country of *Kildare*; While *Brereton* and *Salisbury* comming, during the aforeſaid Truce, enter'd the Town without any difficulty, where alſo they reſolved to proceed hoſtilly againſt *Kildare*, as having during this reſpite, deſtroyed ſome part of the Country adjoyning, contrary to his Promiſe. While Affaires paſſed thus, the Generalls on either ſide made uſe of the time. For as *Kildare* ſent to the Emperour for obtaining ſupplies, (in which buſineſſe a ſervant of the Earle of *Deſmond*, in whom the Emperour had a ſpeciall confidence, was em-
Octob. 24. ploy'd) ſo the Lord Deputy (being now come to *Dublin*) Treated with the Nobility, to diſcover their Affection, as not knowing otherwiſe, how to forme a Party amongſt them, on which he might rely. For which purpoſe alſo he thought it not amiſſe to conclude a Truce with *Kildare*, untill the fifth of *January*. *Kildare* in the meane time
Dec. 14. incouraging his Souldiers with hope of Succours from *Spaine*. The aſſurance whereof being brought him by the Earle of *Deſmond*'s ſer-
Records. vant, He forgot not to write unto the Pope, complaining of our Kings defection from the Roman Catholique faith, and together deſiring that he might hold the Kingdome of *Ireland* from that See upon payment of a yearly Tribute. In theſe uncertainties, Sir *John Allen* Knight, formerly Secretary to the Arch-Biſhop of *Dublin*, now
Dec. 26. Maſter of the Rolls there, a dexterous Perſon, gave the King this advice; That he ſhould quickly publiſh, whether he would Pardon *Kildare*, and ſo ſave charges, or otherwiſe proſecute warre againſt him; ſince he ſaid, that untill this were declared, the Gentry of *Ireland* durſt not oppoſe *Kildare*; as fearing that when he were reſtored, hee would Revenge himſelfe on all thoſe who oppos'd him. In the mean while, the Earle of *Deſmond* dying, leaves his Eſtate Litigious betwixt his Brother and Grand-child. The Truce now expiring, our Army (which took ſome few places at their firſt landing, and made ſome
Nov. 30. light skirmiſhes,) lay idle for the moſt part. Inſomuch that having gotten *Kildare* Caſtle, they ſuffer'd it to be loſt again. At laſt, being

comman-

commanded to proceed, the Lord Deputie in *March* following, took *Maynoth* or *Mynwoh* Caſtle onely fortified and defended by a hundred of the chiefeſt ſervants and ſouldiers of *Kildare*. Which place our Records ſay was gotten by Battery & Aſſault, ſo that *Hollinſhed* ſeems to be miſtaken when he writes it was betrayed by one *Pareſe*, Foſter-Brother to *Fitz-gerald*, the Garriſon being by him made drunke, the night preceding, and that for this Treacherie, inſtead of Reward, the Deputie commanded him to be hanged. And further our Records tell us, that one of the ſaid Garriſon depoſed, that the Emperour had promis'd to ſend thither 10000 Men, but that the King of Scots had aſſured them of Ayd; Armes in the mean time being brought in a great quantity from *Flanders*, and other places. Some defeats alſo were given to thoſe Troopes of the Rebells which appear'd. Nevertheleſſe as they daily increaſed, and *Skeffington* was old, weak and ſlow in all his Enterpriſes, the Lord *Leonard Gray*, Brother to the Marquis *Dorſet*, though allyed to *Kildare*, was (under the Duke of *Richmont*, who dyed ſhortly after) Authorized to execute the Place of Deputy Lieutenant in *Ireland* to the no little griefe and diſcontentment of *Skeffington*. Whereof *Kildare* being advertis'd, and for the reſt finding himſelfe reduced to ſome neceſſity, by the delay of the Emperour, and uncertainty he found in ſome of his Complices, thought fit to yeeld himſelfe to the Kings Mercy, yet ſo as the Lord *Gray* together with the other Commanders promis'd to intercede effectually with the King in his behalfe. Which I find they perform'd, and particularly the Lord *Gray*, whoſe Siſter the old Earle had Married. And thus *Kildare* was brought by the Lord *Gray* to *London*, and his five Uncles not long after, where, upon examination, the buſineſſe being found to merit puniſhment, they were at laſt Executed. Notwithſtanding the earneſt mediation of the Lord *Gray* and others. And now theſe troubles of *Ireland* being ended, our King commanded the Deputy to make Peace with *O Neale* for a yeare or two, and together to ſummon a Parliament, both for giving order to thoſe grievances whereof the Iriſh complained, and for ſettling the Buſineſſe of Supremacy and Succeſſion, in that forme it was eſtabliſh'd in *England*. Whereupon it was aſſembled *May* 1. 1536. And in it the Acts of Succeſſion, of Supremacy, of Firſt Fruits, Againſt Appeals to *Rome*, *&c.* as alſo an Act for the Attainder of the late Earle of *Kildare* and his Complices were paſſed. And becauſe the King had ſpent in this Warre forty thouſand pounds, he demanded together with a preſent ſatisfaction for his charges, a yearly Revenue for the future, which the Lords Spirituall and Temporall accorded in great part, the Clergy particularly giving him a twentieth part of their yearly Rents, firſt for ten years following, and at laſt for ever. And thus the Parliament was prorogued till the year following.

1535.
1535. *March* 23.
June 22.
Auguſt.
1537. *Feb.* 3.
May 1. 1536. *Reg.* 28.
Iriſh Stat.

The Supremacy being (as is above-ſaid) Inveſted in the King, by the Approbation of his Parliament. The Univerſities and Biſhops of this Kingdome did not a little ſecond him; (And particularly

Nov. 3. 1534. *Fox.*

1535. *Stephen Gardener*, whoſe Latin Sermon, *De vera Obedientia*, to this purpoſe, with the Preface of Doctor *Bonner* (Arch-Deacon of *Lichfield*, and about theſe times Ambaſſadour with the King of *Denmark*) being yet extant in Print, and by *John Fox* digeſted to a ſumme) I ſhall not mention otherwiſe; my intention being not (in a Hiſtory) to diſcuſſe Theologicall matters, as holding it ſufficient to have pointed at the places where they are controverted, as farre as the notice of them is come to me. Notwithſtanding, as our King deſir'd to give and receive all ſatisfaction herein, ſo knowing that the eſteem of *Reginald Poole* was great in forreigne Countries, and eſpecially in *Italy*, where he now lived at *Padoua*; Hee ſent unto him, deſiring his Opinion of his late Actions freely, and in few words; Whereupon *Poole* *May 23. 1536.* Writes, and diſpatches to him, his booke *De Unione Eccleſiaſtica*, inveighing therein againſt the Kings Supremacy, as alſo againſt his new Marriage, and Divorce of Queen *Katherine*; exciting the Emperour to Revenge the injury offer'd her, concluding with an advice to *Henry* to reconcile himſelfe to the Catholique Church, and the Pope as head thereof. Our King having peruſed this, and knowing it could not *June 14. 1536.* long lye hid in *Italy*, (though *Poole* had promis'd not to publiſh it,) ſends for him by Poſt to come into *England*, to explane ſome paſſages thereof. But *Poole* knowing that it was declared Treaſon there, to *July 15.* deny the King the Title of Supreme head, which he had principally *Records.* intended in his Booke, refuſed, deſiring the King nevertheleſſe, as being now freed from her, who had been the occaſion of all this, to take hold of the preſent time, and to reintigrate himſelfe with the Pope, and accept the Councill now ſummon'd, whereby, he might have the honour of being the cauſe of a Reformation of the Church in Doctrine and Manners, and that otherwiſe he would be in great danger. Hee wrote alſo to *Cuthbert Tonſtall* Biſhop of *Dureſme* to incline the King hereunto. But this Biſhop (as appears in our Records) reproving him for the bitterneſſe of his Booke, and counſelling him to burn the Originall, denyes that King *Henry* hath ſeparated himſelfe from the Roman Church, but only freed himſelfe from the unjuſt uſurpations of the Biſhops of that See. (And to this purpoſe, another large Let- 1537. ter joyntly written, after, from the Biſhops of *Dureſme* and *London* may be ſeen in *Fox*.) But *Poole* being at this time, invited to *Rome* by *July 26. 1536.* the Pope, and utterly refuſing to burn a Catholique Booke (as hee ſaid) like an Heretique, our King haſtned the publiſhing at home of a Declaration, called the Biſhops Booke, ſigned by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* and *Yorke*, and Nineteen other Biſhops, Wherein is alleged out of Antient Hiſtories and Councills, how many Hundred years had paſt, before the Pope took on him this ſuperiority over other Biſhops, and that it was contrary to the Oath given, when any of them enters the Papacy; Which is, that they ſhall obſerve and keepe inviolably the firſt eight Councills, that Decree a limited power to all Biſhops, and particularly the firſt Councill of *Conſtantinople*, which both excludes forreigne Juriſdiction every where, and allowes

Biſhops

Biſhops within their ſeverall Dioceſſes, an abſolute power to determine Controverſies ariſing within their Precincts; And together ſhewes how the Papall Authority was firſt derived from the Emperours of thoſe times, and not from Chriſt, whoſe Kingdome they ſaid was Spirituall and not Carnall; ſetting forth this doctrine further by Arguments drawn from Holy Scriptures and ſome Fathers. But to return to 1535. Neither the Example of others which ſubſcribed, nor the Terrour of the Statute could hinder divers Religious Perſons to continue in their former Opinions. Inſomuch, that they openly ſpake againſt the Kings Supremacy. Which being made known, cauſed him to adviſe with his Counſell concerning their puniſhment, Some indeed thought that Impriſonment, Baniſhment, or the like, was chaſtiſement enough for thoſe, who confeſſing the Kings Supreme Authority in all Temporall matters, did out of ſcrupuloſity, rather than Malice impugne the reſt. But when it was objected, again, both that the Number was too great for either of thoſe puniſhments, and that the Law having made the Offence to be death, it was not ſafe to go leſſe, eſpecially when ſome exemplary Juſtice might contain the reſt in Obedience. Our King who needed now no motive to ſeverity, reſolved to proceed Legally againſt them. Therefore ſome Priors, and other Eccleſiaſticall Perſons, that were criminall in this kind, being found guilty of the Statute, and this year condemned, as Traitours were executed, being the firſt that ſuffered in this kind. This piece of Juſtice was not yet grown ſo familiar to our King, but that it troubled him much, for he would have been glad not to be compell'd to ſuch violent courſes; Therefore hee not only mourned inwardly, but cauſed his head to be Polld, and his Beard formerly ſhaven, to be cut round, though others facetiouſly interpret it to be nothing elſe, than the putting upon a new Dignity, a new countenance; But if hee proceeded thus rigorouſly againſt the Oppoſers of his Supremacy, he did no leſſe puniſh the many pretended Reformers or Contradictors of the Roman Catholique Religion. Therefore, as the laſt yeare hee had condemned *John Frith* a Sacramentary to the fire, ſo hee now cauſed divers Hollanders in *London*, who had deviſed ſome different Opinions by themſelves, concerning certain Articles of Chriſtian Religion, to be burnt in Smithfield. Shortly after which, again, ſome others were executed for denying the Supremacy. So that on both ſides it grew a bloudy time. Only, as our King found the terrours already given, did not ſuffice to keep the reſt in awe, he reſolved to make ſome great Examples.

1535.

May 4.

Sanders Schiſm. Angl.

July 22 1534.

May 25.

June 18.

Therefore, he layd Hand on *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, who having been impriſoned now a years ſpace, for refuſing to ſweare to the Act of Succeſſion, and attainted therefore by Parliament, was now urged with the Supremacy; Which hee diſallowing (as having not given his voluntary Oath or promiſe thereunto the laſt yeare, together with other Biſhops) incurr'd the danger of the Law. Which alſo was taken the worſe, that in the Convocation 1530. hee had yeelded

Apr. 1534.
Nov. 1534.

May 7.

1535. yeelded the Title of *Supremum Caput Eccleſiæ Angliceanæ quantum per Chriſti Legem licet.* Yet as the Pope for more confirming him in his
May 21. Opinion, had declared him Cardinall of St. *Vitale* during his ſaid reſtraint (though he profeſſed that if the Hat lay at his Feet, he would not ſtoop to take it up.) So our King underſtanding thereof was much more incenſed, both as the Pope had conferr'd his moſt eminent honours on a Man kept by him in Priſon, and guilty of the higheſt puniſhment his Lawes could inflict, and as hee knew of what conſequence it would be, if his ſubjects were thus incourag'd to contemne his Authority: Therefore hee reſolved now to deferre his Juſtice no longer. Whereupon, the ſaid Biſhop as publikely convicted and condemned for divers points (the particulars whereof, yet I have not ſeen) but only that on the ſeventh of *May* laſt in the Tower of *London* before divers Perſons, Hee had falſly, Maliciouſly and Traiterouſly ſaid, That the King is not Supreme head of the Church of *Eng-*
June 22. *land*, was by the Kings command openly beheaded the 22th of *June* 1535. Thus did the Popes favour but precipitate the Biſhops Ruine; againſt whom notwithſtanding, I find, the King did but unwillingly proceed, as having held him ever in ſingular eſteem, for his learning and good parts. All which cannot make me believe yet, that hee was Author of King *Henry*'s Book againſt *Luther* (as *Sanders* and *Bellarmine* will have it) or Sir *Thomas More* (as others ſay) though I doubt not but they might both reviſe it by the Kings favour, and where it was needfull alſo interpoſe their Judgement. This while, the Pope, who ſuſpected not perchance that the Biſhops end was ſo neere, had for more Teſtimony of his favour to him, as diſaffection to our King, ſent him the Cardinalls Hatt, but unſeaſonably, his head being off. Nevertheleſſe, as he had firſt deſired *Francis* to mediate for him, hee omitted not afterwards publikely to Juſtifie his Actions, calling him by the name of *Sanctiſſimus Epiſcopus*, and *omnium Cardinalium Cardinalis*, and declaring, (in a Breve ſubſcribed by *Bloſius* (as I find it, briefly mentioned in our Records, extracted by *Sanders*, and extant in the *Bullarium*.) Of which hereafter) both that he was Innocent, and our King an Heretique, *&c.* But this again was defended in an Apologie written here in Elegant Latine, Whether by *Stephen Gardiner* (who as I find in our Records wrote a Juſtification of the King herein) or ſome other; Which I ſhould have inſerted but for the length, and as ſome would judge it for the vehemency. Though, as the King retained ſtill all the chiefe Articles of the Roman Church, it cannot be wondred if the Author thereof did the more bitterly inveigh againſt one that had given his Soveraigne that odious Title.

Our King being thus many wayes exaſperated againſt the Pope, neglected no meanes of extirpating his chiefe Agents and Favourours, and, with them, all his Authority in this Country; Therefore he proceeded againſt Sir *Thomas More*, committed at the ſame time, and for the ſame cauſe, with *Fiſher*. For though (as *Sanders* ſaith) he would by the Biſhop of *Rochiſter*'s exemplary death have brough *More* to a conformity,

conformity, yet finding that it was impoſſible, hee commanded his Counſell in the Law to examine him concerning the Supremacy (now enacted) more particularly. But Sir *Thomas More*, (as his Indictment hath it) *malitioſe ſilebat*, ſaying yet afterwards, I will not meddle with ſuch matters. Hee was accuſed alſo for holding ſecret intelligence by Letter with the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, during their Impriſonment; which appear'd both by the confeſſion of the ſaid Biſhop, and that they held the ſame language. It being obſerv'd that both of them ſaid, in their Examinations, the Act about the Supremacy was like a two edg'd ſword, for if one anſwer one way, it will confound his Soule, and if the other way, it will confound his Body. Yet *Richard Rich* the Kings Sollicitor (made afterwards Lord *Rich*) comes to him again, and having firſt proteſted that hee had no Commiſſion to talke with him of that matter, (as believing perchance his former Anſwer, or ſilence had ſufficiently convinc'd him,) did, as is in the Record, demand then, if it were enacted by Parliament, that *Richard Rich* ſhould be King, and that it ſhould be Treaſon for any to deny it, what offence it were to contravene this Act? Sir *Thomas More* anſwer'd, that he ſhould offend if hee ſaid no, becauſe he was bound by the Act; but that this was *Caſus levis*; Whereupon, Sir *Thomas More* ſaid hee would propoſe a higher Caſe, ſuppoſe by Parliament it were enacted *quod Deus non ſit Deus*, and that it were Treaſon to contravene, whether it were an offence to ſay according to the ſaid Act; *Richard Rich* replied yea; but ſaid withall, I will propoſe a middle Caſe, becauſe yours is too high. The King you know is conſtitute Supreme head of the Church on Earth, why ſhould not you Maſter *More* accept him ſo, as you would mee if I were made King by the ſuppoſition aforeſaid. Sir *Thomas More* Anſwer'd, the caſe was not the ſame, becauſe (ſaid hee) a Parliament can make a King and Depoſe him, and that every Parliament-man may give his conſent thereunto, but that a Subject cannot be bound ſo in the caſe of Supremacy, *Quia Conſenſum ab eo ad Parlamentum præbere non poteſt* (for ſo it is in my Copy if it be not miſtaken) *Et quanquam Rex ſit acceptus ſit in Anglia, plurimæ tamen partes extera idem non affirmant.* All which being produced together, and added to his refuſall of the Oath of Succeſſion, for which in the Parliament of *November* 1534. Hee was attainted of miſpriſion of Treaſon, as I find by the Parliament Rolls, was thought ſufficient to condemne him. So that notwithſtanding many ſubtill defences made by him, while hee contended to have given no offence but in ſilence, (unleſſe it were in comparing the Statute to a two edged ſword, which yet he ſaid, he alleged no otherwiſe, than to ſhew how dangerous it was to anſwer,) and Notwithſtanding alſo his denying utterly the Paſſage between the Sollicitor and himſelfe in that Senſe (perchance hee meant the Latine) which is above related, the Jury in his Tryall *July* 1. before the Lord Chancellour, the Duke of *Norfolke*, *&c.* declared him guilty of imagining to deprive the King of his Title and Dignity, which by a

1535.

May 7.

June 28.

June 12.

Jun 12.

1534. *Reg.* 26.

Life of Sir *Tho. More*, by *T. M.*

June 28.

; Statute

1535. *July 6.* Statute *Regn.26.* was made high Treaſon. This great Perſon hereupon going ſhortly after, to the place of Execution, met among many friends one only Enemy, who openly revil'd him, for a Sentence heretofore given in Chancery, to which, yet, he made no anſwer, but that if it were to doe, he would do ſo again. And, now, being reſolv'd to die, he returned to his wonted facetiouſneſſe. Therefore, being to goe up the Scaffold, he ſaid to one; Friend help me up, and when I go down, again, let me ſhift for my ſelfe as I can. Being now mounted, the Executioner (as the cuſtome is) asked him forgiveneſſe, which he granted, but told him withall, hee ſhould never have honeſty by cutting off his Head, his Neck was ſo ſhort. Then laying down his head on the block, he bid the Executioner ſtay till hee had layd aſide his Beard, for (ſaid he) it never committed Treaſon. After which, comming to ſome private Devotions, hee received his death. Thus ended Sir *Thomas More*, with ſo little conſternation, as even terrours of death could not take off the pleaſure hee had in his conceited and merry Language, which many attributed to his Innocence. For certainly though hee fell into the danger of the Law, they thought his intentions were rather to elude it with ambiguous anſwers, and an affected Silence, than to declare himſelfe any way.

1534. *March 5.* Beſides, by an Originall of his, (about this time, written to *Cromwell*) it appears that heretofore upon peruſing the Kings Book againſt *Luther*, he diſſwaded him to exalt ſo much the Papall Authority, leſt it diminiſhed his own. Profeſſing nevertheleſſe both out of the reaſons urged in that Book, as well as his private ſtudy of that queſtion afterwards, hee could not deny the Pope a Primacy, However yet hee could not hold it ſuch, as that the Authority derived to him thereby, was to be preferr'd above a Generall Councill.

This while (as I find in our Records,) our King upon the death of *Clement* VII. hoping better of *Paulus* III. gave Sir *Gregory de Caſalis* new Inſtructions to adviſe him, to regard the King of *England*, and to conſult with ſome Learned men in his cauſe, (not imitating *Clement*, who knowing the truth conceal'd it) and theſe learned men to be choſen out of *France*. To this, alſo, the Pope ſeem'd to give ſome eare, untill Newes came to *Rome*, firſt, of the Execution of divers Monkes in *England* for denying the Supremacy, and then of the death of *More* and *Rocheſter*. Whereupon, the Pope reſolving to proceed againſt our King, begins to Minute terrible Bulls, whereof, I find, there were five ſeverall formes. But this which I find in the *Bullarium*, and extracted by *Sanders* (dated *Aug.30.*) was that which was approved and made uſe of, being to this effect. Firſt, objecting to him, aſwell the Divorce of Queen *Katherine*, as the Marrying *Anne*, and making Laws againſt the Popes Authority, and puniſhing thoſe who contradicted (as lately the Biſhop of *Rocheſter.*) He warnes the King, to reforme theſe faults; Or upon refuſall Cites him, and all that favour him, to appear at *Rome* within ninety dayes to anſwer, which if they neglected, he Excommunicates them all, and deprives the King of his Realm, ſubjects the whole Kingdome

June 1.

Aug. 30. Sanders.

Kingdome to the Interdict; declares the Issue by *Anne*, illegitimate, forbids Allegeance to his subjects, Commerce with other States; dissolves all Leagues of Princes with him; Commands the Clergie to depart out of *England*, the Nobility to take Armes against him, *&c.* Having resolv'd this Censure, yet I find, it was not openly denounced, till he saw all hope past of reclaming King *Henry*, or at least that the Emperour was at leasure to execute it, of which hereafter, 1538. Our King, hearing of this, entertaines friendship with the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, and the rather that intelligence was brought, how the Pope had declared hee would give away his Kingdome to some Roman Catholique Prince of that Country, as being (it seemes) unwilling to greaten *France* or *Spaine* therewith, lest afterwards himselfe should not be so able to sway the ballance. Which I mention not, yet, as if it were probable to bee effected, or that our King fear'd any such attempt, as long as hee stood upon good termes with his subjects, but that by strengthning himselfe in *Germany*, hee might the better chastise that Person, who upon the Popes Incouragement durst undertake the Enterprise. I doe find also, that the French King, did concurre in this Treaty with the Protestants, both, as upon the death of Pope *Clement*, the chiefe support of the great Designe in *Italy* did fall, and as Hee began to give some eare to the Evangeliques in *Germany*, as appears by his sending for *Melanchton*, and other Passages in *Sleidan*, which I shall hereafter set downe. Howsoever, our King as he found that with no little asperity hee maintained his Authority at home, so hee thought his care should be the greater to Justifie it abroad. Insomuch that hee sent unto all places, (where hee held correspondence) to give, together with an account of his Actions, the reason why he had taken on him the Supremacy. Therefore, Doctor *William Barlow* the Kings Chaplaine, and Elect Brother of St. *Asaph* being Joyn'd in Commission with *Thomas Holcroft* to *James*, labour'd to give him all manner of Impressions, which might bring him to a conformity; Which *Buchanan* also mentions, saying that *James* was intreated to Read over their Arguments, and consider them. Notwithstanding which, as they were referr'd by him to his Clergie, so (as, the same Author hath it) they together with some learned Men, whom our King offered to send, for further Declaration of this point, were for the present rejected. Which againe, being advertis'd to our King, Hee thought fit suddenly to employ the Lord *William Howard*, Brother to the Duke of *Norfolke*, and the said Bishop, to *James*, to make him divers advantageous Propositions, and withall to draw him to an Interview. Whereunto, therefore, being pressed by them, and the rather that it was in sequence of a former Proposition; *James*, who had no disposition thereunto, sent (as our Ambassadours write) to procure by a private Messenger, a Breve from the Pope, inhibiting this Journey, so that untill the receipt thereof he was forc'd to make other excuses; by which, yet, I find hee denyed not a meeting with our

1535.

Buch.

1535. our King, but desir'd him, only, it might be in *France*, and the French King present, as hoping, thereby (it seemes) to be lesse constrain'd, then if hee came single into our Kings Dominions; All which, as it did but increase our Kings Jealousie of his Nephewes intentions (for hee expected Warre from many hands, as the Pope had threatned) so hee endeavoured but so much more to draw him on his side, as knowing of what consequence it was, to keepe his Kingdome safe on that part; and therefore, labour'd still, not only to induce him to abrogate the Papall Jurisdiction in his Dominions, but made some other Overtures; both of Creating him for the present, Duke of *Yorke* (as *Buchanan* hath it) and for leaving him Successor in this Kingdome, in case hee conform'd himselfe for the rest. But his Clergie (however Queen *Margaret* had given hope thereof) being utterly averse, diswaded him; yet some operation I find it seemed to have. For by an Originall Dispatch in *May* following 1536. *James* certified our King, that he had sent to *Rome* to get impetrations for reformation of some enormities, and especially, anent the ordering of great and many possessions, and Temporall Lands given to the Kirke by our noble Predecessours. To which as our King not only gave credit, but a safe conduct to the Messenger, as was desired, so Hee seem'd to receive some satisfaction, and together hoped, hee would not, at least, so soone bee drawne to assist his enemies, and, therefore, forboreawhile to sollicite this point, pursuing, nevertheless, the proposed Interview, but more slackly then before, but *James* had other Designes, as shall be told the yeare following.

May 2. 1536.

Our King finding thus, that businesses were safe on this part, proceeded more confidently in his Intentions of suppressing, together with the Popes Authority; all those who chiefly supported it. And, because hee thought Monasteries, did furnish more able Men to contest with him in this point, then any part else, hee advised how to proceed with them. Whereupon, one said thus.

SIR,

IF in all Affaires, betwixt your Highnesse, and any else, at home, or abroad, it be the part of a Counsellour to give a free and impartiall advise. I shall, under favour, crave the same liberty in those things that intervene betwixt God and your Highnesse, both because the duty wee owe unto that supreme Majesty is transcendent, and that generall and publike Errours committed against him, are of a more pernicious consequence then any else. In confidence of Pardon, therfore, I shall presume to opine concerning the businesse of Monasteries now in question. SIR, if it were first propos'd now, whether it were fit to erect them, I must confesse I should give my Assent, not yet that I should allow any excessive number, or perchance approve all the rules observed in them. But wholly to exclude so pious a retrait for men unapt for Secular businesse, or otherwise retir'd from the World, were, in my conceit, to leave those unprovided for, who of all

all other were most proper in a devout life to serve and glorifie their Creator. There is in my opinion, therefore, a due place left for Monasteries; yet, when they grow to that multitude, that either the Just proportion they should beare in a State, is exceeded, or that, in effect, they should become a Receptacle only for lazie and idle Persons; I should think fit to apply some convenient remedy. But Sir, who shall give it? for if wee referre all unto the Pope, how could we ever hope of a moderation, especially while they are but Retraits for so many servants entertaind for him at other Mens costs. Add if your Highnesse (especially since you have taken upon you the Supremacy) should suppresse them, what a scandall would follow? for who would think Sir, at home or abroad, that your Highnesse exercis'd your new charge therein, as you ought, or complyed with your place? Againe Sir, what a wrong would it be to the Founders of them, who had as much right to give some of their lands to that use, as their Heirs have to enjoy the rest? would they not say this were to trench on the publikely right, and to frustrate whatsoever either Divine or Humane Lawes have establish'd? Therefore, Sir, be pleas'd not to thinke so much of their overthrow, as Reformation, Or if there be occasion to suppresse some, as being supernumerary, yet since they are houses dedicated to God, be pleas'd, by all means, to convert the profit arising thence, to some other pious use, and howsoever, to reserve a sufficient number in every Shire for either Sex; and so shall your Highnesse both excuse all Obloquie, and together manifest the care you have to keep up those ancient Monuments of Devotion. 1535.

To which another, who better understood the Kings Mind, First, Answered thus.

IF it be true, that they speak enviously (that I may say nothing else) who would reduce all Reason of State to the sober Principles and Doctrines of Faith, it is no lesse certain, that they speak prophanely who wholly exclude them. In State, there is use of all: Only as it is a Simmetricall Body, nothing in it must passe proportion. Insomuch, as neither the Secular Magistrate or Clergie, on the one side, nor the Souldier, Merchant, Artificer and Husbandman on the other, should exceed a just quantity. The due composition of it, being such as there may be those who may labour and fight, as well as Pray for it. Else, who would not change our Generalls and Captains to Bishops and Deans, and our Shipping and Forts, to Chappels and Religious houses? but what a Proportion Sir doth the Clergie now hold, when the fourth part of the Revenues of the Kingdome is employed that way. For Sir, when the Tenth wee pay them in one kind, and the Lands they hold in another, are estimated, they amount to this rate or more, as I am inform'd. I shall not yet bee hasty to suppresse them. I confesse all true which was now said, And doe not only admit the piety of their Institution, but the use that may be made of some few, as two or three in every Shire. Neither, shall I ever consent that more should be suppresst then were needfull, and yet the money employ'd for your Highnesse most urgent Occasions only. The

1535. Supernumerary part of them and your Forrests being by me held like Jewels of your State, which though they yeeld not ready coine, may ever be converted to it. I ſhould for this reaſon (when there were no other) conſerve them as much as were poſſible. But Sir, when I conſider again, how the Pope or Biſhop of *Rome* (as your Highneſſe commands him to be call'd) hath threatned to joyne all Chriſtian Princes againſt your Highneſſe, and that in theſe Monaſteries, he nouriſhes a Seminary of factious Perſons that oppoſe your Supremacy. And what Inſtruments they may be of ſtirring ſedition in your Highneſſe Kingdome, at the ſame time that ſome forreigne Power ſhould invade it, I cannot but wiſh ſome good order were given. I ſhould thinke fit therefore they were inſtantly Viſited, and thoſe who were unable to keep the Vowes they made at their entrance, to be permitted to go to ſome more Active life, and the vices of the reſt, not only chaſtiſed, but care taken to puniſh thoſe who henceforth ſpeak or behave themſelves licentiouſly. And, ſo farre forth, your Highneſſe will but make lawfull uſe of your Supremacy. As for the ſuppreſſion of any, not I, but ſome violent and inexcuſable neceſſity muſt bee the Counſellour. If your Highneſſe have any other way to defend your ſelfe againſt the threat'ned Invaſions, I ſhall never adviſe you to this; And yet that, no further then to bring your Eſtate to a juſt temper.

Our King conſidering the reaſons on both ſides, ſaid, hee would cauſe the Monaſteries to be ſeverely viſited, and the enormous Crimes of them, (having been formerly rather ſubject to Pecuniary Mulcts, then corrected as they ought) to be examplarily puniſhed, and a reformation given to all abuſes, Proteſting nevertheleſſe, that hee would ſuppreſſe none, without the conſent of his Parliament, among whom, he did politiquely foreſee, that ſome for conſcience ſake, (the Roman Religion being now, much cryed down) and others for avoyding the Charges of the warre (then menaced) would ſooner lay the burden on thoſe Monaſteries, then take it on themſelves; whereof in its due place. And now *Cromwell* the Secretary, a man ſo diſaffected to thoſe houſes, as He was thought a favourer of the Reformers, being made General Viſitor, employed *Richard Layton*, *Thomas Legh*, *William Detre*, Doctors of the Law, Doctor *John London*, Deane of *Wallingford*, with others giving them Inſtructions in 86 Articles, for Viſiting Monaſteries every where; by which, they were to enquire into the Government, behaviour, and education of the perſons of both Sexes. To find out all their Offences, and to this purpoſe given them incouragements to accuſe both their Governours and each other. To command them to exhibite their Mortmains Evidences, and conveyances of their Lands; To produce their Plate and Money, and give an Inventory thereof. Together with which the King gave forth Injunctions to be obſerved, ſome tending to the eſtabliſhing of his Supremacy, ſome touching the good Government of the houſes; As that no Brother go out of the Precinct; That there be but one entrance; That no Woman frequent the Monkes, nor any Man the Nunnes, *&c.* And ſome for education, as, That a Divinity Lecture, be every

Records.

day

day Read and frequented. That the Abbot daily expound some part of the Rule of their Order, Shewing yet that these Ceremonies, are but Introductions to Religion, which consisteth not in Apparell, shaven heads, *&c.* but in purity of mind. That none shall professe or weare the habit till twenty foure years of age. That no feigned Reliques nor Miracles be shewed. No offrings to Images, *&c.* 1535.

Upon these and other Injunctions, Joyned to the Inquisition aforesaid, the Commissioners found means to make divers Monasteries obnoxious, for upon the Petition of divers Monkes who were weary of their Habit, some alleging for their excuse, that they were professed before they came to the years of discretion; Others, that the late Injunctions were too strict to bee observed; the King seizing on the House, commanded that they who were professed under twenty foure should be set at liberty, as being thought too young to make a Vow as they ought, or indeed to keep it. That they who were above twenty foure, when they made their Vow, might have leave to depart if they would. At which time, the men, if in Orders, should have a Priests Habit given them, and forty shillings in money; the Nunnes should have only a Gown, such as secular Women ware, and liberty to goe whither they would. The condition yet of some, being better, who for surrendering their Houses to the King (to which by threats and faire words they were induced) got small Pensions during their Lives. Others, by paying great summes to the King and *Cromwell*, redeemed their Monasteries from the present calamity; Yet so, as even from these also, divers Jewells and Church-Ornaments were taken away to the Kings use. Which being done, *Legh* and the rest at their return, gave that accompt of their employment, and particularly of their feigned Miracles and Reliques, aswell as sinfull and sloggish life of the Religious Orders, as not only *Cromwell* with much violence said, their houses should be thrown down to the foundation, but the whole body of the Kingdome, when it was published to them (which I find industriously procur'd) became so scandaliz'd thereat, as they resolv'd if the King ever put it into their hands, to give remedy thereunto, yet were not all alike Criminall; For some Societies behav'd themselves so well, as their life being not only exempt from notorious faults, but their spare times bestowed in writing Books, Painting, Carving, Graving, and the like exercises, their Visitors became Intercessors for them. But of those as I find not many mention'd, so they were involv'd at last in the Common Fate, it being thought dangerous to use distinction, both lest the fault of Manners (which might bee corrected) should be taken by the People as the sole cause of their dissolution; and as it was pretended that the Revenues should be employ'd to some better uses. Not long after which, again the King caused all Colleges, Cantries, and Hospitalls to be Visited, not omitting to take a particular survey of all the Revenues and Dignities Ecclesiasticall within his Kingdome, which was return'd to him in a Book, to be kept in the Exchequer.

Our King having thus omitted nothing which might prevent or

1535.
Octob.4.

Dec.6.

Sleid.l.6.

fruſtrate their deſignes who were moſt able to offend him. thought it his part now, to aſſure thoſe who might be of moſt uſe. Therefore he ſends *Fox*, Biſhop of *Hereford* to the Proteſtant Princes in *Germany*, aſſembled at *Smalcald*, to exhort them to an unitie in Doctrine, wherein he offered his beſt aſſiſtance by conference with their Divines, as being the only ground of eſtabliſhing, either Peace at home, or correſpondence abroad; That unleſſe this were done, it would bee a great prejudice to them in the Councill now propos'd, which yet he took to be pretended only as an Invention and Artifice of the Popes to entertain time, and in the mean while to ſow diviſion among them, as he doth now incite Chriſtian Princes againſt *England* for rejecting his Tyranny. Therefore, they were not to expect a free Councell how much ſoever promiſed, yet if they deſired Counſell they ſhould attend till all Chriſtian Princes were at Peace with each other; and that it ought to be held in an indifferent place, it being impoſſible otherwiſe, but that it ſhould be partiall and factious. That this being done, as he had expelled the Popes Authority out of his Dominions, ſo he would Joyn with them to reſtore Gods true Worſhip. And ſo the Biſhop concluded, deſiring only ſome might be appointed to whom he might ſpeak of theſe buſineſſes privatly. To which after due thankes, they anſwer'd, that really there was no difference among them, there being none who would not ſtand to the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion: That they tooke well his Highneſſe Admonition about the Councill Generall, now promis'd at *Mantoua*. But that, (as they had anſwered *Vergerius* the Popes Legat) they did not think either that the place was fit, or that the Pope had the ſole right of calling or ordering of it, which belong'd as well to the Emperour and other Princes. For the reſt, they ſaid, they would appoint ſome who might communicate privatly with the Biſhop, as was required, of which wee ſhall ſpeake more hereafter.

Decemb.21.

In the mean while *Ferdinand*, who more deſired to heare of Peace in the Empire, than Schoole-Arguments how well ſoever diſputed, confirmed the Treaty made 1532. Of which the Duke of *Sax* (who came from him to *Smalcald*) advertis'd the Proteſtants, who *Decemb.* 24.) Decreed, That the League betwixt them, made 1530. for mutuall defence in the cauſe of Religion, now ſhortly expiring, ſhould continue ten years longer, and that they would take into their Confederation, all who received the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion. To this Diet *Guillaume du Bellay Seigneur de Langey* (employ'd from *Francis*) came likewiſe. But his adviſes, though for the moſt part conformable to our Kings, were not ſo acceptable. For as *Francis* by Confederating himſelfe with the Turke (that formidable Enemy of *Germany*) had diſoblig'd the whole Nation on the one ſide, ſo by burning divers Evangeliques in *France*, he had on the other ſide much incenſed them all againſt him; which diſpleaſure, being fomented many wayes by *Ferdinand*, had intercluded almoſt all correſpondence betwixt them, till by *Monſieur de Langeys* induſtry it was revived, Who to appeaſe them, alleged not only ſome Excuſatory Letters formerly ſent, but ſaid his

Sleid.l.9.

Maſter

Maſter could not make any Allyance, nor lend any Ayd to any Prince againſt them. Nor would burn any for holding the Tenents of the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion, unleſſe they were both Authors of diſſention in his Kingdome, and deſpighted the Antient Ceremonies of the Church. After which in private Conference with their Divines, he declared that the King his Maſter was not averſe to moſt of their Tenents ſet down in *Melanchthons Loci Comunes*; And Particularly that hee did not hold the Popes Supremacy to be founded *Jure Divino*, but *humano*; though *Henry* VIIIth (he ſaid) denyed it either way. That Purgatory, being the ground of the Maſſe, and all their gainfull doctrine, Hee had required by what place in the Scripture they proved it: To which all the anſwer they made, after divers Moneths ſpace, was, that they would not give their Adverſaries Weapons which might afterwards be returned or retorted on themſelves. As for Monaſteries, hee ſaid, that he thought it might be obtained of the Pope, that none who were not of ſome ripe age, ſhould Vow themſelves to that life. Or if they did, they might leave it and Marry if they would. But by no means, that his Maſter would have them thrown down, or the Revenues taken away, but rather employed towards the bringing up of Youth in Learning and Piety. And for Marriage of Prieſts, hee thought this the beſt expedient, that Men already Married, might (notwithſtanding their wives) be admitted to Execute the Prieſthood; But for others, they ſhould not Marry, or if they would, they ſhould relinquiſh the Prieſthood. As for Communion under both kinds, that the King had heretofore ſpoken with *Clement* VII at *Marſeilles*, and that he thought it might be obtain'd of this Pope, that free uſe of both might be granted according to the Conſcience of him that tooke it, Alleging for this purpoſe from the King his Maſter, how he had heard from Antient men, that about 120 years agoe, it was the manner to communicate in both kinds, in the Chappels or Oratories, but not in the Body or middle of the Church. Neverthelеſſe, that the Kings of *France* received it ever in both kinds. Which when his ſaid Maſter urged, the Prieſts did anſwer him, that Kings were Annointed and therfore might Communicate in both kinds aſwell as they. For the Scriptures ſpake of the Royal Prieſthood, but it was not lawful for others to do ſo. That in the cõmon and ordinary Prayers, the King did acknowledge that many things might be cut off, many things ſhould be wholly taken away. And that the care hereof was heretofore committed by *Clement* to the Cardinall *de la Creuz*, though not with any good ſucceſſe. In concluſion he exhorted them to ſend ſome of their chiefe Divines to conferre with thoſe he had in *Paris*; And that he would make ſuch a choyce, as if ſome that were appointed, were vehement, and eager, he would alſo joyn others that were mild and temperate Perſons to Treat with them, to the intent that all parts being diſcuſſed, the truth might appeare. In the mean while he exhorted them by no means to give eare, or agree to any Councill untill they knew his mind and the King of *Englands*, who both were reſolv'd to do nothing but by a mutuall conſent. As for thoſe who had power to call it, that his Predeceſ-

1535.

Sleidan.

1535. for *Louis* was of opinion, that it belong'd to the Emperours and Kings, and that the King of *Navarre* was of the ſame mind, but that pope *Julius* Preſcribing or Excommunicating them both. *Ferdinand* of *Spain* took that occaſion to Conquer *Navarre*. Nevertheleſſe that the King his Maſter conſeſt no Councill was Authenticall, unleſſe it were both aſſembled in ſo ſafe a Place, and held in ſo free a manner as no man might ſuffer for ſpeaking his conſcience. After all which, the ſaid *Monſieur de Langey* did ſollicite them much, to enter into a ſtrict League with the King his Maſter. But they, whether out of favour from *Ferdinand* and the Emperour, with whom they had lately made their Peace, or, that otherwiſe they were not ſufficiently ſatisfied of the French Kings proceedings, formerly mention'd, refuſed this. So that *Monſieur de Langey*, (though profeſſing on the preſent Popes part, that if matters were orderly carried, he would be content to comply in many things for a common good and Peace) return'd without effecting any thing. And thus out of I know not what miſtaking or obſtinacy, this great overture for bringing all the differences in Religion, to a moderate and uniforme accord, was interrupted and broken off; It being probable that *Francis* would have ſubſcribed to the Tenents of Religion which himſelfe propos'd, when he had found them conformable for the reſt. But as *Monſieur de Langey* told them, they might afterwards repent their neglect of ſo great an offer, ſo it prov'd true, as by the ſequence will appear. For *Francis* who would have been glad, both that the Power which the Pope uſurped over Kings were ſomething diminiſhed, and the aboveſaid Articles in Religion eſtabliſhed, finding there was now no probility of an Union, thought it ſafer to rule by his Antient Maximes, then to run the trouble and hazard of a Reformation. Yet I find by an Originall from *Chriſtopher Mount* a German, and Agent of our Kings, then in *France*, that *Monſieur de Langey* did once receive from the Proteſtants certain Articles concerning Pacification in religion, which he delivered the King his Maſter, which thereupon being peruſed, mitigated and changed by the *Sorbon* or *Pariſian* Divines were again returned to the Proteſtants, who likewiſe adviſing of them, ſaid they would tolerate this change, *Modo ſpes Concordiæ hinc acceſſura ſit*. But this was before *Langey*'s Oration above mention'd, and perchance before they knew or had taken particular notice of the French Kings Actions formerly delivered. I find alſo by the ſame Originall, that *Mount* was commanded by our King to haſten to *Germany*, and to dehort *Melanchthon* from going to *France*, whether he was invited by that King, and to perſwade him hither. For as about this time the German Proteſtants deſired both friendſhip and Accommodation in Religion with King *Henry* and *Francis*, into whoſe hands they put the Arbitrement of their differences, ſo both Princes ſought to make uſe of *Melanchthon*; eſpecially our King; having, as I find in the Inſtructions to *Mount*, a great opinion of his Vertue, Learning, Temperance and gravity, and therefore defired his preſence here, both for framing an accord with the Germans, and (when that ſucceeded not) for appeaſing the Differences of Religion in his Kingdom, it being

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ing thought a fit work for that Pious & Modeſt man, how ever he be branded by ſome, *tanquam de omni Religione ſecurus.* But if *Mounts* Relation of his Conference with *Monſieur de Langey* may be intirely believed, or (if you will) *Monſieur de Langey* himſelf; One of the points the ſaid Proteſtants would have agreed to was, *Se ferre poſſe primatum Epiſcopi Romani, ad ſervandam Doctrinæ Conſenſum in Eccleſia, modo ſecundum Dei verbum omnia judicet. Langey* himſelfe confeſſing *Impoſſibile eſſe probare Primatum Epiſcopi Romani ex Dei verbo,* And that this point was ſo far acknowledged by *Clement* VIIth, that he ſaid he was content, *ut Primatus hic poſitivus jure deferatur,* and that the more learn d Cardinals in *Rome* were of this Opinion. But theſe things I leave to the credit of *Mount,* the diſcreet and diligent *Sleidan* not mentioning any ſuch moderation on either ſide, and *Mount* himſelf giving indeed no other Authority for this, but *Monſieur de Langey's* word by way of diſcourſe, who yet when he was demanded for a ſight of the Articles and Cenſure above related, excuſed himſelfe. 1535.

This year ſome Letters from *Sevill* in *Spain* extant among our Records, advertis'd our King, that a Million of Gold was brought the Emperour from *Peru,* yet that it was thought to be gotten rather out of the ſpoiles of the Country than otherwiſe. No rich Mines being then found. Nevertheleſſe, that the Inhabitants of *Andalauzia* flock'd thither in ſo great numbers, that the Country was almoſt left empty. Which Intelligence though of great conſideration was yet paſs'd over; the King being intentive wholly to the ſetling of Religion, and the right of Succeſſion, which I find he did with all induſtry procure.

It appears by our Hiſtories that this yeare great Braſſe Ordnance, as Cannon and Culverins were firſt caſt in *England,* by one *John Owen,* they having been formerly made only in other Countries, and farre from the perfection of which they are at this preſent, as may be ſeen in *Tartaglia,* and ſome other Antient Authors.

Queen *Katherine,* or, as the King commanded her to be call'd) the Princeſſe Dowager, finding now no aſſiſtance but ſpirituall from the Pope, not reparation procur'd by the Emperour but incertain and ſlow, and for the reſt grieving at the proſperity and fruitfulneſſe of Queen *Anne* (now with child again, wherof yet ſhe aborted) fell into her laſt ſicknes at *Kimbolton* in *Huntingdon*-ſhire in the fiftieth year of her age, & the xxxiii ſince her comming into *England,* during which time, though comforted by the King and *Euſtachio Chapuys,* Doctor of both Laws, and Ambaſſadour reſident from *Charles,* ſhe fel ſo deſperatly ill, as finding death now comming. She cauſed a Maid attending on her, to write to the King to this effect. January 29 1536.

My moſt Dear Lord, King and Husband.

THe houre of my death now approaching I cannot chooſe, but out of the love I beare you, adviſe you of your Soules health, which you ought to prefer before all conſiderations of the world or fleſh whatſoever. For which yet you have caſt me into many Calamities, and your ſelfe into many troubles. But I forgive you all; and pray God to doe ſo likewiſe. For the reſt I commend unto you Mary *our Daughter, beſeeching you to be a good Father to her, as I have heretofore deſired. I muſt intreat you alſo, to reſpect my Maids, and give them in Marriage which is not much, they being but three, and to all my other ſervants a years pay beſides their due, leſt otherwiſe they ſhould be unprovided for; Laſtly: I make this Vow, that mine eyes deſire you above all things.* Farewell. Polyd. Virg.

Beſides,

1536/37. Besides which Letter she dictated another to *Eustachius*, desiring him to procure that the Emperour might put our King in mind of her request, when otherwise he forgot it.

1537/8. *Jan.* 8. The King having received her Letter, became so compassionate, that he wept; But her death being related shortly after, he caused her goods (which I find estimated to 5000 Marks) to be employ'd toward the Funeral chiefly, and after to those that deserved recompence; and her Body to be buried with due solemnity in the Monastery at *Peterborough*, which for the honour of her memory, King *Henry* reserv'd (when all the rest fell) and erected it to a Bishops See. The News wherof, not long after, being brought to the Emperour, troubled him much, as holding his Aunt in singular esteem. But as he considered, that in her death all causes of Hostility were ceased, and that besides, it concern'd him more to defend himself against the Turk then to pursue the Execution of the Popes Banne (though once undertaken by him) he endeavour'd nothing more then to close handsomly with our King; Nevertheless, as he was discreet and magnanimous, he would not fully discover himselfe till he had sounded first our Kings disposition. After which (as I find mention'd in the Instructions of our King to Doctor *Richard Pate*) *Charles* (by his Resident Ambassadour here) propos'd a Renovation of the antient Amity, upon these Conditions. First, that our King would be Reconciled to the Pope, wherein he offered his mediation. Secondly, that our King would ayd him against the Turk. Thirdly, that (according to the Treaty 1518) hee would help him against the French, who now threatned *Milan*. To which our King answerd; That the first breach of amity proceeded from the Emperour, which if he will acknowledge, and excuse, King *Henry* is contented to renew it, simply and absolutely; As for the Conditions proposed. First touching the Bishop of *Rome*, the Proceedings against him have been so just, and so ratified by the Parliament of *England*, that it cannot be revok'd. Therfore, though the Bishop himself hath made means to him for Reconciliation, yet it hath been refused. Secondly for ayd against the Turk, when Christian Princes shall be at Peace, then King *Henry* will do therin as to a Christian Prince belongeth. Thirdly, for ayd against *France*, he cannot resolve on that, till the Amity be renewed with the Emperour, that so being indifferent friend to both, he may freely travaile, either to keep Peace between them, or ayd the Injur'd party. And these answers of the Kings, *Pate* was to signifie to the Emperour then at *Rome*, and to urge him to renew the Amity without any such Conditions; But, as the Emperour hearkned not thereunto, so King *Henry*, thinking of nothing lesse then embracing his friendship on those termes, employed his care chiefly how to defend his Kingdom against the threatned Invasions. And therfore as he had often experimented the Love and Obedience of his subjects, so in his important occasions at this time, he resolved to make use of them, Commanding therupon, the Parliament, which had been prorogued, to sit the fourth of *February*. In which many Acts pass'd, the most materiall whereof, I have set down briefly, not alwayes according to the order observed in the Statute-Book, but rather according to the matters handled; remitting the Reader for the rest to the Statutes themselves. My intention being not to make an abstract of them otherwise then may serve for the illustration of the times, and my History.

Holinsh.

Records.

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whereas

Whereas the tryall and puniſhment of Pirats was heretofore according to the forms of the Civil Law, It was now ordered, That it ſhould be determined by the Kings Commiſſion, in like form as offences done upon Land, no benefit of Clergy yet being permitted to thoſe who were convicted: Nevertheleſſe, diſtinction to be made between Pirates, and thoſe who took ſomething at ſea out of neceſſity: As is to be ſeen in the Statute more largely.

Order alſo was taken upon penalty, That all they who had Parks, ſhould keep two or more Mares, according to the greatneſſe of the Parks, of thirteen handfuls high, for breed of ſtrong Horſes; and that the Stallions ſhould be fourteen handfuls high at leaſt: and this was much to the increaſe of good horſes.

The Courts of ſuing forth Gifts and Grants made under the Kings Signet Manuell, and the Clerks of the Signets Fees alſo was ſet down.

Alſo becauſe many men by Will made Feoffements of their Lands to ſecret uſes, whereby the King and the Lords loſt their Wards &c. It was ordered, That the poſſeſſion of Lands ſhall be adjudged to be in him that hath the uſe thereof.

Order alſo was taken, That no Land ſhould paſſe by bargain and ſale, unleſſe it be by Writing indented, ſealed and inrolled. And this prevented many miſtakes, and took away much deceit.

And now becauſe ſome Statutes following give me occaſion to ſpeak of *Wales*, it will not be diſpleaſing to the Reader (I hope) to ſet down thoſe reaſons which, I conceive, were the true motives of them.

Wales and the Marches thereof now having been for a long time ſo diſtinguiſhed, as the more Maritime parts thereof were held by the remnant of the ancient *Brittains*, or Natives of this Iſland, the other by thoſe who had got ground upon them, much diverſity of Government was uſed. For as the Kings of *Englaud* heretofore had many times brought Armies to conquer that Country, defended both by Mountains and a ſtout People, without yet reducing them to a finall and intire obedience; ſo they reſolved at laſt to give all that could be gained there to thoſe who would attempt it. Whereupon many valiant and able Nobles and Gentlemen won much land from the Welſh: which, as gotten by force, was by permiſſion of the Kings then reigning, held for divers Ages in that abſolute manner, as *Jura Regalia* were exerciſed in them by the Conquerors. Yet, in thoſe parts which were gotten at the Kings only charge, (being not a few) a more regular Law was obſerved. Howſoever, the generall Government was not onely ſevere, but various in many parts: Inſomuch, that in about ſome 141 Lordſhips Marchers which were now gotten, many

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ſtrange and diſcrepant Cuſtomes were practiſed (as will appear hereafter). Howbeit, in the greater part, which was the Kings, and particularly thoſe in the Eaſt-, Weſt- and North-*Wales*, being about this time adminiſtred by my great Grand-father Sir *Richard Herbert* (Son of Sir *Richard Herbert*, renowned for that alone he paſſed and returned twice thorow an hoſtile Army at the Battell in *Banbury*-Field, 8. *Edw.* IIII.) ſuch Juſtice was uſed, as I finde him in our Records highly commended to the Kings Counſell by *Rowland Lee* Preſident of *Wales*. So that they were governed in generall according to the Laws of *England*; the Lord Marchers (who conquered at their own coſt) ruling yet by their own Lawes and Cuſtomes, and ſubſtituting Officers at their pleaſure, who again committed ſuch rapines, as nothing almoſt was ſafe or quiet in thoſe parts: whereupon this Statute was made.

c. 5. Whereas manifold Robberies, Murders, and other Malefacts be daily practiſed and committed in the County-Palatine of *Cheſter*, and *Flintſhire* in *Wales*, and alſo in *Angleſea*, *Caernarvan*, *Merioneth*, *Cardigan*, *Carmarthen*, *Pembrook* and *Glamorgan*, becauſe Juſtice is not miniſtred there in ſuch form as in other places of this Realm. For remedy whereof, it is enacted, That the Lord Chancellour of *England*, or Keeper of the Great Seal ſhall nominate and appoint Juſtices of Peace, Juſtices of the *Quorum*, and Juſtices of the Gaole-delivery in the ſaid Counties, and that they ſhall have like Power and Authority as thoſe in *England*, &c. And by this means one kinde of Juſtice was eſtabliſhed in the ſaid County-Palatine of *Cheſter*, and the Shires aforeſaid: So that offenders now were kept in awe, being not able, as before, to eſcape and fly from one Lordſhip Marcher to another. Another Act alſo was made to this purpoſe:

c. 7. Whereas in *Wales* and the Marches, there were divers and many Forreſts belonging either to the King or the Lords Marchers, wherein ſundry exactions had been uſed a long time, contrary to the Law of God and man; Inſomuch, that if any entered the ſaid Forreſts without a token given (by ſome of the Forreſters or Walkers of it) to let him paſſe, or unleſſe he were a yeerly Tributer or Chenſer, hee was forced to pay a grievous Fine: but if he were found 24 foot out of the Highway, then to forfeit all the gold or money about him, and a joynt of one of his hands, unleſſe he fined for it at the diſcretion of the Forreſter, or Farmer of the ſame. And whereas likewiſe, if any cattell ſtrayed into the ſaid Forreſts, it was the cuſtome of the Forreſters to mark him for their own with the mark of the Forreſt; Order was now given, that people ſhould be ſuffered to paſſe freely, as in other places, and eſtrayed cattel within a yeer and a day to be reſtored again, the owners paying for the herbage.

That

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That whereas by the gifts of Kings of *England*, heretofore, divers of the moſt ancient Prerogatives and Authorities of juſtice appertaining to the Imperiall Crown of this Realm, have been ſever'd and taken from the ſame, it was now enacted that no perſon from the firſt of *July* 1536 ſhould have power and authority to pardon or remit, Treaſons, Murthers, Man-ſlaughters, or any Felonies, or their acceſſaries in any part of *England*, *Wales*, or the Marches of the ſame. That likewiſe none ſhould make Juſtices of Oyer, Juſtices of Aſſize, Juſtices of Peace, or Juſtices of Goal delivery, but they ſhould be made by the Kings Letters Patents: And that all originall writs, and judiciall writs, and all manner of Inditements of Treaſon, Felony, and Treſpaſſe, and all manner of Proceſſe ſhould be made in the Kings name; and things done againſt the Kings Peace, ſhould be ſuppoſed as done againſt the Kings Peace, and not againſt the peace of any other perſon. Notwithſtanding which, divers Priviledges were permitted, as is to be ſeen in the Statutes. By all which, as the vaſt power inveſted anciently in thoſe who had County Palatines, and *jura Regalia* in Lordſhip Marchers may appear; ſo we may obſerve how the reſtoring of them to the Crown, hath eſtabliſhed an uniform juſtice, and taken away the occaſions of many miſchiefs done within the juriſdictions and precincts of the ſaid Counties Palatine, and Lordſhips Marchers, as is before recited; which though a great benefit and eaſe to the *Welſh*, yet as they were under many conſtraints, they hoped his Highneſſe would further extend his goodneſs to them: And thus ſome (as in their name) ſpake to this effect,

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

WE, on the part of your Highneſs Subjects, inhabiting that portion of the Iſland which our Invadors firſt called *Wales*, moſt humbly proſtrate at your Highneſs feet, do crave to be received and adopted into the ſame Lawes and Priviledges which your other Subjects enjoy: Neither ſhall it hinder us (we hope) that we have lived ſo long under our own. For as they were both enacted by authority of our ancient Lawgivers, and obeyed for many ſucceſſions of Ages, we truſt your Highneſs will pardon us, if we thought it neither eaſie nor ſafe ſo ſuddenly to relinquiſh them. We ſhall not preſume yet to compare them with theſe now uſed, and leſſe ſhall we conteſt how good and equall in themſelves they are. Only if the defence of them and our liberty againſt the *Romans*, *Saxons*, and *Danes*, for ſo many hundred yeares, and laſtly, againſt the *Normans*, as long as they pretended no Title but the ſword, was thought juſt and honourable; we preſume it will not be infamous now; And that all the marks of rebel-

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lion and falſhood, which our revilers would faſten on us, will fall on any, ſooner then thoſe who fought for ſo many years, and with ſo different Nations for our juſt defence: Which alſo is ſo true, that our beſt Hiſtories affirm the Chriſtian Religion to have been preſerved only by us for many yeares, that the *Saxons* (being Heathen) either attempted or poſſeſſed this Country. May your Highneſs then graciouſly interpret our actions, while we did but that duty which your Highneſs would have now done by all your Subjects on like occaſion; For when any ſhould invade this Country henceforth, wee know your Highneſs would have us to behave our ſelves no otherwiſe. Beſides, had not the Aſſailers found ſome to reſiſt, they might have deſpiſed a Country, that brought none forth able enough to aſſert it: So that we crave pardon Sir, if we ſay it was fit for the honour of your Dominions that ſome part of it ſhould never be conquered. We then in the name of whatſoever in your Highneſs poſſeſſion hath in any age held out againſt all Invaders, do here voluntarily reſign, and humble our ſelves to that Soveraignty, which we acknowledge ſo well inveſted in your Highneſs. Nor is this the firſt times we have alwaies attended an occaſion to unite our ſelves to the greater and better parts of the Iſland.

But as the Kings of this Realm weary of their attempts in perſon againſt us, did formerly give not only our Country to thoſe who could conquer it, but permitted them *jura Regalia*, within their ſeverall Precincts; ſo it was impoſſible to come to an agreement, while ſo many that undertook this work, uſurped Martiall and abſolute power and juridiction in all they acquired, without eſtabliſhing any equall juſtice. And that all Offenders, for the reſt, flying from one Lordſhip Marcher (for ſo they were termed) to another, did both avoid the puniſhment of the Law, and eaſily commit thoſe robberies, which have formerly tainted the honour of our parts. So that untill the rigorous Laws not only of the ſeverall Conquerors of *England*, but the attempters on our parts, were brought to an equall moderation, no union, how much ſoever affected by us, could enſue.

Therefore, and not ſooner we ſubmitted our ſelves to *Edward* the firſt, a Prince who made both many and equaller Laws then any before him. Therefore we defended his Son *Edward* the ſecond, when not only the *Engliſh* forſook him, but our ſelves might have recovered our former liberty, had we deſired it. Therefore we got victories for *Edward* the third, and ſtood firm during all the diſſentions of this Realme to his grand-child and Succeſſor *Richard* the ſecond. Only if ſome amongſt us reſiſted *Henry* the fourth, your Highneſs may better ſuppoſe the reaſon then we tell it, though divers forreigners openly

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openly refuſing to treat with him as a Soveraigne and lawfull Prince, have ſufficiently publiſhed it. Wee did not yet decline a due obedience to *Henry* the Fifth, though in doubtfull times, we cannot deny, but many refractory perſons have appear'd: Howſoever, wee never joyned our ſelves with the Engliſh Rebels, or took occaſion thereby to recover our Liberty, though in *Richard* the Second's time, and during all the Civil Wars betwixt *Lancaſter* and *York* much occaſion was given. For adhering to the Houſe of *York*, which we conceived the better Title, we conſerved our devotion ſtill to the Crown, untill your Highneſſe Fathers time (who bearing his name and blood from us) was the more cheerfully aſſiſted by our Predeceſſours in his Title to the Crown, which your Highneſſe doth preſently enjoy. And thus, Sir, if we gave anciently proof of a generous courage in defending our Laws and Country, wee have given no leſſe proof of a loyall fidelity ſince we firſt rendered our ſelves. Inſomuch, that wee may truly affirm, That after our acceptance of the conditions given us by *Edward* the Firſt, wee have omitted no occaſion of performing the duty of loving Subjects. Neither is there any thing that comforts us more then that all thoſe controverſies about Succeſſion (which ſo long waſted this Land) are determined in your Highneſſe Perſon; in whom we acknowledge both Houſes to be happily united. To your Highneſſe therefore we offer all obedience, deſiring onely that wee may be defended againſt the inſulting of our malignant Cenſurers: For we are not the off-ſpring of the *Run-away Brittains* (as they term us); but Natives of a Country, which, beſides defending it ſelf, received all thoſe who came to us for ſuccours. Give us then (Sir) permiſſion to ſay, That they wrong us much, who pretend our Country was not inhabited before then, or that it failed in a due Piety, when it was ſo hoſpitall to all that fled thither for refuge: which alſo will be more credible, when it ſhall be remembred, that even our higheſt Mountains furniſh good Beef and Mutton, not onely to all the Inhabitants, but ſupply *England* in great quantity. Wee humbly beſeech your Highneſſe therefore, That this Note may be taken from us. As for our Language, though it ſeem harſh, it is that yet which was ſpoken anciently, not onely in this Iſland, but in *France*: ſome Dialects whereof therefore remain ſtill amongſt the *Bas Bretons* there, and here in *Cornwall*. Neither will any man doubt it, when he ſhall finde thoſe words of the ancient Gauliſh Language repeated by the Latine Authors, to ſignifie the ſame thing amongſt us at this day: Nor ſhall it be a diſparagement (wee hope) that it is ſpoken ſo much in the throat, ſince the *Florentine* and *Spaniard* affect this kinde of pronunciation, as beleeving words that ſound ſo deep, proceed from the heart. So that if wee have retained this Language longer

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longer then the more Northern inhabitants of this Iſland (whoſe Speech appears manifeſtly to be a kinde of *Engliſh*) and conſequently introduced by the *Saxons*, wee hope it will be no imputation to us; your Highneſſe will have but the more Tongues to ſerve you: It ſhall not hinder us to ſtudy Engliſh, when it were but to learn how wee might the better ſerve and obey your Highneſſe: To whoſe Laws we moſt humbly deſire again to be adopted; and doubt not, but if in all Countries the Mountains have afforded as eminent Wits and Spirits as any other part, ours alſo by your Highneſſe good favour and imployment may receive that eſteem.

The King now conſidering that it was but reaſonable to unite this part of the Kingdome to the reſt, and that their Loyalty beſides had deſerved as much as they were Suters for, cauſed an Act to be paſt for executing juſtice in *Wales*, in manner as is in *England*, and reduced the Lordſhip Marchers to their ground. The Statute is to this effect:

C. 25. That albeit the Dominion, Principality and Country of *Wales* be a member and part of the Temporall Crown of this Realm, whereof therefore the King is Head and Ruler; yet as it hath divers Rights, Uſages, Laws and Cuſtomes diſcrepant from the Laws and Cuſtomes of this Realm, and becauſe their Language is different from that which is ſpoken here, and that many rude people hereupon have made diſtinction and diverſity betwixt his Highneſſe other Subjects, and them, to the cauſing of much diſcord and ſedition; his Highneſſe therefore, out of his love and favour to his Subjects in *Wales*, and for reducing them to his Laws, doth by the advice and conſent of his Parliament ordain and enact, That *Wales* ſhould be unite and incorporate henceforth to and with his Realm of *England*; and that his Subjects ſhould enjoy and inherit all and ſingular Freedoms, Liberties, Rights, Priviledges and Laws which his Highneſſe Subjects elſewhere injoy and inherit. And therefore that Inheritances ſhould deſcend after the manner of *England*, without diviſion or partition, and not after any Tenure or form of *Welſh* Lawes or Cuſtomes. And foraſmuch as there are divers Lordſhips Marchers within the ſaid Country or Dominion in *Wales*, being no parcell of any other Shires where the Laws and due correction is uſed and had, and that in them and the Countries adjoyning manifold Murders, Robberies, Felonies and the like, have been done, contrary to the Law and Juſtice, becauſe the offenders, making their refuge from one Lordſhip Marcher to another, were continued without puniſhment and correction: Therefore it was enacted that the ſaid Lordſhips Marchers ſhould be united, annexed and joyned to divers Shires ſpecified in the ſaid Act.

Whereupon four and twenty Lordſhip Marchers were united

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ted to *Monmouth-ſhire*, and the Lawes of *England* injoyned in in them: Sixteen to *Brecknock-ſhire*; ſixteen to *Radnor-ſhire*; eleven to *Montgomery-ſhire*; and ten to *Denbigh-ſhire*; ſeven to *Shropſhire*, which were reduced again to certain hundreds as *Doun* to *Cherbury*, *&c.* ten to *Hereford-ſhire*, and they likewiſe reduced to hundreds three; and all the Lordſhips *&c.* betwixt *Chepſtow* bridge and *Gloceſter-ſhire*, to *Gloceſter-ſhire*; and they again reduced to one hundred; ſeventeen to *Glamorgan-ſhire*; eight to *Carmarthen-ſhire*; thirteen to *Pembroke-ſhire*; four to *Cardigan-ſhire*; one to *Merioneth-ſhire*: By which it appears how much of *Wales* is continued intire, and how much was gotten by the Lord Marchers. After this again, many Priviledges were given to the Lords Marchers, in regard of the ſervice their Anceſtors rendred the Crown heretofore, in conquering thoſe parts at their own coſt, concerning which Hiſtories, Records, *&c.* may be ſeen, to which I refer my ſelf.

Alſo power was given to the King to alter any thing in this Act, within the ſpace of three yeers next enſuing, whereof we ſhall ſpeak again 34 *Hen.* 8. *c.* 26. More alſo is extant hereof 1 *Edw.* 6. 10. and 21. *Jacobi* 10. where through that Kings goodneſs all power for altering the Laws in *Wales* is repealed.

I will now come to certain Acts of Parliament concerning Eccleſiaſticall matters, of which kind there are found chiefly: The firſt, having relation to one formerly recited out of 26. *Henry* 8. 3. whereby the Firſt-fruits and Tenths were given for more augmentation of maintenance of the Kings royall dignity, of the ſupream head of the Church of *England*, doth now declare, That no Tenth ſhall be exacted that year wherein Firſt-fruits are paid. 1534.

Secondly, whereas 25. *Henry* 8. it was enacted, That the Clergy in their Convocations ſhall make no Conſtitutions without the Kings aſſent, as alſo that the King ſhould have authority to nominate 16 Spirituall, and 16 Temporall perſons to examine the Canons and Conſtitutions aforeſaid, the ſaid Acts were now confirmed.

Thirdly, Order was given about Sanctuary men, that they ſhould wear Badges to be known by, and no weapons; That they ſhould not goe abroad but at due houres, and not reſiſt their Governours, *&c.*

Fourthly, A Court of augmentation was erected, whereby order was taken concerning the Religious houſes that were ſurrendred or ſuppreſſed; and how the Kings Revenue ſhould be increaſed thereby, and Officers for this purpoſe appointed.

Theſe marks of the Kings Soveraignty being thus premiſed, I ſhall come to the Act of ſuppreſſion of Religious houſes under 200 l. yearly. Which though lamented by many, and no waies ſo excuſed that I know, as by the Kings neceſſities,

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ſities, had yet theſe motives. The vitious and incorrigible life of *Monaſticall* Perſons, confeſſed by the whole Parliament: The lands not imployed according to the intent of the Donors and Founders; divers Superſtitions and forgings of Miracles practized amongſt them: That when thoſe under 200 l. yeerly were taken away, there remained yet many great & religious houſes: That they were the Seminary of thoſe that oppoſ'd the Regal Authority in Eccleſiaſtical matters; to which ſome have thought the reaſon formerly touched might be added, that the Parliament was willing to lay the burthen of furniſhing the Kings neceſſities from themſelves. And the rather, that the King promiſ'd to imploy ſome of the Revenues to other Religious uſes: As founding of Biſhopricks, Deaneries, and Chapiters and the like. Which indeed followed, though not mentioned in the *Statute*. Howſoever, the *Statute* without any formall Preamble in the publiſhed Book, begins bluntly thus: His Majeſtie ſhall have and enjoy to Him and his Heires for ever, all *Monaſteries*, *Priories*, and other Religious houſes of *Monks*, *Canons*, and *Nuns* of what Habit, Order, or Rule ſoever, which have not in lands and Revenue above the cleare yeerly value of 200 l. as alſo all ſuch Religious houſes which at any time within one yeers ſpace proceeding, have been given up & granted by any *Abbot*, *Prior*, *Abbeſſe*, or *Prioreſſe* under their Covent ſeal; (reſerving yet all Right to others by Leaſe and otherwiſe, and particularly the Right of the Heirs and Succeſſours of the Founders, Patrons, or Donors to any Poſſeſſion, Rent, Fee, or Office according to the true intention:) As alſo all Ornaments, Jewels, Goods, Chattels, and Debts, belonging to the ſaid Religious houſes: Nevertheleſſe, that Hoſpitality and Husbandry ſhould be kept by the Farmers of the ſaid Religious houſes, and the lands belonging to them; upon the Penalty of paying every moneth ſix Pound thirteen Shillings and four pence. The King alſo (as I find in the Parliament Rolls) allowed the Governors of theſe houſes Penſions during their lives, and tranſlated ſome of the Religious Perſons into other great Foundations.

And thus were the leſſer *Monaſteries* diſſolv'd, with care yet that Hoſpitality ſhould bé preſerved; for which reaſon alſo our King did paſſe them away at ſuch eaſie rates. Nevertheleſſe, as the Penalty being not ordinarily required, due Hoſpitality was for the moſt part neglected: ſo the forfeitures being great, were at the Supplication of the Parl. 21 *Jacobi* 28. wholly aboliſhed, at length, by the indulgence of that King. Notwithſtanding, it is probable, that not on this occaſion only, the *Abbey*-lands were ſcattered and diſtributed into ſo many hands, ſince *Cromwell* forgot not to tell his King, that the more had intereſt in them, the more they would be irrevocable. But whatſoever the reaſons were, it is certaine, that uſe was not made of them

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which might have been, while the Revenue of the Crown was ſo little improv'd thereby. Since it is clear, that if the profits of thoſe which were diſſolv'd, had been imployed for a ſetled entertaining and payment of a Royall Army at land, and a great Fleet at Sea, (which as they were the third or fourth of the Revenues of the land, might have been eaſily done) our King without having recourſe to any other meanes, might (beſides ſecuring his Realm) have given the Law in great part to all his Neighbours. And now of theſe antient Monuments of devotion, 376 being diſſolved, a Revenue of about Thirty or Thirty two Thouſand pound yeerly, fell into the Kings hand, beſides Goods and Chattels; which at low Rates were valued at 100000 pound. The people (eſpecially they that got nothing thereby) in the mean while being grieved to ſee the Monks and Nunnes wandring abroad, and the Churches and Chappels perverted to ſecular and prophane uſes; ſo that they began to murmure; which being again fomented by ſome Religious Perſons turned to Rebellion, as ſhal be told hereafter. The reſpect alſo given to the Reliques there, and ſome pretended Miracles fell; Inſomuch as I find by our Records that a piece of St *Andrewes* finger, (cover'd onely with an Ounce of Silver) being laid to pledge by a Monaſtery for Forty pound, was left unredeem'd at the Diſſolution of the ſaid houſe; the Kings Commiſſioners (who upon ſurrender of any Foundation, undertook to pay the debts thereof) refuſing to returne the price again. *Stow.*

This fall of Abbeys yet did but ſet forward the Kings Deſigns with the Confederate Princes and Towns in *Germany*; who underſtanding hereof, and believing now the King would wholly renounce all Papiſtry, and knowing beſides that Queen *Anne* was diſaffected to their Adverſe Party, as her greateſt Enemies, thought fit to make our Kings Orators (yet at *Smalcald*) theſe Propoſitions, as our Records ſhew. Decemb. 25. 1535.

I. That he ſhould approve and embrace the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion, unleſs ſome things ſhall be altered therein by Common conſent according to the Scripture.

II. And Secondly in a free Councell, if any be, ſhall defend it with them.

III. That neither part ſhould admit any Summons for a Councell, or agree upon a place for the fitting of it without the others Conſent; yet that if ſuch a Councell were offered as *Vergetius* the *Popes* Legat now propoſed, that is to ſay, free and pious, that it ſhould not be refuſed.

IV. That if the *Pope* proceeded otherwiſe, that they ſhould oppoſe and proteſt publiquely againſt him.

V. That the King ſhould joyn himſelf, as to their Doctrine, ſo to their League; and thereupon accept the Title of Patron and Defender of it.

VI. That the vulgar opinion *de Primatu Pontificis* ſhould be rejected for ever.

VII. That if either of the Contrahents be Invaded for Religion, the other ſhall give no Aid againſt him.

VIII. That the King ſhall pay 100000 Crowns towards the defence of the League, and if the war be long, 200000 Crowns, upon Condition, that what was remaining ſhould be reſtored when the war was ended.

IX. That when the King hath declared his mind herein, they will ſend an Ambaſſage of Learned men to him.

Records. Theſe Propoſitions being Communicated by *Cromwell* to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* then in *France*; the Biſhop returned this advice: That if the firſt Article were accorded, the King ſhall do nothing without their conſent, though otherwiſe he be bound in Conſcience to reform his Church. To the reſt, that he conceives no good nor honourable League can be made with thoſe Inferior Princes for Religion without the Emperor, whom the King muſt allow to be Supream head of *Germany*, as His Majeſty is of *England*. Again, that they could give King *Henry* no Reciproke, as lying at that diſtance: Finally, he admoniſhed, that they be moved to approve the Kings Title, ſince he had underſtood in *France*, that they would not agree thereto, leaſt they ſhould thereby grant the Emperor the ſame Authority over their Perſons. In ſequence whereof, on the twelfth of March following (1536) the Biſhop of *Hereford*, and the other Orators now at *Wittemberg* returned the Preteſtants this anſwer: That the King their Soveraign liked their Propoſitions with ſome corrections; and that though all were quiet here, and no cauſe why he ſhould fear any Attempts, or when they were, that it was taken away by the death of the late Queen; yet for reſtoring as well as retaining the true Doctrine, he was content to disburſe the ſumme required, if once the League were made: Whereof therefore he would Treat at large with their Commiſſioners, whom they promiſ'd to ſend; as for the Honour they did him, in conſtituting him Patron and Defendor of the League, that he render'd them due thanks, and acknowledg'd their good will. And though he underſtood well, to how much envy this Charge was expoſ'd, yet that for the Publique good he would not refuſe it, when they could agree among themſelves concerning the Firſt and Second Article. For unleſſe there were an Union and conſent in Doctrine, that he ſhould get no Honour by undertaking it. Therefore that he deſir'd their learned men and his ſhould concur; for untill ſome places of their confeſſion and Apology were mollifyed by private Conference, that there was ſmall hope of an Agreement. Therefore, that he deſired much that they would ſend ſome Commiſſioners for this purpoſe, and among them, ſome one eminent for his learning,

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ning who might confer with his Divines of the doctrine and eſſentiall part of Religion, as well as Ceremonies of the Church. That ſince he was ſo liberall to them, he hoped they would not refuſe, if any made war againſt him, to furniſh for 4. Moneths, 500 Foot, or ten ſhips equipped at their coſt; and at his coſt 2000 Horſe, and 5000 Foot, or in lieu of theſe Foot 12. Ships equipped; which the King ſhall keep and maintain as long as his occaſions require. Laſtly, that they ſhould approve the ſentence given by the Divines of *Wittenberg* in favour of his Divorce, and ſecond Marriage, and if any Councell Generall were holden, ſhould there defend it.

To all which the Duke of *Saxony* replying, that hee would adviſe hereof with the other Confederates, this Anſwer finally at a meeting at *Francfort* on the 24 of *April* 1536 was return'd, That although divers were entred newly into the League, and divers who were at a diſtance from home, had no Commiſſion for giving any definitive ſentence: Notwithſtanding, that in this meeting it ſhould be reſolv'd concerning an Ambaſſadour to be ſent his Highneſſe, and they who could not reſolve for the preſent, ſhould declare themſelves within the ſpace of one moneth. And that there was no queſtion but they would conforme themſelves to the opinion of the major part. Whereupon Inſtructions were given for certain Orators to be ſent to *England*; in which yet it was (ſaith *Sleidan*) eſpecially provided, that nothing ſhould be treated of to the prejudice of the Emperour or Empire. And thus in the name of the Confederate Cities *Jacobus Sturmius* was appointed; the Divines being *Melanchthon*, *Bucerus*, and *Georgius Draco*. But as ſhortly after the the death of Queen *Anne* followed: ſo all their proceeding (as *Sleidan* notes) was ſtopt, untill upon occaſion given, it was revived. As for the approbation of the Divorce propoſed to the German Divines, *Luther*, *Jonas*, *Philip* and others, the King was judiciouſly adviſed by his Agents from thence, not to require any thing of them which would be too hard to grant; The King having attained his principall intent concerning the Councell and Pope, and the Princes being then in ſuch terms with the Emperour and *Ferdinand*, as they deſired not to offend them without an urgent neceſſity.

April 24.

Sleidan.

James King of *Scotland* having the yeer before been inſtalled of the *Garter*, and in ſequence thereof inſtructed with the cauſes of thoſe changes which had followed in Religious Government, did not yet altogether incline to our King. For as he had an eye to the troubles that might enſue in *England* concerning Succeſſion, as long as the Iſſue of both Queens ſurvived; ſo hee deſired to ſtrengthen himſelf by the advice and aſſiſtance of *Francis*: yet being deſirous withall to conſerve our Kings affection; and knowing alſo his deſignes on that part could

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not be long concealed, hee thought fit to advertiſe our King thereof; diſcovering himſelf no farther yet, then that he intended to Match in that Country: who alſo approving this, rather then that hee ſhould beſtow himſelf in the Emperours Family (which he ſtill ſuſpected) gave his conſent thereunto, as I finde by our Records; yet ſo as he deſired the Match might be betwixt him and the Daughter of the Duke of *Vendoſme*, rather then of *Francis*; upon condition ſtill that the Enterview might proceed. But King *James*, who had no diſpoſition there unto (though I finde in our Records, the Queen his Mother once perſwaded him) reſolves to go ſecretly and in diſguiſed habit to *France*. Whereupon alſo, commanding ſome Ships to be made ready, he ſet ſail from *Leeth*, not acquainting any yet with his journey; ſo that divers thought he purpoſed to land in ſome part of our Kings Dominions. But contrary winds ariſing, he being demanded what courſe his Pilots ſhould hold, anſwer'd, To any place but *England*; wherewith falling aſleep, he was ere he wakened, by the advice of one of the *Hamiltons* (as *Buchanan* hath it) carried back. But at laſt, opening his eyes, and finding himſelf at home, hee was much offended with the Authour of this Counſel, and the rather, that hee was thought ſecretly to oppoſe the match: So that hee commanded to ſet ſail again. Coming thus at length to the Duke of *Vendoſm's*, and his Daughter not pleaſing him (or rather, the Daughter of *Francis* liking him better) he arrives at *Paris*, and poſting thence to the *Lionnois*, where *Francis* was raiſing an Army againſt the Emperour (as ſhall be told hereafter) he obtained the conſent of *Francis* (though not without ſome reluctancy on his part, and wholly againſt our Kings will) for his Daughter *Magdalen*, whom hee married *Jan.* 1, 1537. The news whereof being brought to our King, troubled him ſo much, that hee writ to *Francis*, (whom he perfectly loved at that time) That his late Enterview with the Pope, and Allyance with the Scottiſh King vexed him no leſſe then it would do a perfect Lover. *De veoir ſa Dame entretenir ſon mortel Enemy*: whereof more at large in its due place. But as *Francis* excuſe (alledging it was better he match'd there then with his Adverſaries) did in ſome part ſatisfie our King; ſo the new married Lady falling to a Hectick Fever, and dying the yeer following, they both ſoon return'd to ſome part of their former correſpondence.

July 26.

Aug. 31.

July 7. 1537.

Our King now, thought by ſome to be various in his appetite of Wives, by others to be only unfortunate in them, had, or found occaſion to cut off Queen *Anne*; I ſhall not yet determine whether Princes ſecret actions be beyond any ſcrutiny. I will onely lay down the particulars, as far as by Records, or otherwiſe I could gather them, remitting the reſt to the equall Reader.

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35 *Regn.* 27 *c.* 24.

Queen *Anne* being now without competitrix for her Title, thought her ſelf ſecure. But proſperity is a dangerous eſtate to thoſe that uſe it not reverently. Again beauty is not alwaies the beſt keeper of it ſelf. It may be doubted yet whether either of thoſe did concern her; ſince ſhe was thought both moderate in her deſires, and of diſcretion enough to make her capable of being truſted with her own perfections, having lived in the French Court firſt, and after in this, with the reputation of a vertuous Lady; inſomuch that the whiſperings of her Enemies could not divert the Kings good Opinion of her, though yet he was in his own nature more jealous then to be ſatisfied eaſily. I do reject all thoſe, therefore, that would ſpeak againſt her Honour in thoſe times they ſtaid in *France*; but I ſhall as little accuſe her in this particular of her affairs at this time; it is enough, that the Law hath Condemned her; and that whether She, or any elſewere in fault, is not now to be diſcuſſed. This is certain, that the King had caſt his Affection already on *Jane Seymor*, (daughter to Sir *John Seymor* Knight) then attending on the Queen. But whether this alone were enough to procure that Tragedy which followed, may be doubted in this Prince; for I do not find him bloudy, but where Law, or at leaſt pretexts drawn from thence did countenance his Actions. But ſuſpition in great and obnoxious minds, is other then in the Milde and Temperate; and therefore is to them like a Tempeſt, which though it ſcarce ſtir low and ſhallow waters, when it meets a Sea, both vexeth it, and makes it toſſe all that comes thereon. So that I dare ſay nothing hath been Author of ſo much confuſion; ſince aggravating ſometimes that which is ill, ſometimes miſinterpreting that which is good, it perverts all, and finally leaves the Mind without Remedy; how far yet ſuſpition wrought on our King, is not for me to define.

To come then to the Narration, I find by our Authors, that on May-day there being a ſolemne Juſts at *Greenwich* (wherein *George Vicount Rochford* the Queens Brother was chief Challenger, and *Henry Norreis* Principall Defendant) the King ſuddenly departed. This much troubled the whole Company, eſpecially the Queen. No cauſe hereof is related yet, unleſſe (as *Sanders* hath it) ſhe let fall a Handkercheif, wherewith ſome one (ſuppoſed her Favorite) did wipe his Face, and that this was perceived by the King. But our Hiſtories mention not this paſſage. The Queen finding the King thus gone, retires her ſelf. He again haſting to *Weſtminſter*, takes order to Commit the next morning *George* Lord *Rochford* and *Henry Norreis* to the Tower: After which, her ſelf comming to *London* in her Barge, was Apprehended by ſome of the Lords, and carried towards the Tower, who telling her offence, ſhe exclaimed that ſhe was wronged, and that ſhe deſired to ſee the King onely before ſhe went; but

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but in vain, they having no ſuch Commiſſion. When ſhe entred the Tower, ſhe is ſaid to have faln on her knees, beſeeching God ſo to help her, as ſhe was not guilty of that whereof ſhe was accuſed. This was about Five in the afternoon on the Second of May. After which, one *William Brereton* Eſquire, and Sir *Francis Weſton* of the Kings privy Chamber, and one *Mark Smeton* a Muſitian were Committed on the ſame occaſion. The Queen being thus in the Charge of Sir *William Kingſton*, Conſtable of the Tower, much ſpeech paſt betwixt them, as appears by an Originall of his: Yet as her Language was broken and diſtreſſed betwixt Tears and Laughter, (for ſhe uſed both) little can be inferred thence, only, ſhe ſeem'd to exclaim on *Norreis*, as if he had accuſ'd her; when yet ſhe ſaid, they both ſhould die together. She named others alſo, and thereupon confeſſed, though not enough to Condemn her, yet ſuch Paſſages as might argue She took the utmoſt Liberty, that could be honeſtly allowed her: But whether ſhe extended it to any further Act, is not there declared. For amidſt all her Diſcourſes ſhe ſtill proteſted her ſelf Innocent. By other Originals alſo of *Kingſtons*, it appears that he had made ſome difficulty to carry a letter from her to Mr Secretary, and that ſhe wiſh'd her Biſhops were there: For they (ſhe ſaid) would go to the King for her, and that the moſt part of *England* would pray for her; and that if ſhe died, a puniſhment will fall on the Land; and in effect I find divers Biſhops and learned men did much Honour her, and particularly the

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May 3. Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, who in a Conſolatory Letter to the King, (which I have ſeen) written as much in her behalf as he durſt; yet ſo as he made no Apology for her, but rather confeſſeth that diverſe of the Lords had told him of ſuch Faults as he was ſorry to hear of, deſiring howſoever, that he would continue his Love to the Goſpell, leſt it ſhould be thought it was for her ſake onely, he had ſo favoured it. After which another Letter in her name, but no Originall coming to my hand, from more then one good part, I thought fit to Tranſcribe here, without other Credit yet then that it is ſaid to be found among the Papers of *Cromwell* then Secretary, and for the reſt ſeems antient and conſonant to the matter in queſtion.

SIR

May 6. YOur Graces diſpleaſure, and my Impriſonment are things ſo ſtrange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuſe, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you ſend unto me, (willing me to confeſſe a truth, and ſo obtain your favour) by ſuch an one whom you know to be mine antient profeſſed Enemy, I no ſooner receiv'd this Meſſage by him, then I rightly conceiv'd your meaning; and as if as you ſay, Confeſſing a truth indeed, may procure my ſafety, I ſhall with all willingneſſe and duty perform your Command. But

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But let not your Grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not ſo much as a thought thereof ever preceded. And to ſpeak a truth, never Prince had wife more loyall in all duty, and in all true affection, then you have ever found in *Anne Bolen*, with which name and place I could willingly have contented my ſelf, if God and your Graces pleaſure, had ſo been pleaſed. Neither did I at any time ſo far forget my ſelf in my exaltation, or received Queenſhip, but that I alwaies looked for ſuch an alteration as now I find; for the ground of my preferment being on no ſurer foundation then your Graces fancy, the leaſt alteration I know was fit and ſufficient to draw that fancy to ſome other Subject. You have choſen me from a low eſtate to be your Queen and Companion, far beyond my deſert or deſire; if then you found me worthy of ſuch honour; Good your Grace, let not any light fancy, or bad Counſel of mine enemies withdraw your Princely favour from me; neither let that ſtain, that unworthy ſtain of a diſloyall heart towards your good Grace, ever caſt ſo foul a blot on your moſt dutifull Wife, and the Infant Princeſſe your daughter: Try me good King, but let me have a lawfull tryall; and let not my ſworn enemies ſit as my accuſers and judges; yea let me receive an open tryall, for my truth ſhall fear no open ſhames. Then ſhal you ſee either mine innocency cleared, your ſuſpition and conſcience ſatisfied, the ignominy and ſlander of the world ſtopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that whatſoever God or you may determine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open cenſure, and mine offence being ſo lawfully proved, your Grace is at liberty both before God and man, not only to execute worthy puniſhment on me as an unfaithfull Wife, but to follow your affection already ſetled on that party, for whoſe ſake I am now as I am, whoſe name I could ſome good while ſince have pointed unto, your Grace being not ignorant of my ſuſpition therein.

But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous ſlander muſt bring you the enjoying of your deſired happineſs: then I deſire of God that he will pardon your great ſin therein, and likewiſe mine enemies the Inſtruments thereof, and that he will not call you to a ſtrict account for your unprincely and cruell uſage of me at his generall judgement Seat, where both you and my ſelf muſt ſhortly appear, and in whoſe judgement I doubt not (whatſoever the world may thinke of me) mine innocence ſhall be openly known, and ſufficiently cleared.

My laſt and only requeſt ſhall be, that my ſelf may only bear the burthen of your Graces diſpleaſure; and that it may not touch the innocent ſouls of thoſe poor Gentlemen, whom (as I underſtand

ſtand) are likewiſe in ſtrait impriſonment for my ſake. If ever I have found favour in your ſight, if ever the name of *Anne Bolen* hath been pleaſing in your ears, then let mee obtain this requeſt; And I will ſo leave to trouble your Grace any further, with mine earneſt prayers to the Trinity to have your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. *From my dolefull priſon in the Tower, this 6 of May.*

Your moſt Loyall
and ever faithfull Wife,

ANNE BOLEN.

But whether this Letter were elegantly written by her, or any elſe heretofore, I know as little, as what Anſwer might be made thereunto: Onely I cannot omit to tell, that the King was ſo little ſatisfied with her Actions or Letters, that not content to have gotten proof enough to put her to death, he would further be divorced from her; which alſo by due Order and Proceſſe of Law (as an Act of Parliament hath it, 28. *Hen.* 8. 7.) was performed by *Cranmer*. The cauſes being not yet ſet down otherwiſe then that they were declared juſt, true and lawfull impediments of Marriage: I know not how to ſatisfie the Reader therein; eſpecially, ſince the Lady *Eliſabeth* their Daughter is thereby pronounced illegitimate. For as concerning Precontracts, I finde by an Original Letter of the Earl of *Northumberland* (who it ſeems, might moſt be ſuſpected) that hee diſavows it on his part. So that unleſſe he retracted this Proteſtation, or that the contrary were proved, I cannot ſo much as imagine a reaſon. The Letter is thus to *Cromwel*.

May 13. Records.

I Perceive that there is ſuppoſed a Precontract between the Queen and me. Whereupon I was not onely heretofore examined upon mine Oath before the Arch-Biſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*; but alſo received the bleſſed Sacrament upon the ſame, before the Duke of *Norfolk* and others the Kings Counſel learned in the Spiritual Law; Aſſuring you (Mr Secretary) by the ſaid Oath and bleſſed Body, which afore I received, and hereafter intend to receive, that the ſame may be to my damnation, if ever there were any contract or promiſe of Marriage between her and me. ¶ But if this were not ſufficient, I beleeve ſuch other cauſe was produced for the Divorce, as might ſatisfie the people, ſince the Act was publick. Neither is it much materiall which *Hall* ſaith, that the validity of this Marriage was queſtioned, becauſe the King married this ſecond Wife before he was divorced from his firſt: for it ſeems contrary to the Act of Parliament, which ſaith, That the impedi-

ments

ments were, till of late, unknown. Shortly after which ſhee was arraigned the 15 of *May* 1536, before the Duke of *Norfolk* high Steward of *England* for the day, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Suffolk* and others of the Peers: And there notwithſtanding her diſcreet Anſwers, (as our Hiſtorians term them) found guilty, and judgement pronounced accordingly. Immediately after which, the Lord *Rochfort* her brother was arraigned and condemned, as alſo *Henry Norreis* Eſquire, *Mark Smeton* Groom of the Kings Privie-Chamber, *William Brereton* Eſquire, and Sir *Francis Weſton* Knight, Gentlemen of it, (the Lord Mayor and divers Aldermen and Citizens being preſent) and the 17 of *May* beheaded: The Queen's death yet was reſpited till the 19 of the ſame. About which time order being taken that all ſtrangers in the Tower ſhould be removed, *Kingſton* in an Originall to *Cromwell* writ theſe words: *viz.*

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May 15.

May 17.

Sir,

May 19.

IF we have not an hour certain, as it may be known in *London*, I think here will be but few: And I think a reaſonable number were beſt; for I ſuppoſe ſhee will declare her ſelf to be a good woman for all men, but for the King, at the hour of her death: for this morning ſhe ſent for me, and proteſted her innocency; and now again, and ſaid unto me, M. *Kingſton*, I heard ſay, I ſhall not die afore noon, and I am ſorry therefore; for I thought to be dead by this time, and paſt my pain. I told her it ſhould be no pain, it was ſo *ſotell* (for ſo is his word). And then ſhe ſaid ſhe heard ſay the Executioner was very good, and I have a little neck, and put her hand about it, laughing heartily: I have ſeen many men and women executed, and they have been in great ſorrow; and to my knowledge, this Lady hath much joy and pleaſure in death.

The 19 of *May* being thus come, the Queen, according to the expreſſe order given, was brought to a ſcaffold erected upon the Green in the Tower of *London*, where our Hiſtorians ſay, ſhe ſpake before a great company there aſſembled to this effect.

Good Chriſtian people, I am come hither to die; for according to the Law, and by the Law I am judged to die, and therefore I will ſpeak nothing againſt it. I am come hither to accuſe no man, nor to ſpeak any thing of that whereof I am accuſed, and condemned to die. But I pray God ſave the King, and ſend him long to reigne over you; for a gentler nor a more mercifull Prince was there never; and to me hee was ever a good, a gentle, and a Soverain Lord. And if any perſon will meddle of my cauſe, I require them to judge the beſt. And thus I take my leave of the World, and of you all; And I heartily deſire you all to pray for me. After which coming to her Devotions, her head was ſtricken off with a ſword.

And thus ended the Queen, lamented by many, both as ſhe

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was desirous to advance Learned men, in which number *Hugh Latimer* Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Nicholas Saxton* Bishop of *Salisbury* are recounted; and as she was a great Almes-giver; in so much, as she is said in three quarters of a yeer to have bestowed 14 or fifteen thousand pounds in this kinde, besides moneys intended by her towards raising a Stock for poor Artificers in the Realme. *Sanders* saith her Father died shortly after for grief; but our Heralds affirm, it was not till about two yeers after 1538. But that we may leave them both to their Grave and silence, I finde by our Records, that the Princesse *Mary* did about those times much endeavour to be restored to the King her Fathers good favour and opinion, as hoping now that the Princesse *Elizabeth* was declared illegitimate, shee should be received as Heir to the Crown: Therefore by frequent and earnest Letters written with her owne hand, she both acknowledgeth her fault of obstinacy heretofore, and craveth instantly from the King to write to her, or send some token as a signe of Reconciliation. Upon which submission, our King, by the Duke of *Norfolk* sent certain Articles for her to subscribe; which were,

Records. First, whether she doth Recognize the Kings Highnesse for her Soveraign Lord, and King, and will submit her self unto his Highnesse and all Laws of the Realm.

Secondly, whether she will with all her Power obey and maintain all the Statutes of the Realm.

Thirdly, whether she wil Recognize the Kings Highness to be Supream Head in Earth of the Church of *England*, and utterly refuse the Bishop of *Romes* pretended Power, or any Interest she hath or may have thereby.

Fourthly, whether she doth freely Recognize and knowledge both by Gods Law and mans law the Marriage heretofore had between his Majesty and her Mother, to be unlawfull.

Fiftly, for what causes, and by whose motion and meanes she hath remained in her obstinacy so long.

Sixtly, what is the cause she now at time above all others submitteth, and who did move her hereunto.

In satisfaction to which she returned a subscription, signing with her own name the four first Articles, but concerning the other two, she demurr'd; some Persons being Interested therein, whom she would not discover.

What effect followed hereupon apeares not otherwise, then that notwithstanding this and other Submissions, the King proceeded to his intended Marriage; which also he so hastned, as some say, the day following Queen *Anne*'s death; others not til three dayes after, he caus'd it to be Solemniz'd; as not thinking it fit to mourn long, or much, for one the Law had declared Criminall; concerning the Ceremony whereof, as well as the

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the opinion held in theſe times of the different perfections of the King, and his two Queens, I ſhall out of our Records produce the cenſure of Sir *John Ruſſell* (afterwards Earl of *Bedford*) who having been at Church, obſerved the King to be the goodlieſt Perſon there; but of the Queens gave this note, that the Richer Queen *Jane* was in Clothes, the fairer ſhe appeared, but that the other, the Richer ſhe was apparel'd, the worſe ſhe look'd; but this Queen certainly deſerv'd all the Favour done her, as being reputed the Diſcreeteſt, Faireſt, and Humbleſt of the Kings wives; though both Queen *Katherine* in her younger dayes, and the late Queen were not eaſily Parallel'd. But we will leave them a while, and come unto Forraign buſineſſes now a long time intermitted.

Buſineſſes betwixt our King and the Romane See were not ſo deſperate, but that divers overtures on either ſide were made for an accommodation; for while the Pope feared, leſt our King together with renouncing the Roman Churches Authority, would relinquiſh the Religion, he not only covered his inward and deep Diſpleaſure, but ſecretly permitted Treaties in divers kinds with our King, and particularly invited him to a war againſt the Turk; who alſo gladly entertained the motion, as hoping the Pope would not ſo ſoon joyn Chriſtian Princes againſt him. Inſomuch that Sir *Gregory Caſalis* now reſiding Agent at *Rome*, the Pope about May 20th ſent for him, and told him that he heard of the Queens Impriſonment; and was glad that God having freed the King from this unequall Matrimony, had offered his Majeſty occaſion of gaining eternall Honour, by making Peace between the Emperor and French King; which might be now done by joyning with the Roman See. As for himſelf, that he never did him but good Offices, as having urged *Clement* VII. to right him in his divorce, & at *Benonia*, (being then Cardinall) perſwaded the Emperor to ſuffer it with Patience. As for *Rocheſter*, that he made him Cardinall only to uſe him in the enſuing Councell; and when his death was related, being ſollicited and compelled to revenge it, he could not but yeeld for the time to do thoſe things *quæ tamen nunquam in animo habuit ad exitum perducere.* Wherefore that he purpoſed to ſend a *Nuntio* into *England* to Treat of a Peace in Chriſtendome, when our King would hearken thereunto; whence ſhall follow a Generall Councell, and a war againſt the Turk: And all this he wiſh'd Sir *Gregory* to write (as of himſelf) to our King; as appears by the Original May 27. Shortly after which, I find that Cardinall *Campegius* ſending hither his Brother *Marco Antonio* about other Buſineſſe, as regaining his Biſhoprick of *Salisbury*, and the place of Engliſh Protector in the next Councel, attempted to induce our King to a Reconciliation: But as the terms propoſed pleaſed not, ſo the Pope conceiving now all further Trea-

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tie, to be vain, laboured to unite all Christian Princes in a War against him, as a deteſter of all Papal Authority, and an Heritique. Therefore he both gained *Charles* (who had long ſolicited a Councel) by Summoning one to begin at *Mantua* the yeer following, May 23. and to oblige *James* V, He ſent him a rich Conſecrated Sword. He found not yet in *France* that diſpoſition he hoped for, the overtures of War being thought unſeaſonable, in a time when a general Reformation was expected on the Roman Churches part. Therefore I find by an Original diſpatch of *Mount's*, how the Biſhop of *Chaalons* in *Campagne* told him, upon notice taken in *France* of the Brevy of the Pope, whereby (as aforeſaid) he Excommunicated our King, and deprived him of his Kingdome, and abſolved his Subjects of their Oaths of Allegiance, unleſſe he return to that See, and abrogated thoſe Lawes were made againſt the Papal Authority, that the Cardinal of *Lorrain* would warn the Pope, and adviſe him not to be ſo bold with princes, unleſs he would become a laughing-ſtock to the world, (for theſe are *Mount's* words); yet did not *Francis* fully comply with our King, but held a middle way: For as he approved not the Popes harſh proceeding, ſo when our King by his Ambaſſador gave him account of his actions, expecting his Approbation, he returned this anſwer: That notwithſtanding all the Kings Realm ſhould agree and Condeſcend never ſo much to the Right and Title of Succeſſion in the Iſſue of his ſecond Marriage, yet when Forraign parts ſhall conceive any other, and contrary Opinion thereof, great troubles might enſue. Whereupon *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* then reſident in *France*, was commanded by our King to tell *Francis*, that he marvelled much the King his Brother, being a wiſe Prince, ſhould ſo long inſiſt upon theſe points, ſince it was ever the manner of lawful Kings to purſue their Right without demanding the Approbation of others. For proof whereof, he ſaid he could give particular inſtances in *Francis* his Predeceſſours, who had done many things contrary to the advice of the Popes, (when they were beneficiall to the Kingdome,) and that notwithſtanding all oppoſition they had been happily atcheived. Our King was not ignorant, yet, how much it concern'd him to keep *Francis* in good Correſpondency, as knowing the deſire he had to recover *Milan* (for his ſecond Son the Duke of *Orleans*) was ſo vehement, as it would incline him wholly to the Emperor, when it might be obtained. And in effect I find by *Bellay*, that the Treaty hereof begun the laſt yeer, as aforeſaid, was ſtil proſecuted; inſomuch that *Charles* gave hope of reſtoring *Milan* now upon *Sforza's* death (who being thought the laſt of the Line of *Æneas* and *Mutius Scævola*, dyed about the end of October precedent) to the Duke of *Angouleſme* the third Son of *Francis*, when he would ſend the Duke of *Orleans* his

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ſecond Sonne to aſſiſt him in an intended expedition againſt *Algere*, and help to reduce the Proteſtant Princes in *Germany* and the King of *England* to an vnion with the Church; but *Francis* replyed, that to give *Milan* from his ſecond Son to his third, was to cauſe a perpetuall War betwixt two Brothers. Therefore that he deſired it for the Duke of *Orleans*, in which caſe alſo the ſaid Duke ſhould renounce all claim to *Naples*, *Florence*, *Urbin &c.* That to ſend him to the Emperor, upon what pretence ſoever, was in effect to do nothing but put an Hoſtage into his hand: As for the Reformation and Re-union of thoſe who had any way ſeparated themſelves from the Church, he ſhould be glad to ſecond him as well in *Germany* as in *England*. And that for *Henry* the 8. in particular, he thought fit the Emperor ſhould ſummon all Chriſtian Princes and Potentates to aſſiſt him, and as *Bellay* hath it *Donner forte* to conſtrain the ſaid King to obey the ſentence and determination of the Church. Bellay Jan.

During theſe Treaties, the French Army under the *Comte de S. Paul* advanced ſo far in *Savoy*, as they had taken all but *Montmelian*, which yet at laſt yeelded: while thoſe of *Geneve*, thinking the occaſion fair, ſhook off their obedience to the Duke, and by the help of the Proteſtant *Swiſſe*, aſſerted themſelves into the liberty they now enjoy: expelling together their Biſhop, and changing the form of both their Civil and Eccleſiaſticall Policy. Of all which the Emperour being advertiſed, thought how to gain time, eſpecially till he had reinforced his Army, not yet fully made up ſince his late voyage to *Tunis*, and aſſured himſelf of the Pope: Therefore he promiſed the Dutchie of *Milan* to the Duke of *Orleans*, ſo that the Dutcheſſe, being the Relict of *Sforza*, might be provided for, intending thereby (as my Authour hath it) that ſhee might be given the Scottiſh King: yet in the manner of performing thereof, ſo much caution and delay was propoſed, as their former jealouſies did but increaſe. And indeed, neither was the overture of *Francis* his requiring the Emperour to preſſe the Pope againſt our King, more then device to make our King more firm unto him: Nor the Propoſition of the Emperour for reſtoring *Milan* other then an invention to gain time, hee being reſolv'd to ſuccour *Savoy* at what price ſoever: and the rather, that (as is beforeſaid) there was a project of giving all that Country to the Emperour for ſome other Lands in *Italy*; whereby alſo the Emperour ſhould have wholly invironed *France*: ſo that all was but diſſimulation on either part. For while theſe things were treating, the Emperour (though injoyning ſilence to the French, and promiſing it himſelf) yet both acquainted the Pope with divers paſſages, and together made him jealous of the intentions of *Francis* to invade *Italy*, and drew the Venetians to his ſide, and made ſundry Propoſitions of Allyance and Friendſhip with Bellay

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with our King, (ſome whereof we have before ſhewed) and raiſed great forces by Sea and Land, upon pretence of imploying them againſt Infidels: While *Francis* on the other part, being well inform'd hereof, reſolv'd ſo to proceed in his War, as hee neglected nothing which might ſtrengthen himſelf, or weaken his enemies. Therefore, having with a choice Army of fifteen or ſixteen thouſand under the command of *Chabot* Admiral of *France*, taken the chief places in *Savoy*, he commanded it to advance over the *Alps* towards *Turin* in *Piemont*, which was rendred to him, as alſo divers other places there. And thus it is probable they might have entered and taken *Milan*; for as the Duke was newly dead, and the Government unſetled; ſo there wanted all things which might ſerve to defend the Country. Nevertheleſs, out of I know not what ſcrupuloſity or preſumption, *Francis* commanded *Chabot* to ſtay until he had ſent to demand again the inveſtiture thereof from the Emperour in the name of his Son the Duke of *Orleans*. I am not ignorant yet, that ſome French Writers ſay, that *Francis* checkt this command by private Inſtructions: But *Chabot* thought it ſafer to follow thoſe directions hee had under the hand and ſeal of *Francis*, then to comply with an intimated and contradictory advice. Howbeit, the overtures of Peace continued ſtill (at *Naples*, where the Emperour then was) betwixt both Princes, the French Ambaſſadour Monſieur *de Velly* alledging, that the buſineſſe of *Savoy* was but a particular difference betwixt their King and that Duke, and that it ſhould not hinder the Generall Treaty. To which the Emperour ſeem'd to give ear alſo; not omitting yet to raiſe Forces daily, nor to march towards *Rome*, where the Pope attended him: having for the more enlarging his entry to that City, thrown down the Relicks of the Temple of Peace built by the Romans: And indeed, the Pope's deſire was hee ſhould never put up his ſword, till hee had reduced our King, and the Proteſtants to their former devotion, and afterwards invaded the Turk. Of which our King being well informed, (for no Prince had better intelligence) commanded *Richard Pate* his Ambaſſadour, to treat with the Emperour, though not with intention to joyn with him, ſo much as to diſcover his deſignes. For I finde by *Bellay*, that our King had acquainted *Francis* (by means of his Ambaſſadour then reſident here) with a Letter of the Emperours, about this time ſent him, wherein the ſaid Emperour advertiſed, that he meant to go to *Rome*, and what he would ſay and do there; Requeſting our King further to interpoſe offices with *Francis* for reſtoring all hee had taken in *Savoy*, and to divert him from attempting *Milan*. For the reſt, deſiring our King to forget not onely what diſcontentment ſoever had paſt betwixt them by reaſon of the Divorce with Queen *Katherine* (ſince ſhe being dead, all cauſe of offence

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was ceaſed) but to renew their antient Treaties of Confederation and Amity; and together to aſſiſt him againſt the Turk. So that by this free communication of the Emperours Letters, as well as by an Advertiſement which I finde *Francis* gave our King of certain following paſſages at *Rome*, one may perceive what ſtrait correſpondence was then held betwixt them. Howſoever, *Pate* in his Negotiation found that the Emperour took nothing ſo ill as the illegitimation of the Princeſſe *Mary*: for though our King had given Succours in *Denmark* againſt his Neece, and encouraged the Princes in Germany to take Arms againſt him; yet theſe affronts the Emperour ſaid might be paſſed over, but not the Princeſſe *Mary's* Illegitimation; whom therefore he deſired our King to reſtore, giving hope (as *Pate* writes from *Rome*) on that condition to procure a generall Councell which might give the King contentment in his deſires; or if he would referre all things to the Pope's Authority, to make his peace with him, to validate his laſt Marriage, and together eſtabliſh his Succeſſion, Honour and Conſcience in all he could wiſh. Theſe were indeed thought great offers: But our King conſidering that they were little more then ſollicitations and diſcourſes of *Granvele*, and that to legitimate the Princeſſe *Mary*, was in effect no leſſe then to declare her his Heir, what diſguiſe ſoever the Emperour would put on it, and deſiring, for the reſt, nothing ſo much, as to ſettle the ſucceſſion in his future Iſſue, (which he hoped would be maſculine) gave no good audience hereunto. The Emperour having now at *Rome* ſaluted the Pope and Cardinals, and communicated his reaſons in private, Monſieur *de Velly* was referred again to them for an Anſwer concerning his demand of *Milan*. But the Pope gave him no hope thereof; adding, that the Emperour had no ſuch intention; and when hee ſhould aſſent, the Venetians would not, who had entered a League defenſive for that Dutchy. Whereupon *Velly* goes to the Emperour, requiring performance from him: But the Emperour demanded whether he had Commiſſion to treat thereof: but *Velly* ſaying he had none, the Emperour would hear him no more. Nevertheleſſe, to ſhew a deſire to come to a ſolid peace with *Francis*, and avoid effuſion of their Subjects blood: The Emperour in the preſence of the Pope, the Cardinals & the Ambaſſadours of *France*, of *Venice* and many great Prelates and Noblemen aſſembled, made a long Oration in Spaniſh, his hat in his hand; declaring firſt the cauſes of quarrel and unkindneſſe betwixt *Maximilian* and *Lewis* XII, deducing them after to his times, with much particularity; and ſhewing ſtill the fault was on the French ſide: After which, in the preſence of this great Aſſembly, he made three offers to *Francis*, That if a ſure Peace might be concluded, he would give the Dutchy of *Milan* to one of

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of the Kings children, (but not to the Duke of *Orleans*) ſince he knew *Francis* did not demand it ſo much to fix there, as to ſerve himſelf thereof as a ſtep to paſſe further to the State of *Florence*, and *Urbin*, in the right of the ſaid Dukes Wife: neither would hee accept any diſclaim thereof, ſince he knew it would prevail no more, then that *Francis* had already made of the Dutchie of *Burgundy*. Therefore that he would grant it to the Duke of *Angouleſme* his third ſon, when *Francis* would declare in what manner he would aſſiſt him towards the celebration of a Councel, a Reformation of Chriſtendome, and War againſt Hereticks and Infidels: Which becauſe it would not be done except all offences were removed, hee required firſt that his Army ſhould be withdrawn out of *Piemont*: ſecondly, if within twenty days *Francis* did not approve this, he offered to end the buſineſſe in a Duel betwixt their two Perſons; not out of bravery yet, but for avoyding the effuſion of blood betwixt their Subjects, too much whereof had been ſhed already. And that he thought there would be no more difficulty in aſſigning a fit place for this Combat, then for an enterview, and that it might be in ſome Ile, or on ſome Bridge or Boat on the River: And for Arms, hee thought them all good, whether they were Sword, or Poignard, in their ſhirts; onely in this caſe, that whoſoever overcame, ſhould give his Forces to the Pope, for the more ſtrengthening him to ſummon a Councel, and reduce all diſobedient perſons to the Church, and reſiſt the Turk: for which purpoſes he did there ingage himſelf to the Pope and Apoſtolick See; requiring beſides, that the Dutchy of *Milan* and *Burgundy* ſhould be depoſitated in ſome good hands, and the Victor have both. The third offer was Warre; to which yet hee proteſted not to come without neceſſity; though yet hee had ſufficient cauſe, *Francis* having taken Arms againſt him while he talk'd of a Peace by the entremiſe of one who had no power to treat thereof: Onely if he were conſtrain'd to this courſe, nothing ſhould make him leave it, till one of them both remained the pooreſt Gentleman in their Country. Thus bowing his head to look upon a ſcroul lapt about his finger, he made a pauſe: after which the Pope began to ſpeak; but the Emperour interrupting him, ſaid he had not yet concluded, but would, when he had referred all to his Holineſſe, whom he deſired to beſtow his favour on him who had moſt reaſon and equity on his ſide. This being done, the Pope commended the Emperour's Propoſitions, as tending to a Peace, and hoped the French King would be no leſſe inclined thereunto. After which the Biſhop of *Maſcon* ſtep'd forth, and ſaid, the Proteſtation being in Spaniſh, he underſtood it not well: But for the point concerning Peace, he knew the King his Maſter would be inclinable to it; reſerving the further

further declaration thereof to Monſieur *de Velly*, who drawing neer, and deſiring to be heard, the Emperour ſtopt him, and ſaid he had already ſpoken to him too often of Peace, and that he deſired deeds and not words; and that hee would grant him no other Audience at that time: onely what he had there publickly ſaid, ſhould be given in writing, and therewith aroſe: So that though *Velly* deſired to anſwer for his Maſter, yet the Emperour ſtill laid the fault on him; and thus went with the Pope to Maſſe. But that evening the Pope, who knew of what conſequence a War betwixt theſe Princes was, ſent for the French Ambaſſadours, deſiring them to do good offices in their Diſpatches to *Francis*, proteſting that he was ſurpriz'd on his part: And that whatſoever he ſaid, he would keep neutrality betwixt them. The Emperour being now ready to take his leave of the Pope, the French Ambaſſadour deſired Audience, and thereupon told the Emperour in the Popes preſence, That whereas he had ſpoken of a Combat with his King in caſe no Peace were made, without declaring other cauſe then to ſpare effuſion of their Subjects bloud; he deſired to know whether his Majeſty had made a Challenge to fight: and that if it were ſo, he durſt anſwer on the part of his King, that it ſhould not be refus'd. And that the Emperour might well remember that heretofore there was queſtion hereof, but not now that he knew; the King his Maſter deſiring to have *Milan* by treaty, and having given expreſſe command to his Generall in *Piedmont*, not to invade any thing in the Emperours poſſeſſion: As for the Treaty betwixt them, that it was ſet down in writing, and the Pope might judge of both; and therefore that he would ſay no more of it, but know onely whether the Emperour would charge the King his Maſter, as having fail'd in his word or honour, and whether he had defied him. There were not many preſent when this paſſed; which the Emperour obſerving, call'd all thoſe in the *Sala* and Chamber of Audience, and ſaid, as he ſpake publickly before, ſo he would again: Many hereupon repairing to him, he ſaid in Italian, That hee indeed did moſt deſire Peace; but if that could not be, he did then think beſt that they two in perſon ſhould end the buſineſs; which yet he ſpake by way of advice, and not as a Challenge; eſpecially ſince it was in the Pope's preſence, without whoſe permiſſion he would do nothing. And therefore that hee propos'd it only to avoyd a greater inconvenience, as thinking it better to do ſo, then ſuffer a War in Chriſtendome: which was the reaſon alſo why he appointed him twenty dayes time to retire his Army out of *Piedmont*. But theſe ſharp words (at the Pope's requeſt) were not openly advertiz'd to *Francis*, nor ſome others, whereby he vilified the Commanders and Soldareſque of that Nation in compariſon of his, (as *Bellay* hath it); who re-

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1536 lates the buſineſs ſomewhat more in favour of his Nation, and Monſieur *de Velly*, then *Sandovall* doth, or indeed our Records; amongſt which I finde divers of theſe paſſages certified by *Richard Pate*. But though the French Ambaſſadors (at the Pope's intreaty) were ſparing in their relation of the Emperors words, which (if wee may beleeve *Sandovall*) were very high, yet order was given to his Ambaſſadours in *France* (as *Sandovall* hath it) to acquaint *Francis* with them; adding only four days more to the term of twenty formerly prefixed: Though *Bellay* doth not acknowledge this particular.

While theſe things paſt thus at *Rome*, the Cardinall of *Lorrain* was imployed by *Francis* to the Emperour: Who in his way coming to the French Army, charged *Chabot* not to march further, or innovate any thing, (which troubled him, as being inform'd that the Emperour both rais'd great forces, and drew neer him). After which he went to *Antonio de Leyva* and the Spaniſh Army, requiring the ſame of them, at leaſt till he had ſpoken with the Emperour; whom yet when he found ambiguous in his anſwers, and uncertain, he acquainted the Pope therewith, and afterwards the French King; who having in the mean while underſtood by the Emperours Ambaſſadors reſident with him, the effect of his Maſters Oration at *Rome* (though yet he would give no copy of it) ſent to the Pope a Juſtification, (ſet down at large in *Bellay*) in the concluſion whereof he returned this Anſwer to the Emperours offer of a Combat, That if ever they came neer each other (as might well be if they led their Armies in Perſon) and the Emperor then ſent a Challenge, he would fight with him. But the Pope, who had more uſe of their ſwords then to imploy them one againſt the other, endeavoured ſtill to procure all good amity and correſpondence betwixt them: Therefore he ſent (upon the requeſt of the Cardinall of *Lorain*) the Cardinal *de Carpi*, and the Cardinal *Trivulzio* to mediate an end; for which purpoſe they were to go joyntly to the Emperour firſt, and then one of them to the French King, according to the occaſion.

April 18.

But nothing now could hinder the Emperour from going into *France*, where in ſequence of a Proteſtation (as *Sandovall* hath it) to attend the French King thirty dayes to ſee whether he would come in perſon to fight, he reſolved to march. Having gotten together therefore an Army of about ſixty thouſand men, and an hundred pieces of Artillery, hee came to *Aſti* the 22 of *June* 1536: while his Siſter *Mary* (Governeſſe of the Low-Countries) by his order had raiſed an Army of twenty thouſand Foot and a thouſand Horſe, under the Command of *Henry* Count of *Naſſaw* to invade *France* on that part: It was yet adviſed whether in his way he ſhould take the places in *Savoy*, and *Peidmont*, which the French held, or go ſtrait to *France*, *Antonio*

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tonio de Leyva ſaid, that wilde Beaſts were to be ſought in their dens; And therefore wiſh'd the Emperour not to ſpend his men in Sieges, but march on; which counſell being followed (and the rather, that the Emperour deſired perſonally to be in *France* to acquit himſelf of his promiſe,) the Army having firſt taken ſome Towns, came neer *Marſeilles*: where *Andrea Doria* with his Gallies was appointed to meet him. But *Antonio de Leyva* (a valiant, but covetous and cruell Commander) dying there, and about thirty thouſand more of ſickneſſe and diſorder, the Emperour, who had now ſtayed 33 dayes (as *Sandovall* hath it) in the French Kings Dominions, returned to *Genoua*, and (not long after to *Spain*) leaving order yet for War in *Savoy* and *Peidmont*. But whatſoever retarded *Francis*, it was not want of courage: though I finde by *Bellay*, he was reſolv'd by his Counſel rather to weary and famiſh the Emperors Army, then to fight with him; though yet having rais'd a conſiderable Army in thoſe parts under the command of *Montmorency*, *Grand-Maiſtre* of *France*, he was not unprovided to reſiſt him; beſides which, he had another under his own command at *Valence*, not far off; which he yet left at laſt to come to his other Army. But the Emperour, as having (even by the confeſſion of *Bellay*) loſt half his Army, was now remov'd, leaving behinde him ſo many dead ſouldiers unburied, that they infected the air. Hereupon *Francis* took advice, whether it were better to follow the Emperour into *Italy*, or to return and raiſe the ſiege from *Peronne*, being then in ſome danger; the later pleas'd him, his affairs in *Italy* at that time ſucceeding well, and Winter beſides drawing on: Onely before he return'd, he thought good to viſit *Marſeilles*, commanding the *Seigneur de Langey* to repair the ruines of *Aix*, where the Emperour had lodg'd. This being done, and he now going home-wards, the glad news was brought him, that the Siege of *Peronne* was raiſed; which (as *Sandovall* hath it) hap'ned the ſame day the Emperour diſlodg'd from *Aix* to return into *Italy*. And thus did thoſe vaſte Preparatives of the Emperour come to nothing; (great Armies as well as little ones having their inconveniencies, eſpecially where ſickneſſe and diſorder doth intervene).

Auguſt 15.
Septemb. 15.
Octobor.
November.
Septemb. 10.

Francis being yet upon his way home (as *Bellay* hath it) received Letters from his Ambaſſadour in *England*, how our King was inform'd by his Agents in the French Court, that the Emperors retreat was out of ſtratagem, that the French might follow him, and ſo be taken at an advantage: And that this Rumour of his mens death, was raiſ'd only to draw them on the ſooner; but that in effect he had not loſt 2000 men ſince his coming out of *Italy*. Upon which falſe advertiſements alſo, our King forbare to comply with *Francis* as he was wont; where he on the other ſide eſtranged himſelf a little from King *Henry*, inſo-

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much, as he began to cheriſh and love the King of *Scotland* more then before; who alſo had promiſed him aſſiſtance in his Wars, (which our King had neglected contrary to *Francis* his expectation) and was now in *France*; for which reaſons he gave him his Daughter *Magdalene* (as is before related:) Nevertheleſſe, that he might proceed formally, we ſent *Gilles de Pommeray* hither, to tell our King, Firſt, the true cauſe of the Emperors retreat: Secondly, the cauſe of his accepting the Scottiſh King for his Son in law: Thirdly, to propoſe a Marriage betwixt the Duke of *Orleans* (his Son) and the Princeſſe *Mary*. But when the Marriage with King *James*, and the excuſe for it was produced, our King was in that paſſion, that he would not hear him again for four dayes ſpace; though yet he forgot not by his Councell to ſhew how ill he took it. So that *Pommeray* without almoſt daring to ſpeak of the Marriage with the Princeſſe *Mary*, return'd; and the rather, that our King knew well that the Emperor had a good while ſince propoſ'd it to *Francis*, onely to ſow diſſention betwixt both Princes. Our King finding this coldneſs on the French Kings part, began to think how he might fortifie himſelf by the Emperors friendſhip; for which purpoſe alſo, (as is aforeſaid) ſeveral overtures had been made; but the Declaration of the Princeſſe *Mary* to be Illegitimate (which though much labour'd by the Emperor, King *Henry* yet could not be perſwaded to revoke) hinder'd all; though he profeſſed himſelf much inclin'd to return to his antient friendſhip with *Charles*; ſo that till after the death of Queen *Jane*, being the yeer following, all things remained in ſuſpence. In which terms alſo, he thought fit they ſhould be continued till he ſaw the event of the War, renewed now betwixt the Emperor and French King, with more ardor then ever (as ſhal be told hereafter) of which occaſion therefore our King thought fit to prevail himſelf, for giving order to his buſineſſes at home: Which that he might do by the advice and conſent of his Parliament, he Commanded it to ſit 8 h of *Junii* 1536.

Bellay.

Regn 28.

June 8.

The Principal Act was touching the ſucceſſion of the Crown, in which after a rehearſal of the Statute 25 *Henry* 8. 22. touching the Kings Marriages, and limitation of ſucceſſion to the Crown; And another of 26 *Henry* 8 2. It is declared, that whereas a Marriage heretofore was ſolemnized betwixt the Kings Highneſſe and the Lady *Anne Bolen*, that ſithence that time, certain juſt, true and lawful Impediments of Marriage, unknown at the making of the ſaid Acts, were confeſſed by the ſaid Lady *Anne* before *Thomas* Lord Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*; by which it plainly appeareth, that the ſaid Marriage betwixt his Highneſſe and the ſaid Lady *Anne* was never good nor conſonant to the Lawes: And therefore his Highneſſe was lawfully Divorced from the ſaid Lady *Anne*. Moreover, that ſhe and her Complices before

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fore mentioned, were convict by due course of Law, and have suffer'd according to their merits.

And whereas it hath pleas'd his Highnesse notwithstanding the great perils suffer'd by occasion of his first unlawful Marriage betwixt the Lady *Katherine*, and this unlawful Marriage betwixt the Lady *Anne*, at the most humble Petition of his Nobles in this Realm, and for Conservation of the same, to enter into Marriage again with the Lady *Jane*, according to the Lawes of the Church; and that there is hope she may conceive by his Highnesse; That it is the most humble Petition of his Nobles and Commons, that for extinguishments of all Ambiguities and doubts, it may be enacted in manner and form as followeth. And first, that the Marriage betwixt the King and Queen *Katherine* should be void and of no effect; as being grounded on a dispensation, in a case not dispensable by humane Authority; and so determined by the whole Clergy, and both Universities of this Realm; as also by the Universities of *Benonia*, *Padoua*, *Paris*, *Orleans*, *Tholouse*, *Anjou* and divers others, in regard, she being Wife to his elder Brother Prince *Arthur* was cranally known by him, as was sufficiently proved before *Thomas* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and therefore, that any Dispensation to the contrary hereof should be to all intents void, and of no effect; and the issue procreated under the same unlawful Marriage, betwixt his Highnesse, and the said Lady *Katherine*, to be Illegitimate, and barr'd from claiming any inheritance from his Highnesse by Lineall descent; and that the Marriage also, betwixt his Highnesse and Queen *Anne* is of no value, ne effect; and that the Divorce made between his Highnesse and her, is good and effectuall, and the Issue illegitimate and not inheritable to his Highnesse, by Lineall descent; any former Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

And furthermore, sith many inconveniences have fallen by Marrying within degrees prohibited by Gods Law; which Marriages yet have been often dispenced with by some usurped Power; when yet no man hath Power to dispence with Gods Law. Therefore it was inacted, that if any were Marryed within the said degrees, or took to Wife the Sister or Daughter &c. of her whom he had before carnally known, he might and should be separated by the definitive sentence of the Arch-bishops, and other Ministers of the Church of *England*: And their said sentence to be good and effectuall, without suing any appeal to or from the Court of *Rome*.

Further, it was enacted, that the Issue betwixt his Highnesse and Queen *Jane* should be his lawful Children and Heirs, and inherit according to the course of Inheritance of the Lawes of this Realm, the Imperiall Crown of the same, with all Dignities, Honours, Preeminences, Prerogatives, Authorities, and Juris-

1536 Juriſdictions to the ſame annexed or belonging.

But if it ſhould happen that Queen *Jane* ſhould deceaſe without Iſſue-male of the Body of her Highneſſe to be begotten, then the ſame Imperiall Crown and all other the premiſſes to be to his Majeſty, and to his Heirs Males by any other lawfull Wife, and to the Heirs of the Body of the ſame Son and Heir Male lawfully begotten; and ſo from Son and Heir Male to Son and Heir Male, & to the Heirs of every ſuch Son and Heir Male lawfully begotten according to the courſe of inheritance, as is aboveſaid. And for default of ſuch Iſſue Male, then the ſaid Imperiall Crown and premiſes ſhould be to the Iſſue Female, betwixt his Majeſty and Queen *Jane* begotten, and ſo again to the Iſſue Female by any other Wife in like manner; that is to ſay, to the eldeſt Iſſue of the Iſſue Female and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten; and ſo from Iſſue Female to Iſſue Female and to their Heirs of their Bodies, one after another by courſe of inheritance according to their ages, as the Crown of *England* hath been accuſtomed and ought to ſucceed and go, in caſe when there is Heir Female inheritable to the ſame. And foraſmuch as it ſtands in the only will and pleaſure of Almighty God, whether his Highneſs ſhall have Heirs, and that if they fail, and no proviſion be made in his life who ſhould Govern this Realm, that then this Realm after his tranſitory life ſhould be deſtitute of a lawful Governour, or incumbred with ſuch a Perſon that would covet to aſpire to the ſame, that in this caſe, his Highneſſe might limit the Crown to any Perſon or Perſons in poſſeſſion and remainder by his Letters Patents under the Great Seal; or elſe by his laſt Will aſſigned with his hand, after ſuch manner as ſhould be expreſſed in his ſaid Letters Patents; and that ſuch Perſon and Perſons ſhould have and enjoy the ſame after his deceaſe in as large and ample manner as the lawfull Heirs of his Body ſhould have done.

After which, order was taken to prevent uſurpation of the Crown, and the Penalty of High Treaſon impoſ'd on uſurpers, as on thoſe alſo who believed either the Marriage of his Highneſs with the Lady *Katharine*, or the Lady *Anne*, to be good; and did call the Lady *Mary*, or the Lady *Elizabeth* legitimate, and who uſed certain words and actions tending to this purpoſe: As is to be ſeen more largely in the ſaid Statute.

Furthermore, it was enacted that if his Majeſty ſhould deceaſe before any Heir Male of his Body inheritable to the Crown of this Realme ſhould be of the age of 18 yeers, or any Heir Female which ſhould be inheritable as aforeſaid, ſhould be Married, or be of the age of 16 yeers, that then they, or any of them, ſhal be and remain until they came unto the ſaid ſeverall ages, at and in the Governance of their natural Mother, and ſuch other his Counſellors and Nobles of his Realm, as his High-

Highneſs ſhould name and appoint by his laſt Will in writing, ſigned with his hand, ſhould limit and appoint, or otherwiſe to be at and in the Governance of ſuch his Counſellors and Nobles of his Realm, as his Highneſs ſhould name and appoint, by his laſt Will in writing, and ſigned with his hand (as is aforeſaid) and that an Oath ſhould be adminiſtred for performance of this Act, and the Penalty of High Treaſon inflicted on thoſe that ſhall refuſe it.

Furthermore, It was enacted, that the King ſhould have Power by his Letters Patents or laſt Will, as aforeſaid, to advance any Perſon or Perſons of his moſt Royal Blood to any Title, Stile, or name of any Eſtate, Dignity or Honour, and to give to them or any of them any Caſtles, Honours, Lands &c. in Fee-ſimple, Fee-tayle, or for terme of lives, or the life of any of them, ſaving the Rights and Eſtates of all others, in and to the ſame.

Finally, it was enacted, that every Clauſe, Article, and Sentence therein, ſhould be taken and accepted according to the plain words thereof. How yet this Act was altered 35 *Hen:* 8. 1. ſhall be declared by me, God willing, in this Hiſtory; referring the Reader to 1 *Mary* 1. when it was repeal'd.

Howſoever, I thought fit to ſet it down with much particularity, both as it is Relative to many precedent points touched in this Hiſtory, and as it leads the way to ſome that follow; by which alſo it may appear unto the Reader, with how high a hand the King did authorize his Actions, while each part juſtified the other, and all his Subjects voices being comprehended in his Parliament, no man could accuſe him, who did not in ſome ſort firſt condemn himſelf; ſo that if in thoſe two Divorces he had not reaſon, the chief of his Kingdome ſeem'd to erre with him: Unleſſe ill Arts with the Nobility, and undue election of the Knights and Burgeſſes be ſuppoſ'd; which though poſſible in many, and (for that I have ſeen) there be cauſe to ſuſpect it, in ſome; yet to believe a Generall corruption in the prime Perſons of a Kingdome, or to allow an Argument drawn from thence only, as concluſive, what is it elſe but to overthrow and ſubvert the Columnes and Foundations of Laws? And then what Statute can ſtand? what decree wil be in force? I wil not yet take on me every where to defend the actions of a Prince, whom ſo many have bitterly cenſur'd, as it may be doubtful whether he were more extoll'd at home in his firſt times, or depreſſd afterwards abroad. But thus much I cannot but obſerve of him, that if where he did ill, he made or found many Complices; where he did well, he had almoſt the Glory alone; as being ſo active and knowing in all he undertook, that he was capable of both: Only towards his latter time, as he was thought to decline in his ſingular perfections of Nature, ſo all things almoſt fell to the worſe;

1536 worſe; while divers of thoſe ill accidents which befel him, were reveng'd ſometimes with ſo ſevere a juſtice, as might be called *Summum Jus*; ſometimes repaired with furniſhing his wants in that large manner and extent, both on the Spiritualty and Temporalty, as little elſe remained, either to be demanded or gotten. In procuring whereof, though he loſt much of his former love and eſteem, yet he kept himſelf ſtill upon the high ſteps of Authority, without ſtooping either to fear or neceſſity; ſo that his moſt irregular actions repreſented ſuch a Type of greatneſſe, as crooked lines drawn every way, which though not ſo Compendious and direct as the ſtrait, ſeem yet to have in them ſomwhat more of the infinite; but as theſe things are ſet down by way of deſcription, and not of Apology; ſo I will leave them to come to my Hiſtory, which for being free and impartiall, will ſpeak him better to the judicious Reader then my Annotations can.

This yeer *Thomas Howard*, youngeſt ſon to *Thomas* late Duke of *Norfolk*, and brother to the preſent Duke (but by an other mother) had ſo obtain'd the favour of the Lady *Margaret Dowglas*, Daughter to the Queen of Scots (then living in the Kings Court) that ſome affiancing or privie Contract paſt betwixt them: whereof the King being informed, was much incenſed; as conceiving that one ſo joyned in bloud to him and his Nephew the Scottiſh King, ſhould not be given nor taken without his conſent, eſpecially when ſhe lived ſo neer him: Wherefore he was committed firſt to the Tower, and ſhee not long after. The buſineſſe thus being in *July* brought to the Parliament, and certain ſuſpicions and accuſations alledged of aſpiring to the Crown (ſome circumſtances being drawn thereunto) he was there attainted of high-Treaſon: and in ſequence thereof a Statute made, That none ſhould marry in the next degrees of the Bloud Royall, without the Kings licence firſt had, &c. Which yet being repealed 1 *Edw.*6. 12. and 1 *Mary* 1. I mention no otherwiſe. The news hereof being brought with ſpeed to *Margaret* Queen of Scots, afflicted her much: ſo that it retarded her journey into *England*, whither ſhe was coming; being deſirous alſo to be reconciled to her former Husband *Archibald Dowglas* Earl of *Angus*. Nevertheleſſe, ſhe thought fit to write to the King, That whereas ſhe heard he was diſpleaſed with her Daughter for promiſing marriage to the Lord *Thomas Howard*, intending to puniſh her for the ſame, ſhe deſired his Majeſtie to pardon her; and if he ſo pleaſed, to ſend her into *Scotland*, that ſhe come no more in his preſence; and not to be extreme to his own Blood. Notwithſtanding which, both ſhee and the Lord *Thomas Howard* were committed to the Tower, without ſuffering other puniſhment; where alſo ſhe remain'd till the death of the ſaid *Thomas Howard*: but then releaſed

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leaſed to be a Mother of that great Off-ſpring which after followed.

Beſides theſe two Statutes formerly mentioned, I finde ſome others concerning State-Government enacted this Seſſion, which therefore I ſhall inſert here.

Whereas in the 19 *Hen.* 7. 7. a Law was made, That no Maſters, Wardens, and Fellowſhip of Crafts, or Rulers of Guilds & Fraternities ſhould take upon them to make any Acts or Ordinances, ne to execute any heretofore made by them, or hereafter to be made in diſheritance or diminution of the Kings Prerogative, nor of other, nor againſt the common profit of the people, except the ſame Act were examined or approved by the Chancellor of *England*, or chief Juſtice of either Bench, or three of them, or before the Juſtices of Aſſiſe in their Circuit or Progreſſe, in the Shire where ſuch Acts or Ordinances are made, upon pain of forfeiture, &c. Sith which time, divers Acts and Ordinances contrary to the meaning of the ſaid Act have been made; it was now ordered that Apprentiſes ſhould pay but little fees at their entry, and that no other ſhould be given to reſtrain them from keeping ſhops when they were Freemen. And as this was much to the benefit of thoſe who would learn and ſet up Trades and occupations, ſo it was thought by ſome it would be much more, when the myſteries of the ſaid Trades (as far as could be expreſſed by words) might be Commanded to be publiſhed in Print; to the end that all men (who would) might learn them, and an honeſt emulation (who ſhould do beſt) might quicken induſtry, and bring down the prizes of things: Or if this were not permitted, that at leaſt due order were taken, that the Maſters in all Trades might be reſtrained from packing together to inhance Wares and Commodities, but by the approbation of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treaſurer &c. as being to that common profit of the Subject, (mentioned in the Statute) which is more to be eſteemed then any mans particular gaine.

In ſequence whereof, alſo another Act was made concerning the prices of Wine, to this effect; that no French Wine ſhould be ſold by retaile above two pence a quart, and no Malmeſeys, Ramneys (being Wines of Romania as I take it) Sacks or ſweet Wines, ſhould be above three pence the quart. Provided alwaies that the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treaſurer, Lord Preſident of the Kings Councell, Lord Privy-Seal, and the two chief Juſtices of either Bench, or five, four or three of them ſhould have Power and Authority by their directions to ſet the prices of Wines; the ſaid prices to be publiſh'd in Chancery, in the Terme time, or in ſuch Cities, Towns and places where Wines are ſold in groſs; the contents or quantity of Liquor alſo, to be held in every veſſell, was expreſſed in the ſaid Statute; and Re-

1536 medy for loſs ſuſtain'd in thoſe which wanted meaſure: ¶ And though this prevented much couſenage, yet order being not taken to puniſh thoſe who falſified and corrupted Wines, much abuſe in this kind followed.

Order alſo was taken how Pirates at Sea ſhould be puniſhed.

All Buls, Breves and diſpenſations alſo from the Biſhop, or See of *Rome* were declared void; nevertheleſs, that all marriages Solemniz'd before the third of November 26th of the Kings Reign, and not contrary to Gods Lawes, ſhould be good and effectuall. And alſo that Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, and all Eccleſiaſticall Perſons and orders of this Realm, might keep and retaine their Arch-biſhop-ricks Biſhop-ricks &c. and exerciſe all things pertaining to their Dignities, Offices, Orders, Cures &c. And that the effect and contents of all Buls, Breves, Faculties &c. purchaſed of the See of *Rome*, which be allowable, and may be lawfully granted by the Arch-biſhop of *Canterb*: by the Authority of the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, ſhould be confirmed under the great Seal, at the humble ſuit of the Petitioners for the ſame.

1534. Alſo, for the more confirmation of the Kings Supremacy (enacted two yeers ſince) it was now ordained, that every Eccleſiaſtical and Lay-Officer, ſhal be ſworn to renounce the ſaid Biſhop and his Authority, and to reſiſt it to his Power; reputing any Oath (heretofore taken for the maintenance of the ſame) to be void. And the refuſall of this Oath ſhal be adjudged High Treaſon.

Some Eccleſiaſticall Conſtitutions alſo were made, during this ſhort Seſſions of Parliament, (beginning the eighth of June, and ending the eighteenth of July next following.) But to leave the leſſe important to be ſeen in their places, I ſhall here briefly ſet down the Reſultance of certain Articles concluded in the Convocation concerning Religion. Theſe Articles (as I gather out of our Records) were deviſed by the King himſelf, and recommended afterwards to the Convocation houſe by *Cromwell*, who was lately made Baron, and Lord Privy-Seal, and then Vicegerent General of the Kings authority in Eccleſiaſtical affaires, gave much Subject of diſcourſe. For though the King ſubſtituted him for due Adminiſtration of Juſtice in all Cauſes and Caſes concerning Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, as well as for Godly Information, and redreſs of all errours, Hereſies and abuſes of the Church, as the Act of Parliament hath it, 31 *Henry* 8. 10. yet becauſe there was no example, either of King of *Iſrael*, they ſaid (though lawfully in their own Perſon, enjoying this mixt Power of Spiritual and Temporal) or of Popes that derive their whole Eccleſiaſtical Power immediately on any elſe, eſpecially a ſecular Perſon, they thought it ſtrange: But that I may paſſe by thoſe things whereof no Publick reaſon that

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I have ſeen, is extant, I ſhall in theſe Articles obſerve rather the chief variation they had from the former Doctrines, then repeat the Doctrines themſelves, as being ſufficiently known.

After eſtabliſhing (therefore) the Bible, and three received Creeds, with the Explication of the Fathers and the four firſt Councels, as the grounds of Religion. He made, according to his definition of Sacraments, three onely. Firſt, Baptiſme for waſhing away of ſins. Secondly, Penance for ſatisfaction of faults afterwards committed both towards God and our neighbour. Thirdly, the Euchariſt, changing in any of them little yet of the ordinary (as I conceive) unleſſe Auricular confeſſion ſeem not there altogether ſo ſtrictly commanded as before; nor otherwiſe much then in caſe of mortall ſin. And that Prayer, Faſting, Almes-deeds as being *Fructus digni Penitentiæ*, are not to be held as means of our Salvation by way of merit, but of mercy only. For Juſtification, that it was attained by Contrition or true Repentance and Faith, which was to be accompanied with Hope, Charity, and other inward and Spirituall motions and Graces, and outward good works.

Concerning Images, That they had been uſed in the Old Teſtament, and ſometimes (for the abuſe of them) taken away; and allowed in the New (as good Authors declare), Therefore that the true uſe of them ſhould be taught by Biſhops and Preachers every where, they being permitted to ſtand in Churches no otherwiſe then as Repreſentors of Vertue and ſtirrers of Devotion; And not that rude people ſhould take ſuperſtition thence, as in times paſt, or that Idolatry ſhould enſue; and that the cenſing of them, kneeling before them, and all other honours ſhould be done as in the honour of God onely, although they be done before the Images of Chriſt, the Croſſe, or of our Lady, or any Saint beſides.

Concerning honouring of Saints; That we ſhould not truſt to obtain at their hands that which is to be had onely of God: yet that they were to be honour'd becauſe they reigned in glory, and were examples of vertue, as not fearing to die for Chriſt; and therefore to be taken (in that they may) to be the advancers of our prayers and demands unto Chriſt, but not to be had in other reverence and honour.

Concerning praying to them; That it is very laudable to uſe theſe words, *All holy Angels and Saints in heaven, pray for us, and with us unto the Father, that for his deer Son Jeſu Chriſts ſake wee may have grace of him, and remiſsion of ſins, with an earneſt purpoſe (not wanting Ghoſtly ſtrength) to obſerve and keep his holy Commandments, and never decline from the ſame again unto our lives end.* And that in this manner we ſhould pray to our bleſſed Lady, Saint *John Baptiſt*, and other Apoſtles, ſo that it be done without any vain ſuperſtition, as to think that any Saint is more mer-

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cifull, or will hear us ſooner then Chriſt, or that any Saint doth ſerve for one thing more then another, or is Patron of the ſame. And that we ſhould keep Holidayes in memory of him, and his Saints upon ſuch dayes as the Church hath ordain'd, except they be mitigated or moderated by the aſſent or commandment of the ſupreme Head; in which caſe the Subjects ought to obey it.

Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, as uſing certain veſtments in Gods ſervice, ſprinkling of holy water, giving of holy Bread, bearing of Candles on Candle-maſſe day, giving of aſhes on Aſhwedneſday, bearing of Palms on Palm-ſunday, creeping to the Croſs on Good-Fryday, and offering there unto Chriſt before the ſame, and kiſſing of it, ſetting up of the Sepulchre of Chriſt, the hallowing of the Font, and other like Benedictions made by the Miniſters of Gods Church; As alſo all other laudable Cuſtomes, Rites and Ceremonies, that they were not to be contemn'd and caſt away, but to be uſed and continued to put us in remembrance of thoſe ſpirituall things that they do ſignifie, not ſuffering them to be forgotten, but renewing them in our memory from time to time: but that none of thoſe Ceremonies have power to remit ſins; but onely to ſtir and lift up our mindes unto God, by whom onely our ſins be forgiven.

Concerning Purgatory; Foraſmuch as according to due order of Charity, and the Book of *Macchabees*, and divers antient Writers, It is a very good and charitable deed to pray for ſouls departed: And foraſmuch as ſuch uſes have continued in the Church even from the beginning, That all Biſhops and Preachers ſhould inſtruct and teach the people not to be grieved with the continuance of the ſame: But foraſmuch as the place where they be, the name thereof, and the kinde of pains there alſo be to us uncertain by Scripture; That therefore this and all other ſuch things were to be remitted to God Almighty, unto whoſe mercy it is meet & convenient to commend them, truſting that God accepteth our prayers for them; referring the reſt wholly to God, to whom is known their ſtate and condition. And therefore that it was neceſſary that ſuch abuſes ſhould be cleerly put away, which under the name of Purgatory have been advanced; As to make men beleeve, That through the Biſhop of *Rome's* Pardons Souls might be cleerly delivered out of Purgatory and all the pains of it, or that Maſſes ſaid at *Scala Cæli*, or otherwhere in any place, or before any Image, might likewiſe deliver them from all their pain, and ſend them ſtrait to Heaven; and other like abuſes. This was ſubſcribed by *Thomas Cromwell*, *Thomas Cantuarienſis*, *Johannes London*, and ſixteen Biſhops more (*Rowland* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield* being comprized by his Proxie) and *William* Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, with

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with 39 Abbots and Priors; and by the Lower Houſe conſiſting of 50 Arch deacons and Proctors of the Clergy; among whom, in the Original I finde two Italians, *Polidore Virgil* Arch-deacon of *Wels*, and *Peter Vannes* Arch-deacon of *Worceſter*, who not long before was made co-adjutor to *Richard Pace* Dean of *Salisbury*, being then thought commonly diſtracted and out of his wits. May 8.

And thus the King having taken on him the title of *Supreme Head* in his Dominions, would ſhew how capable he was of it: Though yet he publiſhed not theſe Articles without much conſultation with his Biſhops and Divines, who ſtood divided in opinion; ſome leaning to the *Lutheran*, as *Canterbury*, *Ely*, *Salisbury*, *Worceſter*, *Hereford*, *Rocheſter*, *S. David* and the reſt: others cleaving to the old Doctrine and Rites, as *York*, *London*, *Durham*, *Wincheſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Norwich*, and *Carlile*; whoſe Arguments on either ſide the King himſelf took pains to peruſe and moderate, adding Animadverſions with his own hand, which are to be ſeen in our Records: Yet was not his Doctrine approved by the Romiſh Party, becauſe it took away much of their Authority and Revennue: nor by the Lutheran and Zuinglian, (then beginning to appear in theſe parts) becauſe it differ'd from theirs. But whatſoever any of the Reformed might ſay for their onely two Sacaments, it was thought by ſome, that according to the Kings Inſtauration, Penance might have been retained ſtill upon ſome terms as a third; both as there is no other generall way then Averſion from ſin, and Converſion to God known to all mankinde for making their peace with him, and obtaining pardon. And as the other two Sacraments being particular Rites onely of the Chriſtian Church, are in their explication ſubject to ſo much difficulty and diſputes, as no leſſe then a mans whole age is required to ſtudie them; whenas this other, being an uncontroverted ſigne of the operation of Gods Spirit in our hearts, produceth ſuch holy effects, as it ought to be acknowledged not onely as a particular Sacrament of grace, but an univerſall of the reaſonable Nature of mankinde, whereſoever it be found; and therefore worthy its former Name and Authority, where abuſes in Abſolution were taken away: for performing whereof, they ſaid the Prieſt ſhould never pronounce it but in caſe of ſuch a ſerious repentance as might totally efface the fault, and make the ſinner a new man; without which therefore he ſhould be told, he was as much liable and obnoxious to ſin and puniſhment, as if no ſuch abſolution had ever been given. Whereas now the common Abſolution of Prieſts, extending (for the moſt part) no farther then to require Attrition, or ſorrow for their offences paſt, and to command, for the reſt, ſome formal Prayers, eaſie Faſts, or ordinary Pilgrimages, not onely made men Records

beleeve

1536 beleeve they were quit of their ſins at ſo eaſie a rate, as they feared not much to return to them again, but uſurped on the power of God, while they brought the forgiveneſſe of ſins within their own particular Juriſdiction, and together put off heaven and everlaſting happineſſe at a cheaper price then either they could juſtly promiſe, or frail man expect. So that they concluded, that Prieſts ſhould be allowed indeed to abſolve, But ſo as men might not think their ſins paſt, as much pardoned as if they had not been committed, unleſſe they never do the ſame offence again; leſt greater occaſion and liberty of ſin ſhould thereby be given.

And now, as the Reader hath formerly ſeen the Reformation *Francis* would have ſtood to, when it might have been imbraced in *Germany*; ſo here he may perceive what our King required in *England*: Neither of which yet could ever be accepted, as long as contentious Preachers and factious Schoolmen on all ſides would have rather diſturb'd the peace of the whole World, then relinquiſhed or retracted one particle of thoſe opinions they had publickly taught their Auditours and Diſciples. For which obſtinacy alſo, as the Reformers being the weaker, ſuffered moſt, they being uſually burnt in theſe times; and among them one *William Tyndall*, who had tranſlated into Engliſh a great part of the Bible (a witty, but violent and ſometimes railing Diſputant) at a Town neer *Bruſſels*: ſo on the other ſide, theſe cruelties made the Romiſh party ſo odious, as their differences grew almoſt irreconcileable.

September.

Our King having thus begun to rectifie the frame of Religion, endeavoured now to prevent forraign oppoſition: And becauſe he knew of what conſequence the Generall Councel now appointed at *Mantoua* was, he obtain'd this Decree to be ſigned by the Biſhops while their Synod laſted.

Record.

AS concerning Generall Councels, like as we (taught by long experience) do perfectly know that there never was, ne is any thing deviſed, invented, or inſtituted by our Fore-fathers more expedient, or more neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment of our Faith, for the extirpation of Hereſies, and the aboliſhing of Sects and Schiſms; and finally, for the reducing of Chriſts people unto one perfect unity and concord in his Religion, then by the having of General Councels, ſo that the ſame be lawfully had and congregated in *Spiritu Sancto*, and be alſo conform and agreeable, aſwell concerning the ſurety and indifferency of the places, as all other points requiſite and neceſſary for the ſame, unto that wholeſome and godly Inſtitution and uſage for the which they were at firſt deviſed and uſed in the Primitive Church. Even ſo on the other ſide, taught by

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by like experience, we eſteem, repute and judge, That there is, ne can be any thing in the world more peſtilent and pernicious to the Common-weal of Chriſtendom, or whereby the truth of Gods Word hath in times paſt, or hereafter may be ſooner defaced and ſubverted, or whereof hath and may enſue more contention, more diſcord, and other diveliſh effects, then when ſuch General Councels have or ſhall be aſſembled nor Chriſtenly, nor charitably; but for and upon private malice and ambition, or other worldly and carnall reſpects and conſiderations, according to the ſaying of *Gregory Nazianzenus* in his Epiſtle to one *Procopius*, wherein he writeth this ſentence following: *Sic ſentio, ſi verum ſcribendum eſt, omnes Conventus Epiſcoporum fugiendos eſſe, quia nullius Synodi finem vidi bonum, neque habentem magis ſolutionem malorum, quam incrementum. Nam Cupiditates Contentionum, & gloriæ (ſed ne putes me odioſum iſta ſcribentem) vincunt rationem*, that is to ſay: I think this, if I ſhould 'write truly, that all general Councels be to be eſchewed. For 'I never ſaw that they produced any good end or effect, nor 'that any proviſion or remedy, but rather increaſe of miſchiefes 'proceeded of them. For the deſire of maintenance of mens o-'pinions and Ambition of Glory, (but reckon not that I write 'this of malice) hath alwaies in them overcom'd reaſon. Wherefore we think that Chriſtian Princes eſpecially and above all things ought and muſt, with all their Wills, Power, and Diligence foreſee and provide *Ne ſanctiſſima hac in parte Majorum inſtituta ad improbiſſimos Ambitionis aut Malitiæ effectus explendos diverſiſſimo ſuo fine & ſceleratiſſimo pervertantur. Neve ad alium prætextum poſſint valere & longe diverſum effectum Orbi producere, quam Sanctiſ-'ſima Rei facies præ ſe ferat.* That is to ſay: Leſt the moſt noble 'wholſome Inſtitutions of our Elders in this behalfe, be perver-'ted to a moſt contrary and moſt wicked end and effect. That is 'to ſay, to fulfil and ſatisfie the wicked affections of mens Ambi-'tion and Malice; or leſt they might prevail for any other colour 'or bring forth any other effect, then their moſt vertuous & lau-'dable countenance doth outwardly to the world ſhew or pretend. And firſt of all, we think that they ought Principally to conſider who hath the authority to cal together a general Councel. Secondly, whether the cauſes alledged be ſo weighty and ſo urgent, that neceſſarily they require a general Councel, nor can otherwiſe be remedied. Thirdly, who ought to be Judges in the general Councel. Fourthly, what order of proceeding is to be obſerved in the ſame, And how the opinions or Judgements of the Fathers are to be conſulted or asked. Fiftly, what Doctrines are to be allowed or defended, with divers other things which in general Councels ought of reaſon & equity to be obſerved. And as unto the firſt point, we think that neither the Biſhop of *Rome*, ne any one Prince of what Eſtate, Degree, or Preheminence ſoever

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ſoever he be, may by his own Authority call, indite, or ſummon any general Councel without the expreſſe Conſent, Aſſent, and Agreement of the reſidue of Chriſtian Princes; and eſpecially, ſuch as have within their own Realms and Seignories *Imperium merum*, that is to ſay, of ſuch as have the whole intire and Supream Government and Authority over all their Subjects, without knowledging or Recognizing of any other Supream Power or Authority. And this to be true, we be induced to think by many and ſundry, as well examples as great reaſons and Authority. The which, foraſmuch as it ſhould be overlong, and tedious to expreſſe here particularly, we have thought good to omit the ſame for this preſent. And in witneſſe that this is our plain and determinate ſentence, opinion, and judgement touching the premiſes, we the Prelates and Clergy underwritten, being congregate together in the Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury*, and repreſenting the whole Clergy of the ſame, have to theſe preſents ſubſcribed our names the 20th of *July* in the yeer of our Lord 1536, 28 *Hen.* 8.

Thomas Cromwell. Thomas Cantuarienſis. Iohannes London. with 13 *Biſhops, and of Abbots, Priors, Arch-deacons, Deanes, Proctors, Clerks and other Miniſters*, 49.

Fox. After which, he ſet forth an injunction to reſtrain the number of Holy-dayes, now grown to that exceſſe, that there was ſcarce time to gather in Harveſt, or hold the ſeats of Juſtice in Term time; which as it was inconvenient, ſo again the abuſe of Holy-dayes in drinking and other vices and idleneſſe was ſo great, as many Riots and diſorders were committed; for which reaſon, though the number was limited, yet Prieſts were ſuffered to do their dutyes in Churches on theſe dayes, and all who would to hear them. And now as the poorer ſort were at liberty to work for their living on thoſe dayes, ſo they approved well this Reformation. Whereby it came to paſſe that the Reverence of ſuppoſed Saints (whereupon much of the Romane Religion was built) growing to an exceſſe, became one of the firſt degrees to the Ruine thereof in this Kingdome. In ſequence of which, the ſame yeer he commanded (under the name of *Cromwel* his Vice-gerent) theſe injunctions following to be obſerved of the Deanes, Parſons, Vicars, Curats, and Stipendaries reſident, or having care of Souls each where.

Fox.

1. And Firſt, that in all Pariſhes and places of Preaching, once every Sunday for a quarter of a yeer together, the Doctrine of Supremacy ſhould be taught, and the Laws to that purpoſe read, and that the Biſhop of *Rome's* Authority having no eſtabliſhment by the Law of God was juſtly taken away.

2. That in the Kings Articles, lately ſet forth, the Real Doctrine of Salvation ſhould be diſtinguiſh'd from the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, and ſo taught the people as they might

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might know, what was neceſſary in Religion, and what was Inſtituted for the decent and Politique order of the Church, according to ſuch a Commandment given heretofore in that point.

3. That the late order concerning abrogating of certain Superſtitious Holy-dayes ſhould be read to the people, and they perſwaded to keep it.

4. That they ſhould not extoll or ſet forth Images, Reliques, or Miracles, or allure people to Pilgrimages otherwiſe then as permitted in the late Articles, but rather exhort them to keep Gods Commandements, and provide for their Families, and what they can give, to beſtow it rather on the poor, then upon the ſaid Images or Reliques.

5. That in their Sermons, they admoniſh Fathers to teach their Children the *Pater noſter*, Articles of our Faith, and Commandments in their Mother-tongue; which alſo ſhould be often repeated by the ſaid youth, and to bring them up in learning or ſome honeſt Occupation or Trade, whereby to avoid idleneſs, and get their living.

6. That Sacraments and Sacramentals be duly and Reverently adminiſtred by the Parſons, Vicars, and Curats; and if any be abſent from their Benefices by Licence, that Learned Curats be left in their place.

7. That every Parſon or Proprietary of a Church ſhould provide a Bible in Latine and Engliſh, and lay the ſame in the Quire for every man to read, exhorting them thereunto, as being the word of God, teaching them withall to avoid Controverſie amongſt themſelves in the places they underſtood not, but to refer themſelves therein to the better learned.

8. That the ſaid Deans, Parſons, Vicars, and Curats ſhould not haunt Taverns nor Ale-houſes, or uſe Tables, Cards, or any unlawful Games, but rather at their leaſure that they ſhould read the Holy Scripture, and be example to others in purity of life.

9. That becauſe the goods of the Church are the goods of the poor, and yet the needy in theſe dayes not ſuſtained with the ſame, therefore all Perſons, Vicars, and Prebendaries, and other Beneficed men, which may diſpend twenty pounds yeerly, or above, ſhould diſtribute amongſt the poor Pariſhioners in the preſence of the Church-wardens, the fortieth part of the Revenue of their Benifices, leſt they ſhould be noted of Ingratitude, as receiving 39 parts, and yet not vouchſafing to beſtow the fortieth.

10. That every Parſon, Vicar, Clark, or Beneficed man, being able to diſpend in Benefices or Promotions of the Church 100l. yeerly, or more, ſhall for one, or every of the ſaid 100l. yeerly, give a competent Exhibition to maintain one Scholler, or more,

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either in Grammer-Schools, or the Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, who when they have profited in learning, may be Partners in their Patrons Cure and charge, in Preaching and otherwise, or else profit the Common-wealth with their Councell and Wisdome.

11. That all Parsons, Vicars and Clerks having Churches, Chappels, or Mansions shall bestow yeerly upon the said Mansions or Chancels of their Churches (being in decay) the fifth part of their Benefices, till they had fully repaired the same.

That all these Injunctions should be observed, under pain of suspension and Sequestration of the Benefices untill they were done.

Other Injunctions also at divers times were set out, which may be seen in *Fox*. But as the people were not generally satisfied with the Kings alterations, and proceedings in Religion and Lawes: So certain fifteens, granted by Act of Parliament, which were demanded of them (about these times) being more then for their poverty and former Taxes they were well able to pay, made them not a little murmure; but if this were a Crime in them, *Cromwell* was not altogether free from errour; since to charge the Purse at the same time, he would make a Reformation plausible, could be no safe Counsell; And in effect, it proved so. For the people did rise in many places, though as they agreed not alike in the causes of their discontentments, they neither took Armes at once, nor altogether for the same Pretexts. The *Lincoln-shire* men set on by one Doctor *Mackrell* (Prior of *Barlings* in the said County, but calling himself Captain Cobler) began first, though the moderatest in their demands, as hoping, perchance, the sooner to have them granted. But as this was not the way, so neither could they long subsist, when no such necessary motive united them.

The Grievances they sent the King in the quality of most humble Suppliants, were, the suppression of so many Religious houses: The Act of Uses, as restraining the Subjects liberty in the Declaration of their wils: The fifteenths for which yet poverty is only pleaded: That his Grace had ill Counsellours, and of mean Birth about him, (among which *Cromwell* was no forgotten;) That divers Bishops had subverted the Faith, and that they feared the Jewels and Plate of their Parish Churches should be taken from thence, as lately from the Religious houses. For Reformation of which, yet, they, as his poor and true Subjects, humbly desired his Gratious Majesty to call to him the Nobility of the Realm, and to see such order and directions concerning the premisses given, as they might accept his Grace to be their Governour and Supream Head of the Church of *England*, which they did acknowledge to be his Graces true inheritance and Right: And that his Grace should have the tenth,

and

and First- fruits of ſpirituall Promotion of the value of twenty pound and above, and of all other under the ſaid value, which do not keep Reſidence and Hoſpitality. 1536

And now theſe Articles being publiſhed in the Neighbourhood, and thence voyced abroad, drew many to them; while yet for more colouring their Actions, they ſwore to be true to God, the King, and Common-weal. Nevertheleſſe, as they reſerv'd the interpretation of the Oath to themſelves, they began a dangerous Rebellion. All which being advertiſed to our vigilant King, cauſed him immediately to diſpatch *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk* againſt them about the 7 of *October* (as I finde by an Originall) with Commiſſion to raiſe Forces: together with which he writ a Letter to them in ſuch a ſtile, as though he might promiſe juſtice, he yet required many things, and particularly that two of the chief Rebels ſhould be delivered to him. Whereupon the Knights and Gentlemen who were aſſociated with theſe Rebels, wrote to the Duke of *Suffolk*, how ill the people were ſatisfied with the Kings Reply; and that upon reading of it, they cryed they would march on, and make the Gentlemen go along, or elſe deſtroy them. And that for this cauſe they had taken on them to be their Heads and Captains; as alſo that by policy they might the better ſtay them: which yet they thought would be hard to do, in regard the people roſe in ſo many other parts. Adding further, that if they had not found means to keep them back, and perſwaded them to petition the King, they had before then been at *Huntington*; and that there was no wayes to appeaſe them but a generall Pardon. This Letter made it ſelf conſiderable; for when it were a true Allegation, it had its pretext, though not ſufficient to excuſe the Gentlemen: and when not, it was cunningly remonſtrated; for it ſerved both ways. Howbeit, the Duke of *Suffolk* finding that the end thereof, at worſt, was to obtain a generall Pardon; and that the Commotion might end thereby, ſollicited on their behalf: yet ſo as he offered withall to go againſt the Rebels with the Forces he had there aſſembled, if the King gave him leave. In the mean while, he ordered the buſineſſe in that manner, that he obtain'd of them not to proceed till the Kings Anſwer were returned. But the King, who was informed already from divers parts (but chiefly from *York ſhire*) that the people began there alſo to take Arms; and knowing of what great conſequence it might be, if the great perſons in thoſe parts (though the Rumour were falſe) ſhould be ſaid to joyn with him, had commanded *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Thomas Manners* Earl of *Rutland*, and *George Haſtings* Earl of *Huntington* to make a Proclamation to the *Lincoln-ſhire* men, ſummoning and commanding them under their Allegeance and perill of their lives to return: Which

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as it much diſheartned them; ſo many ſtole away, while the reſt (being aſſured from the Duke, that as long as they were in Arms, it was in vain for him to mediate their Pardon) ſcattered themſelves to divers parts; the more ſtubborn and poorer ſort yet retiring to the *York-ſhire* men. Beſides, they had heard, that (notwithſtanding the foul ways of this Country, and the Winter ſeaſon approaching) the great Ordnance was coming on, and the King in perſon following: All which conſiderations, together with the danger that divers of the principall Ring-leaders found themſelves in, as being men of good Fortunes, and ſure to ſuffer moſt, cauſed them to perſwade thoſe who remained, to make their ſubmiſſion as the King required; which was, That they ſhould acknowledge their fault, deliver up their Armour, and approve and maintain all the Acts of Parliament made ſince the Kings Reign.

And ſo this buſineſs ended: though not that of *York-ſhire*, which paſſed in this manner: While the *Lincoln-ſhire* commotion was on foot, the *York-ſhire* men made an Inſurrection under the command of one *Robert Aske*; They would have it call'd yet only a Pilgrimage of Grace; while, for giving it reputation, certain Prieſts with Croſſes led the way, the Army following with Banners, wherein were painted the Crucifix, the five wounds, and the Chalice. And becauſe they deſired to draw in as many good Perſons as they could, they attempted firſt *William* Lord *Dacres* of *Gilleſland*, adviſing him (as being of late wrongfully accuſed, and in danger, had not his Peers acquitted him) to joyn with them, but he refuſed: Then they ſent to invite divers others, uſing threats, where perſwaſions ſerved not; inſomuch, that at laſt they made ſundry perſons of quality ſwear to be faithfull to them: for they pretended onely the good of the King and Common-wealth, the Church and Religion, and the depreſſing of Hereticks.

1534. July.

They being now aſſembled in great number, the diſpoſſeſſed and diſcontented Monks every where made Petitions to *Aske* for remedy; who I finde alſo re-eſtabliſhed them in divers places, wiſhing them to pray for the King, and to take up victuals of the Farmours of the ſaid Monaſteries upon Bill, till their ſuit were granted. Which being advertiſed to the King on the one ſide, and (preſently after) that the Commons of *Richmont*, *Lanca-ſhire*, *Durham*, *Weſtmerland*, &c. were up in another place, and had fired the Beacons, made him think what hee had to do: Yet was not his ſervice neglected by ſome of the Nobility there, eſpecially *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who raiſing many men before he received the Kings Commiſſion for it, did by this dangerous diſcretion much advance his ſervice. For though his zeal for the welfare of the State were above ſcruples, and that ſome learned men in the Law beſides had told

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told him, That his intention being good, his action could not be conſtrued ill: He yet ſaid, he knew his danger ſo well, as he had ſent to the King for a Pardon; while for deterring the Rebels, as well as the ſatisfying many, who otherwiſe might have ſuſpected him, hee gave an Oath to his men to be true unto the King; proteſting further, that according to the ancient Loyalty of the *Talbots* to the Crown, when it had been upon a ſtake, he would have liv'd and dyed in defence of it. And now the firſt order the King gave was to command the Duke of *Suffolk*'s ſtay in *Lincoln-ſhire*, leſt they ſhould riſe again. Then he appointed the Earl of *Shrewsbury* as his Lieutenant, to march with a great Army and the Canon, againſt the Northern men: he writ alſo to *Edward Stanley* Earl of *Derby* to raiſe what Forces he could, promiſing to repay his Charges. *Henry Courtney* alſo Marqueſſe of *Exceter* Couſin-german to the King, and the Earls of *Huntington* and *Rutland* offered themſelves to the Kings ſervice. And becauſe now divers Monks in thoſe parts were reſtored to their Monaſteries by the Rebels (as I finde particularly thoſe of *Sally*, *Whally*, *Norton* and *Hexam*) hee commanded them to be taken out, and Martiall Law to be uſed againſt them. Yet as the noyſe of this Inſurrection was by continuall Courriers augmented, *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk* about the twentieth of *October* was diſpatch'd with Forces to aſſiſt the Earl of *Shrewsbury*: who writ to the King, That the *York-ſhire* men, as being uſed to Arms, were more conſiderable then thoſe of *Lincoln-ſhire*; yet that they could not long continue together, both for lack of means to provide victuals otherwiſe then by rapine; and the ſeaſon of the yeer: And that the beſt way was to perſwade them to lay down their Arms, or ſow ſedition among them.

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Octob. 17.

This while *Aske* and his Company advancing forward, forced *Edward Lee* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, and *Thomas* Lord *Darcy* to ſurrender to them *Pomfret* Caſtle, and take the Oath; which was, That they ſhould enter into this Pilgrimage of Grace for the love of God, the preſervation of the Kings Perſon and Iſſue, the purifying of the Nobility, and expulſing all Villan blood, and evill Counſellours; and for no particular profit for themſelves, nor to do diſpleaſure to any, nor to ſlay nor murder any for envie; but to put away all fears, and take afore them the Croſſe of Chriſt, his Faith, and the reſtitution of the Church, the ſuppreſſion of Hereticks and their opinions. But as this Caſtle was ſtrong, the Arch-Biſhop and Lord *Darcy* (though pretending want of furniture and proviſion to hold out) were ſuſpected to have render'd it in favour of the Rebels. They ſtayed not yet ſo, but took the City of *York* and *Hull*; and betwixt force and intreaty drew moſt of the great Perſons in thoſe parts unto them. While not content to have a pre-

1536 a pretext of Religion, they by falſe tales got many Partizans: therefore they gave out as before they had done in *Lincolnſhire*, That all the gold in *England* ſhould be brought to the Tower to be touch'd; and that the King claim'd all the Cattel unmark'd as his: as alſo all the goods and ornaments of Pariſh Churches; that they ſhould pay fines for Chriſtenings, Weddings and Buryings, and for Licences to eat white bread, and the daintier ſorts of meats, &c. and this again ſtirred rancor in the peoples hearts.

Octob. 20. *Aske* and his followers being now in *Pomfret*, *Lancaſter* the Herald came with a Proclamation from the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, requiring it to be read. But *Aske* ſitting in ſtate, and having the Arch-Biſhop on the one hand, and the Lord *Darcy* on the other, deſired firſt to know the contents; which being told, he ſaid it ſhould not be proclaimed. Nevertheleſſe, he gave the Herald a ſafe conduct, as long as he ware his coat.

Octob. 26. But the Rebels not contented thus, required *Henry Clifford* Earl of *Cumberland* (being then in his Caſtle of *Skipton*) to joyn with them: But he by Letter aſſures the King, that though 500 Gentlemen (retain'd at his coſt) had forſaken him, he would yet continue the Kings true Subject, and defend his Caſtle (in which he had great Ordnance) againſt them all. Sir *Ralf Evers* alſo kept *Scarborough* Caſtle with no leſſe courage againſt the Rebels; he and his company having no ſuſtenance but bread and water for the ſpace of twenty dayes that they beſieged him.

Octob. 22. The King being now in *Windſor*, intends in perſon to go againſt the Rebels, commanding his Nobles for this purpoſe to meet him at *Northampton Novemb.* 7. And it was time to take ſome good order, for they were now grown to be thirty thouſand men; in which number (being divided into three Battels)

Octob. 26. they preſented themſelves before *Doncaſter*: neer which, the Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and Marqueſſe of *Exceter* were encamped with an Army, though little in number (as being but five thouſand) yet better furniſhed. And two wayes they had to paſſe the River *Don* to the Town; a Bridge, and a Foord: The Bridge the Duke took on him to defend; not neglecting yet to entertain them with a Treaty, as expecting daily more Forces: The Foord was undertaken by the reſt of the Army. This alone yet could not have ſtayed the Rebels; but a great Rain falling that night, ſo increaſed the water, that it was not paſſable the next day: Beſides, by the coming of ſome ſhot, the Bridge was ſo fortified, that it was now defenſible. This hindered not the Treaty; for the Duke of *Norfolk* and the reſt knowing of what importance it was to gain time till all the Kings Forces were aſſembled; and having intelligence beſides among the Rebels, got a Petition from them

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to be delivered to the King, which Sir *Ralph Elesker* and *Robert Bowes* ſhould carry, (who though manfully defending *Hull* againſt the Rebels, were at laſt forced to joyn and take the Oath.) The Duke himſelf alſo promiſed to go with them, upon condition that there might be a ceſſation from hoſtility in the mean time; which was condeſcended to. Coming thus to Court, and the Duke being firſt heard (who acquainted the King with the State of all things) the aforeſaid Commiſſioners preſented the intruſted Petition with many excuſes on their own part. But the King, who deſir'd ſtill to gain more time, would return no preſent anſwer; and the rather, becauſe he was informed by the Duke that the Rebels began to disband; for the Treaty diſheartned and divided them, while Rumours were diſperſed every where, that ſome of the Chiefs would Compound for themſelves, and leave the reſt to the Gallowes. Inſomuch that daily and nightly they ran away, eſpecially the poorer ſort, who had neither meanes to ſubſiſt, nor might have leave from their Captain to take any thing by force; which being advertiſ'd to the King, made him both give private order to diſcharge thoſe Troops he had appointed to meet him at *Northampton*, and to detain *Elecker* and *Bowes*, upon pretext that ſome Innovation had been attempted by the *York-ſhire* men ſince their comming up: Nevertheleſſe, at laſt for clearing all ſuſpition (ſince the Commons took this detention of their Meſſengers ſo ill, that they encourag'd one another to be in Armes again at an hours warning) the King thought fit to ſend his anſwer; yet not by them, but by the Duke of *Norfolk*, together with a ſafe conduct (under the Great Seal) for three hundred Perſons to meet in the Town of *Doncaſter* for concluding all things; neither did the King doubt to admit this great number, as being confident they would not only leſs agree among themſelvs, but that ſome would be wonne to his Party. After which the ſaid *Elecker* and *Bowes* had their diſpatch too, as being commanded to ſay, that his Majeſty took it marvelous unkindly at their hands, that knowing his Benignity, they would rather riſe in Armes then Petition his Majeſty, and that they had left their Countrey open to the Scots, who prepared to invade them: Referring the reſt to the Duke of *Norfolk*, who brought (as I gather out of thoſe Originals I have ſeen) the offer of a Pardon to all except ſix named, and four unnamed, when the reſt would ſubmit. But as the four unnamed concern'd every body, ſo it was declined. Nevertheleſſe, certain Books the King ſent down, which were, as I take it, the Articles of Religion, deviſed by himſelf, being received by them, took much miſunderſtanding and ill impreſſion which their diſcontented Prieſts had given, while for accompanying hereof, expreſſe order was ſent to the Biſhops in their ſeverall Dioceſſes, not to neglect the uſuall Ceremonies of the Church. Here-

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dated Novem. 14.

dated Novem. 13.

Kings Letter, dated Novem. 19.

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was in ill eſtate to reſiſt. Therefore, he and his Aſſociates deſired his Grace to ſend them inſtructions for divers degrees of proceeding with the Rebels, and that the laſt might be for gaining of time, in caſe they came to no agreement.

The King finding theſe difficulties, and ſuſpecting beſides that the Emperor had or would have a hand therein, and that the Rebels might have aſſiſtance from *Scotland*; And for the reſt, believing that all was but miſ-underſtanding in the ſimpler ſort, which yet he hoped his Book of Articles, and other good orders would in time Rectifie, ſent to the Duke of *Norfolk* a generall Pardon for the Rebels, and promiſe of a Parliament, with directions yet to the Duke that he ſhould not make uſe thereof, but in caſe of extremity. But the Duke and the other Lords finding ſo many gathered together, as their number was very great; and being not able to diſtinguiſh thoſe who came on the Rebels part, from ſuch as curioſity onely brought thither; and conſidering that the firſt deniall of their demands had ſo inflamed them, that they intended to have fallen upon the Town of *Doncaſter*, (had not the River this ſecond time ſwelling by rain, the night preceding prevented their attempt) made uſe of the Kings generall Pardon and promiſe of a Parliament, which they all gladly accepted, and returned home. The contents of this Pardon, dated December 9. at *Richmont*, and ſealed with the Great Seal, was as our Records ſhew, that the King granted them all a generall and free Pardon of all Rebellion, Treaſons, Fellonies, and Treſpaſſes, unto the day of the date thereof; provided that they make their ſubmiſſion to the Duke of *Norfolk* and Earl of *Shrewsbury* (the Kings Lieutenant,) and that they Rebell no more. I find alſo by our Records, that to the Petition (formerly mentioned) ſent by *Ellesker* and *Bowes*, the King ſent a reply pen'd by himſelf; which I doubt not gave much ſatisfaction (as another had before done to this effect ſent to the *Lincoln-ſhire* men.) It was this:

Firſt as touching the maintenance of the Faith, the termes be ſo generall, that it would be very hard to make certain anſwer to the ſame; but if they mean the Faith of Chriſt, to the which, all Chriſtian men be only bound, we declare and proteſt our ſelf to be that Prince that doth intend, and hath alwaies minded to live and die in the maintenance, defence and obſervation of the purity of the ſame. And that no man can or dare ſet his foot by ours, in proving of the contrary. Marveling therefore much, that ignorant people would go about to take upon them to inſtruct and teach us (which hath been noted ſomething learned) what the Faith ſhould be. And alſo, that they being ignorant people, be ſo preſumptuous (ſeeing that we and our whole Clergy in Convocation, hath in Articles declared it) as to take upon them to correct us all therein. Or that they would be ſo

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ingrate and unnaturall towards their moſt Rightfull King, and Naturall Soveraign Lord, without any our deſert, upon falſe reports or ſurmiſes to ſuſpect us of the ſame, and give rather credence to forged light tales, then to the very Truth by us theſe 28 yeers uſed, and by our deeds approved.

The ſecond which toucheth the maintenance of the Church, and the liberties of the ſame; we ſay it is ſo generall a Propoſition, that without diſtinctions no man with troth can anſwer; neither by Gods Laws nor by the lawes of the Realm. For firſt, the Church which they mean, muſt be known. Secondly, whether thoſe things which they call Liberties, and ſay they would maintain, be things lawfull and beneficiall to the Prince and Common-wealth, or otherwiſe. And theſe known, we doubt not but they ſhall be anſwered according to Gods Law, Equity, and Juſtice. Nevertheleſſe, for all their generality this we dare affirm, that (meaning what Church they liſt) we have done nothing that may not be abiden by, both by Gods Lawes and mans Lawes, or that is prejudiciall to our Common-wealth, if our proceedings may be indifferently conſidered. And in our Church of *England*, whereof we be the Supream Head on Earth, we have done nothing ſo onerous and chargable to them, as many of our Predeceſſours have done upon much leſſer grounds. Wherefore, ſithence this Article pertaineth nothing to any of our Commons, nor that they bear any thing therein, we cannot but reckon a great unkindneſſe and unnaturalneſſe in them, which had leaver a Churl or twain ſhould enjoy thoſe profits of their Monaſteries for the ſupportation and maintenance of abominable life, then that we their Prince ſhould receive the ſame, towards our extream Charges done, and dayly ſuſtain'd for their defence againſt forraign Enemies.

The third Article toucheth three things, the Firſt is the Lawes, the Second is the Common-wealth, the Third the directors of the Lawes under us. Touching the Lawes, as it becometh not blind men to judge any Colours, ne to take upon them to be Judges of the ſame; ſo we dare expreſly and boldly affirme, as a thing that may be eaſily and duly proved; that there were never in any one of our Predeceſſors dayes, ſo many wholſome commodious and beneficiall Acts made for the Common-wealth, as have been made in our time; and ſithence ſome of them had credit and doing in our affaires, that would now perchance pick them thank without deſert; for our Lord forbid that both we and our Councell ſhould have loſt ſo much time, as not to know better now, then we did in the beginning of our Reign, what were a Common-wealth, and what were againſt the good and commodity of the ſame, ſeeing we have been a King theſe twenty eight yeers, and by experience learned the perfectneſſe thereof. And although the folly and unkindneſſe of

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ſome will not perchance let them ſo knowledge it, yet we truſt and doubt not but the moſt part of our loving Subjects, eſpecially, thoſe which be not ſeduced by falſe report, do both think it, accept it, and find it ſo. Now touching the Common-wealth, what King hath kept his ſo long in Wealth and Peace, ſo long without taking or doing wrong one to another, ſo indifferently miniſtred juſtice to all Eſtates both high and low, ſo defended them from all outward Enemies, ſo fortified the Frontier of his Realm to his no little, and in manner ineſtimable Charges, and all for their wealths and ſuerties? What King hath given among his Subjects more generall and freer pardons? What King hath been loather to puniſh his Subjects, or ſhewed more mercy among them? Theſe things being ſo true as no true man can deny them; it is an unnaturall and an unkind demeanour of you our Subjects, to believe or deem the contrary of it, by whoſe report ſoever it ſhould be ſet forth againſt us. And the beginning of our Reign where it is ſaid, that ſo many Noble-men were Counſellors; we do not forget who were then Counſellors; for of the Temporalty, there were but two worthy to be called Noble, the one the Treaſurer of *England*, the other the high Steward of our houſhold. Others, as the Lord *Marney* and *Darcy* but mean born Gentlemen, nor yet of no great lands, till they were promoted by us, and ſo made Knights and Lords; the reſt were Lawyers and Prieſts, ſaving the two Biſhops of *Canterbury*, and *Wincheſter*. If theſe be then the great number of Noble men that is ſpoken of, and that our Subjects ſeemed then contented withall, why then be they not much better contented with us which have ſo many Nobles indeed, both of Birth and condition of our Councell. For firſt of the Temporalty in our Privy Councell, we have the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marqueſſe of *Exceter*, the Lord *Steward*, (when he is preſent) the Earl of *Oxford*, the Earl of *Suſſex*, the Lord *Sands* our Chamberlaine, the Lord Admirall Treaſurer of our Houſe, Sir *William Paulet*, Comptroller of our Houſe. And of the Spiritualty, the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, *Wincheſter*, *Hereford*, and *Chicheſter*; and for becauſe it is more then neceſſary to have ſome in our Privy Councell learned in our Lawes and Pacts of the World: We by the advice of our whole Councel aforenamed, did elect and chuſe into our Privy Councell, and alſo in their Rooms, our Chancellor and Privy-Seal; thinking them men in all our opinion moſt meet for the ſame Rooms; and we with our whole Councell think it right ſtrange, that yee which be but Brutes and inexpert folk, do take upon you to appoint us who be meet for our Councell and who be not. Mark therefore now, how theſe ſeditious perſons, which thus wrongfully have borne you thus in hand, have falſly abuſed you; that reckon there were then more Noble men in our Privy Councell then

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be now: But yet though of our great clemency and Princely goodneſſe we declare now the truth to pull our Subjects from that errour and blindneſſe they were led and trained to by falſe and untrue ſurmiſe and report; we would again that every of them knew, that it appertaineth not to any Subject to preſume to take upon him the appointment of his King and Soveraign Lord's Councell, ne for our part will wee take any ſuch thing at any of our Subjects hands. Wherefore, we would that from henceforth they ſhould better remember the duties of good ſubjects to their naturall Liege Lord, and meddle no further with thoſe or ſuch like things as they have nothing to doe withall.

To the fourth Article, where the Commons do name certain of our Councell to be ſubverters both of Gods Law, and the Laws of this Realm, we do take and repute them as juſt, and true Executors both of Gods Lawes and ours, as far as their Commiſſion under us doth extend. And if any of our Subjects can duly prove the contrary, we ſhall proceed againſt them, and all other offendors therein, according to Juſtice, as to our eſtate and dignity Royall doth appertain. And in caſe it be but a falſe and an untrue report, as we verily thinke it is, then it were as meet, and ſtandeth as well with juſtice, that they ſhould have the ſelf-ſame puniſhment which wrongfully have objected this to them, that they ſhould have had if they had deſerved it. And one thing among others cauſeth us to think that this ſlander ſhould be untrue, becauſe it proceedeth from that place which is both far diſtant from that where they inhabit, and alſo from thoſe people which never heard them preach, nor yet know any part of their converſation. Wherfore we exhort all ye our Commons to be no more ſo light of credit in the beleeving of evill things ſpoke of us your naturall Prince and Soveraign Lord; nor of any of our Prelats and Counſellors; but to think that your King, having ſo long reigned over you with the advice of his Councell, hath as good diſcretion to elect and chuſe his Counſellors, as thoſe, whoſoever they be that have put this in your heads, or ye either, being but ignorant people, and out of all experience of Princes Affairs.

Here in this finall point, which ye our Commons of *Yorkſhire*, *Weſtmerland*, *Cumberland*, the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, *Richmond-ſhire*, *Craven*, *Dent*, *Sedbane*, and all other places that have been ſeduced to this Inſurrection do deſire, and alſo in the matter of the whole diſcourſe of your Petitions; we verily think that the reſt of all our whole Commons of many Countries, to whom you be in manner but an handfull, will greatly diſdain, and not bear it, that you take upon you to ſet order to Us and them, and eſpecially to Us, being Soveraign Lord to you

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you both. And that (you being Rebels) you would make them as bearers and partakers of your miſchief, willing them to take pardon for Inſurrections, which verily we think and doubt not, they never minded; but like true Subjects to the contrary, have both with heart and deed been ready at our call to defend both Us and themſelves. And now for our part, as to your demands, We let you wit, that pardon of ſuch things as you demand, lyeth onely in the will and pleaſure of the Prince: But it ſeemeth by your lewd Proclamations and ſafe Conducts, that there be among you which take upon them both the parts of Kings and Counſellors, which neither by Us, nor by the generall conſent of our Realm hath been admitted to any ſuch room. What arrogance is then in thoſe wretches, being alſo of none experience, to preſume to raiſe you our Subjects without Commiſſion or Authority; yea and againſt Us, under a cloaked colour of your wealth, and in our name, and as the ſucceſs and end would declare, if we ſhould not be more merciful unto you, then you have deſerved, to your own utter confuſions? Wherefore, we let all your our ſaid Subjects again wit, That were it not that our Princely heart cannot reckon this your ſhamefull Inſurrection, and moſt ingrate and unnaturall Rebellion to be done of malice or rancor, but rather by a lightneſſe given in manner by a naughty Nature to a Communalty, and a wondrous ſudden ſurreption of Gentlemen: Wee muſt needs have executed another manner of puniſhment, then if you will humbly knowledge your fault, and ſubmit your ſelves to our mercy, we intend to do (as by our Proclamations we doubt not ye be informed.)

And now this great Company being diſperſed, began to take Books of controverſies in hand, and inform themſelves concerning the Kings Articles of Religion. But the Clergy of the North in generall wholly oppoſing the Kings Reformation, kept the Rebellion ſtill on foot, though outwardly ſmothered for a while (as will appear in his place).

I ſhall come now to forrain Hiſtory.

Barbaroſſa being driven from *Tunis* repairs to the Turk, newly return'd from the Expedition to *Perſia*; and perſwades him to take Arms againſt the Emperour; who wanted (hee ſaid) onely *Algiere* to command intirely all that Coaſt of *Affrica*. The counſell pleas'd him; and the rather that *Monſieur de Forreſt* the French Ambaſſadour concurred therein, and one *Pignaſelo* a Renegado of *Naples*. Aſſembling thus an Army of 200000 men, and 400 Gallies and Ships, (in which were 3000 Pieces of Ordnance) under the command of *Lutſi Baſſa*, He appointed them to be ready at *Velona*, being not above 15 Leagues diſtant from *Otranto* in *Italy*; From whence a ſmall part of the Fleet being ſent

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1536 ſent to enter that Continent, they choſe rather to fall on *Caſtro*, then *Otranto*, or *Brindiſi*, being ſtronger then that they could be gotten eaſily. This great Preparative; yet at laſt, came to nothing: for thoſe of *Apuglia* not riſing in favour of the French (which was hoped) nor *Francis* having any Army neer to ſecond him, and *Doria* (beſides that) having taken ſome of their Gallies from them, the *Baſſa* having gotten *Caſtro*, and gotten ſtore of Captives, neglected the enterpriſe, and return'd; while *Forreſt* the French Ambaſſador died at *Velona*.

1537 About this time *Alexandro de Medicis* firſt Duke of *Florence* was betray'd by his kinſman *Lorenzo de Medicis*, who promiſing to help him to a Lady much deſired by the Duke, entiſed him to his houſe in the night: but in ſtead of the Lady, *Lorenzo* with two Aſſaſins came in and kill'd him; which yet was revenged by *Cozimo de Medicis* his Succeſſor.

June 6. Sandovall.

Though the Emperour were now retir'd to *Spain*, (as is told before,) he yet continued his Wars againſt the French in the Low-Countries (and the rather, that our King had promiſed to be Neuter betwixt them) giving order thereupon for to beſiege *Theroüenne*; which being advertiſed to *Francis*, cauſed him to raiſe an Army of 25000 men under *Anne Montmorancy* his Lieutenant, wherewith (the King being preſent) *Heſdin*, *S. Paul*, and divers other places were taken: while by a publick Act in *Paris* the Emperour was declared a Rebel and Felon, and that he had forfeited all the Eſtate he held of the French Crown, being *Artois*, *Flanders*, *Charolois*, and ſome others. But ſome conſiderable Forces being raiſed on the Emperours part, and half the French Army being diminiſhed by reaſon of Gariſons put into the Towns won, and other occaſions, *Francis* with the reſt of his Army returned. The Emperiall Army hereupon, commanded by the *Count de Bures*, took * back *S. Paul*, † ſurpriſed *Monſtreul*, and defeated *Claude de Annebault* Mareſchal of *France*, though bravely defending himſelf after his victualling of *Theroüenne*. Things being brought to theſe extremities, *Mary* Queen of *Hungary* Regent of the Low-Countries, mediated and effected a Truce on thoſe parts between the two Princes for three months: while in *Savoy* ſome Towns revolting, the *Count de S. Paul* was ſent thither by *Francis*, who recovered all again, and freed *Turin* then beſieged by the Imperials. Yet *Alonſo de Avalos* Marqueſſe of *Guaſto* won back the greateſt part of the Marqueſate of *Saluçes* in the behalf of *Francois* Marqueſſe thereof; who for falling away to the Emperour, was by the French King not long ſince deprived of his Poſſeſſions. But the Marqueſſe enjoyed not this Reſtitution; being kill'd ſoon after with a ſmall ſhot, while he play'd the part of a Canoneer at the ſiege of the Caſtle of *Carmaniola*. *Francis* underſtanding now the progreſſe of the Spaniard in thoſe parts, commands

May.
* June 15.
† June 19.

July.

Septemb. 5.

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the *Seigneur de Humieres* with ſome German Foot to paſſe to *Peidmont*, both to defend the places hee had gotten there, and take others; who thereupon beſieged *Aſti*, but in vain, it being well defended; ſo that raiſing the ſiege, he went to *Albe*, which was rendred him without reſiſtance. 1537 July 6.

Buſineſſes paſſing thus with various ſucceſſe on both ſides, *Francis* thought fit to ſend *Henry* the new *Daulphin* (his Elder Brother *Francis* after four dayes ſickneſſe, being the laſt yeer dead of a ſurfit of drinking cold water after Tennis-play, rather then poyſon by the Emperors procurement, though one ſuffer'd for it) and *Antoine* de *Bourton* Duke of *Vendoſme*, and *Montmorancy* who made their way over the Alps, by force took divers towns and perform'd many brave exploits, which being advertiſ'd to the King, made him reſolve to go thither in Perſon, where adviſing with the *Daulphin*, and *Montmorancy* what was further to be done, News was brought of a general abſtinence of War concluded by the mediation of the Queen of *Hungary*, from that time being 28 of November 1537. till the 22th of February following; for as upon a Truce made a little before in *Picardie* for three months (as aboveſaid) Commiſſioners were ſent to the Emperor to Treat of a Peace, or at leaſt a generall Truce, and that for a longer time, ſo this Ceſſation was accorded: And the rather, that the Pope had now long while mediated it. And by this means, as the ſiege was raiſed from *Theroüenne*, ſo the French remain'd in poſſeſſion of all they had in *Piedmont*. This Truce being publiſhed, the Marqueſs of *Guaſto* demanded leave to kiſſe the hands of *Francis*; which being granted, he with many Spaniards in good equipage came towards the Army at *Carmagnola*, while *Francis* for more honouring of *Montmorancy*, (as a man who for his rare merits, he thought deſerved that eſteem) took him in the middle, betwixt himſelf and the *Daulphin*, and ſo expected the Marqueſſe, who having firſt done his due reſpects, and after Treated of an agreement concerning the Soldateſque in the places taken on either part, departed with much ſatisfaction of the reception which *Francis* had given. Octob. 10. 1535 Auguſt 10. Novemb. 28.

The Emperor this while not unmindfull of the Princeſſe *Mary*, uſ'd all meanes for reſtoring her to her legitimation and poſſibility of inheritance. Therefore, deſiring of the Pope that *Reginald Pool* (who a little before had written his Books *de unione Eccleſiaſtica*) ſhould be made Cardinall, the Pope both eaſily granted it, and in the beginning of 1537. imploy'd him as Legat to *Flanders*, that by this meanes he might confirm the Romane Catholiques in *England*, and advance his deſignes, being to ſtir up Enemies to our King. Though as *Pool* was of the Blood-Royall (his mother *Margeret* Counteſſe of *Salisbury*, being daughter to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to *Edward* the IV.) many wanted not, who believed that his zeal was complicate with Decemb. 22. 1536.

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March.

with ſome Ambition to intitle his Line to the Crown, when our King might be depoſed, and his poſterity eſpecially by Queen *Anne*, declared illegitimate. Being now on his way, our King who was inform'd hereof, writ to *Francis* to deny him paſſage through his Kingdom, or to deliver him up as a Rebel, or at leaſt not to treat with him as a Legat, who thereupon diſmiſſ'd him. Coming thus to the Low-Countries, his ſervant *Michael Throgmorton* was very inquiſitive (as our Records tell us) whether the Queen (being now great) were thought by the Phyſicians to bear a Man-child or Female: which, as it made the intentions of the Cardinall more ſuſpected, ſo it gave occaſion to *John Hutton* the Kings Agent in the Low-Countries to gain *Throgmorton*. He was alſo commanded by our King to charge the Queen-Regent there with breach of Treaty, if ſhe received the Cardinall, being (as he called him) a Traitor; which hee ſeconded alſo in that manner, that though at firſt ſhe ſaid it was not fit for her to refuſe the Pope's Legat: yet being now urged again, at a time when ſhee was (as is before related) in war with *Francis*, ſhe forbad the Cardinall to enter; telling him, that ſince he was an Engliſh man of that quality, his negotiation could not be hidden, and that it might be to her prejudice. Howſoever, the Cardinal ſent a Letter to the Lord *Cromwell*, to cleer himſelf of all ill deſigne againſt our King, and diſpatch'd *John Matthei* Biſhop of *Verona* to the Regent, both to charge her with diſobedience to the Apoſtolick See, and to proteſt that Legat was never ſo uſed: adding, that his buſineſſe was chiefly to diſpute the errours of our Kings Reformation. But the Lady Regent not liking Diſputations of Religion in her Dominions, again refuſed him: So that hee was forced to hold his correſpondence in *England* by more clandeſtine means: Whereof, as alſo his other proceedings, his ſervant *Throgmorton* and one Frier *Peto* certified ſome part, as I finde by our Records; as alſo his return to *Rome* in *Novemb.* 1537, where he was received with much triumph (as the ſaid *Throgmorton* affirmed). This proceeding of the Pope's on the other ſide made our King cheriſh the Princes of *Germany*: for which hee took this Occaſion.

Novemb.

The Proteſtants finding their late Pacification with the Emperour not obſerved in all points, met again at *Smalcald Febr.* 7. 1537, to conſult what was to be done. Hither *Heldus* came on the Emperours part, who exhorted the Princes, firſt To accept the Councell indicted: Secondly, To aid the Emperour with money againſt the Turk; or (if he ſtirr'd not) againſt the French (now uſurping *Savoy*) &c. Thirdly, He objected to them, that they had received into their League new Confederates ſince the Treaty at *Norewberg*. To this the Proteſtnats anſwer'd, That for the Councell, it was not propoſed

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in a due manner nor place (the Emperour and Princes having decreed that it ſhould be in *Germany*) therefore they could not admit it. For the Treaty of Peace at *Noremberg*, it was not broken by them, but by the Emperours Officers, who in the *Camera Imperialis*, contrary to the conditions agreed on, had queſtioned men for cauſes touching Religion. And as for thoſe entred into their League ſince the Treaty of *Noremberg*, It was deſired that they alſo might be comprehended in that Peace; upon which condition they promiſed to furniſh the Emperour ſuch moneys as he required. Howbeit, if he offered violence to them, they proteſted to defend them as their Confederates.

Things ſtanding thus, King *Henry* privately diſpatched *William Paget* and *Chriſtopher Mount* to *Smalcald*, with Inſtructions to take *France* in their way, and acquaint *Stephen Gardiner* his Engliſh Ambaſſadour, and the French King therewith, and by their directions to do all things, and that the voyage was to be performed in diſguiſed habit. In concluſion, the ſumme of Febr. their Inſtructions was, To dehort the German Princes from according either with the Emperour, or to the Councel indicted; but rather to referre all their differences to him and the French King. And herein as the King pretended to ſhew his love to the ſaid Princes, (who, if the Emperour made a Peace with them, ſhould (he ſaid) be ſingly and ſeparately oppreſs'd) ſo he had his own ends, as knowing that if a Councel were held, his Actions would receive no favourable cenſure; ſo that though not onely the French King, but the Emperour had promis'd (as I finde in our Records) That in the Councell his Affairs ſhould not be queſtioned; yet he gave them no intire credit. Therefore, after the Proteſtants had ſent him their Recuſati- March 25. on of the Councell, He made a publick Proteſtation againſt it; ſhewing, That the Indiction belong'd not to the Biſhop of *Rome*, but to the Emperour, and the Princes who ſhould ſend or come thither. That the time was unfit, War being then betwixt the Emperour and *Francis*; the place inconvenient for the Engliſh, as being in *Mantua*; whither they could neither come ſafely, nor declare themſelves freely; That the manner of deciding controverſies in Religion was unjuſt, the Biſhop of *Rome* being Judge in his own cauſe; That therefore the Pope's intention was rather to eſtabliſh his Authority on this occaſion, then to yeeld to a Reformation, and after all to glory that a Councell had damned the contrary opinions. That for his particular therefore, hee would not come there, as having more reaſon to keep home and provide againſt the Rebellions and Miſchiefs that the ſaid Biſhop had now for three yeers ſpace procured or raiſed in his Kingdom, then run new dangers. In concluſion, That nothing remain'd to be done, but

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that every Prince ſhould reform in his own Kingdom; all other wayes being ſuſpect, perillous, and unequall: yet if any could ſhew a better Expedient, he would give ear to it. The French King would not declare himſelf yet ſo far; and indeed he had uſe of the Pope at this time. Nevertheleſſe, he publickly proteſted again to the Princes, That he would never conſent to a Councell which was not aſſembled in a ſafe place, and free manner: and that his Son-in-law the King of Scots was of the ſame minde.

Conc. Trid. *May* now approaching, *Frederic* Duke of *Mantua* required mony of the Pope to maintain a Guard for the ſecurity of his City during the Councell. But the Pope denying this, or at leaſt requiring, that if he paid this Guard, it might be at his command, found the Duke averſe; ſo that he deferred the Councel from *May* to *November*, and then to *May* next, and laſtly, transferred it to *Vicenza*, being in the Venetian Territory. And becauſe (by reaſon of theſe delayes) many doubted whether the Pope really intended a redreſſe to the enormities then generally complained of, he reſolved privately to proceed in a Reformation a yeer ſince propoſed. And this was a ſingular ingenuity: yet as he referred the buſineſſes to the Cardinals *Contarino*, *Theatino*, *Sadolet*, and *Reginald Poole*, and ſome others who were paſſionate on their own ſide, they produced, after many Conferences, no more then a Remonſtrance of divers abuſes in the Government and Adminiſtration of Eccleſiaſticall Perſons and Affairs; for in the Church Doctrine they would not admit an errour. But there were few Princes then living who would not have been glad that ſomething more had been done; both as their Subjects were ſo much at the Pope's diſpoſe (when he would uſe his Authority), and as no little ſums were drawn out of their Kingdoms; that I may ſay nothing of Theological points vexed on either ſide. Howbeit, this Reformation (being extant in *Sleidan lib.* 12.) is worth the ſeeing: for certainly it was the occaſion of rectifying divers abuſes in that Church; ſo that it hath been better, or at leaſt warier ever ſince: Whereby it appears, that controverſies in Religion, though they produce many pernicious effects, have yet this one good, that they make both ſides more carefull not to offend; while fear leſt perſonall faults ſhould redound to the detriment of the Religion they profeſſe, becomes a caution for vertue and good example; ſo can God draw good out of evill; and ſo can man pervert all again: For though indeed there was hope at this time that a further Reformation might have followed, (and certainly it had been the ſafeſt way to begin there) yet as *Luther*, *Sturmius*, and others hearing what was done by the Delegates at *Rome*, both irrided it publickly, and rejected all Reformations but their own; ſo all hope of Reconciliation

Conc. Trid. Sleid. 1535 June.

Sleid. Com. lib. 12.

ciliation in this kinde was precluded: while the Pope and Cardinals hearing thereof again, found now ſo little probability of an accord by endeavouring to come nearer the Proteſtants, that they thought it would rather derogate from the Authority of their Church (as if it might erre) then eſtabliſh a generall Peace. 1537

It is time I turn now to thoſe home Affairs which paſſed while thoſe forreign Buſineſſes formerly related were in action.

The Inſurrection of the North was not yet ſo quieted, but that the King thought fit to hold a hand over them: therefore he commanded the Duke of *Norfolk* to ſtay there, and together with the Earl of *Shrewsbury* to compoſe all things: Who thereupon took the ſubmiſſion of the Commons; which was, Firſt, To revoke all Oathes and Promiſes made in the former Inſurrection, asking the King forgiveneſſe on their knees. Secondly, to be true to the King, his Heirs and Succeſſors. Thirdly, To obſerve & maintain all Acts of Parliament ſince the firſt yeer of the Kings Reign. Fourthly, Not to take Arms again, but by his Highneſſe Authority. Fifthly, To apprehend all ſeditious perſons. And ſixthly, To remove all the Monks, Friers and Nuns they had reinplaced in the late diſſolved Monaſteries. Together with which theſe Lords had private Inſtructions to bring in the Lord *Thomas Darcy* and *Robert Aske*; and for *Aske*, I finde by our Hiſtory and Records, That he came to our King, and that upon the ſubmiſſion aforeſaid, and oath not to depart for any long ſeaſon without the Kings leave, being well received for the preſent, hee was diſmiſs'd again. But the Lord *Darcy*, ſuſpecting he ſhould be queſtioned, excuſed himſelf to *Crumwell*; ſaying, That all he did was onely for retaining ſo much credit among the Commons, as might better enable him to do his Highneſſe ſervice: adding thereunto a note of the Services he had done the King and his Father for fifty yeers. But this did not avail; for he was ſent for to *London*, and impriſoned, that ſo he might no more run ſuch hazards, the King foreſeeing the Rebellion would break out again, as indeed it happened: For *Nicholas Muſgrave*, *Thomas Tilby*, and others beſieged *Carlile* with 8000 men; but were repulſed by the City; and in their return encountred by the Duke of *Norfolk*, who cauſed all the Captains (ſave *Muſgrave*, who eſcaped) and about ſeventy perſons by Law-Martiall to be hanged on *Carlile* Walls. 1536 Febr. March 18.

Sir *Francis Bigot* and one *Halam* attempted alſo to ſurprize the Town of *Hull*; but were prevented, and they both taken and executed. For which Inſurrections, and ſome leſſer which followed, I finde yet no reaſon delivered, but that the People were unſatisfied becauſe a Parliament was not held at *York*, according

1537

cording to their expectation; and that they imagin'd the Duke of *Norfolk* had order ſecretly (notwithſtanding the Pardon) to chaſtiſe the principal offenders. But our King on the other ſide, alledged, That ſince they had not reſtored all the Religious Houſes, in which they had reinplaced the Monks, he was not bound ſtrictly to hold promiſe with them. Howſoever, theſe new Revolts ended quickly: And now the Duke having this occaſion, proceeded ſeverely; for having by the King's commandment ſpred his Royall Banner, he thereupon executed Martiall-Law where he thought it needfull. In concluſion, ſo many were found to be complices in Treaſon, or the conſpiracy of it, That the Lord *Darcy*, *Robert Aske*, Sir *Robert Conſtable*, Sir *John Bulmer* and his Wife (or Paramour,) Sir *Thomas Percy*, Sir *Stephen Hamilton*, *Nicholas Tempeſt*, and *William Lumley* were taken and brought priſoners to *London*; and in *June* following, the Lord *Huſſy* for the *Lincoln-ſhire* buſineſſe, and the Lord *Darcy* were arraigned at *Weſtminſter* before the Marqueſſe of *Exceter* then High Steward, and found guilty of high Treaſon. The Lord *Darcy* was beheaded at Tower-hill, and the Lord *Huſſy* at *Lincoln*: others were hang'd at *Hull*, and at *York*, ſome elſe-where, among whom were divers religious perſons: The news whereof being certified by the Duke of *Norfolk* to Court, the King by Letter to him, ſaid, he would cloſe this Tragedy: For he ſent now a generall Pardon; which was received with great joy, many being terrified with the Dukes proceedings. All this great Service of the Duke of *Norfolk* yet could not exempt him from calumny: For the Lord *Darcy* during his impriſonment, had accus'd him, as favouring the Rebels Articles when they firſt met at *Doncaſter*: But the Duke denyed it, offering the Duel; ſaying, that *Aske* (who ſuffered at *York* before the ſaid Lord) told him the ſaid Lords intentions; who (he ſaid) bare him ill will ever ſince the Duke had ſolicited the ſaid Lord to deliver *Aske* into his hands, when he was in chief credit with the Rebels; which *Darcy* denying, ſome expoſtulation had paſs'd betwixt them. Nevertheleſſe, I finde the King was ſo well ſatisfied of the Duke, that thoſe things were paſs'd over without further queſtioning.

Febr.

Novemb. 14. 1536.

Of all which proceedings (from the beginning) though *James* the Scottiſh King (now in *France*) were advertiz'd; yet he ſtir'd not. And it was happy for our State; for had hee joyn'd, he might have endangered the Northern parts, as People ſtood then affected. Howſoever, our King who thought his abſence was not ſecurity enough, had employed Sir *Ralph Sadler* thither, with command to reſide, till *James* return'd (which was about Whitſontide 1537.) and to inform him of all occurrents. Howbeit, I find that *James* in his way touching on the coaſt of *England*, divers Engliſh caſt themſelves at his feet,

Records.

and

and desired him to assist them, saying, he should have all (for so the Originall hath it.) But the King would not suddenly discover himself. Coming thus to *Edenburgh* with his new married Queen,(who was brought up under the Queen of *Navar*, and not disaffected to the Reformation of Religion) he was received with much joy, which yet continued not long, she dying shortly after of an Hectique Fever : (as hath been formerly related.) Whereupon Cardinall *Beton* and *Robert Maxwell* were sent into *France* to treat of a Marriage betwixt him and *Mary* of the house of *Guise*, and widow of the Duke of *Longueville*, which also followed. 1537

The King having appeased all things in these parts, procures the establishment of his Authority in *Ireland*; but as now the vigorous and many executions done upon all sorts of Persons had made him terrible; so that sweet temper of love and fear, which ought to be equally mix'd in all Subjects hearts was turnd into that awe and dread as few thought themselves safe ; which though it might have caused some apprehension in him, had he been capable thereof, yet without being troubled for any thing, he resolved to hold his way,and where occasion was, to punish severely : Therefore he gave order that *Thomas Fitz-Gerald* son to the Earl of *Kildare*, and five of his Uncles, after a long detention in prison, at this time should suffer death at *Tyburn*; who yet had he not hoped of Pardon by the intercession of the Lord *Grey*, to whom he yeelded himself, (as is formerly mentioned),he would have dyed some other death. All the race yet ended not so; for *Gerald* yonger brother to *Thomas Fitz-Gerald*, being sought for, was packt up in a bundle of Clothes, and conveighed to his friends in *Ireland*, and so to *France*, and from thence to the Low-countries, in both which places being required of our King, he did at length fly to Cardinal *Pool* in *Italy*, who being his Kinsman,and finding him a fit Instrument for his purposes, kept, and cherished him, untill he obtained in after-times,that he might be restored to his country and place. June. 1538. Febr. 3. 1537.

This being done, our King devised certain Acts to passe in the Parliament of *Ireland*; being for the avoiding of all Bulls, Breves, Dispensations, *&c.* granted by the Pope; and that the People should use the English tongue. That Marchers should dwell upon their March lands : That certain Religious Houses there should be suppresst : Against alliance with Rebels ; For establishing Succession; For the First-fruits and twentieth part of spiritual promotions; That those who took part with *Kildare* might be pardoned, when they fined for it, *&c.* Of which more may be seen in the Irish Statutes.

This year at *Hampton Court* Prince *Edward* was born, *October* 12. 1537. who(to use *Polydores* words) was *Princeps natus ad Imperium*; October 12.

1537
Novemb. 8.

Imperium; yet was not the happineſs entire; for Queen *Jane* two dayes after her delivery died, and was buried in the Quire at *Windſor*, whoſe loſſe much afflicted the King, as having found Her alwaies diſcreet, humble, and loyall; for which reaſon alſo, he was not ſo forward to match again. Inſomuch that notwithſtanding ſome good offers made him, he continued a widower more then two yeares; which in his declining age and corpulence (for He grew now very unweildy) was a long ſpace. The Prince yet not being above ſix dayes old, was made Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Cheſter*: Sir *Edward Seymor* alſo Brother to the Queen, lately made Lord *Beauchamp*, was created Earl of *Hertford*. And Sir *William Fitz-William* (made Admirall of *England* lately) Earl of *Southampton*. And in *March* following Sir *William Paulet*, Treaſurer of the Kings Houſe, was made Lord *St. John*; and Sir *John Ruſſell* Comptroller, Lord *Ruſſell*.

Hollingſh.

Octob. 18.
May 1536.
Aug. 16.
1536.

And now (as I find by our Records) Queen *Margaret* hearing of this Princes birth, congratulates it, and together complaines of ſome unkindneſs in her ſon, deſiring ſhe might end her dayes (being now about 49.) in quietneſſe; but if our King could give no remedy thereunto, it comforted her yet, that ſhe underſtood how (upon the death of the Lord *Thomas Howard*) her daughter was at this time releaſed out of the Tower.

October 31.

I ſhall conclude this year with a prodigious effect of Mount *Ætna*, the flames whereof lifting up a huge maſs of burning ſulphure, by ſlow degrees, to a great height, ſuſtained it there, till at length it ſcattered over all the Country, and killed (as my Author *Sandoval* hath it) innumerable Men and Beaſts.

Sandovall.

1538
March.

In *March* 1538. the Proteſtants meeting at *Brunſwick*, our King ſent thither *Chriſtopher Mount* with Inſtructions. Firſt, to ſee who were the Confederats. Secondly, whether their league was for Generall defence, or limited to matter of Religion only. Thirdly, to require a finall Anſwer, whether they would the great Legation with *Melancthon* as they had promiſed. But they deſiring King *Henry* ſhould firſt declare, what points he diſliked in their Confeſſion, leaſt the Ambaſſador ſhould after ſo great expectation return without effect, excuſed themſelves in this laſt point, pretending that they had preſent uſe of their learned men, &c. And as to the other two Articles, they declared, That their League was onely in the Cauſe of Religion, and ſent the names of their Confederates, being (as the Record ſhews) XXVI Cities, and XXIIII Princes; among whom the King of *Denmark* was newly admitted. Nevertheleſſe, to ripen matters for a further Treaty, they gave Commiſſion to their Agents now ſent (being *Francis Burgrat*, and two other men not unlearned) to diſpute with the Engliſh Divines

May 12.

about

about Religion, which they did, till being recall'd home, they craved diſmiſſion of the King, leaving with them their Remonſtrance touching divers abuſes in *England:* as 1. The Adminiſtrations of the Euchariſt in one kinde onely. 2. Private Maſſe. 3. Celibate of Prieſts: againſt which they urged Scripture, and the ancient Fathers; adding, that their Princes would never admit the ſame; and that it belongs to his Majeſty to reſtore the purity of Religion, as did the Kings, *David, Joſias, Jehoſhaphat, Ezekias*, &c. This, though commended to the King and *Cromwell* by Arch-biſhop *Cranmer*, was yet oppoſed by divers others, and particularly by *Cuthbert* Biſhop of *Dureſme*, (who extracted the ſaid Declaration for the King, and gave him Arguments againſt it). So that the King for all Anſwer to the ſaid Orators, defended the points they would have reformed. Inſomuch, that they return'd unſatisfied and fruſtrate. King *Henry* the while proceeding in his own Reformation, as hoping the Proteſtants in *Germany* would be drawn to him. And becauſe he had been often importuned to authorize a Tranſlation of the Bible, He committed the care thereof to *Cromwell*, and the Printing to *Richard Grafton*; who pretending the want of good Paper here, got our Kings and *Francis* Licence to print it at *Paris* both in Latine and Engliſh in a large Volume: which therefore by *Cromwell* the Vicegerents Injunctions this yeer (1538) was to be ſet in every Church for the people to read: Yet ſo, as the King by Proclamation gave them to underſtand, that this was not his duty, but his goodneſſe and liberality to them; who therefore ſhould uſe it moderately, for the increaſe of vertue, not of ſtrife. And therefore no man ſhould read it aloud to diſturbe the Prieſt while he ſang Maſſe, nor preſume to expound doubtfull places without advice from the learned.

1538 Auguſt 5.

Septemb.

Fox.

The King having Iſſue Male, proceeded more confidently in his deſignes: And becauſe he knew that the pretended and falſe Miracles of Prieſts had ſeduced many ignorant people to a ſuperſtitious obedience to the Romiſh See, and reverence of Monaſteries, he reſolv'd to detect them, at leaſt, as many as he could; for divers were ſo cunningly repreſented, as they had kept their credit for ſome ages; the manner of theſe times being, if a man were reſtored to his health upon a Pilgrimage, or obtain'd any thing he deſired upon a vow to ſome Saint, never to ſtudy other cauſe.

And here out of our Records I ſhall mention ſome of the Images and Relicks to which the Pilgrimages of thoſe times brought Devotion and Offerings; as our Ladie's *girdle*, ſhewed in eleven ſeverall places, and her *Milk* in eight: the *Bell* of S. *Guthlac*, and the *Felt* of S. *Thomas* of *Lancaſter*, both remedies for the Head-ach: the *Pen-knife* and *Boots* of S. *Thomas of Canterbury*,

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terbury, and a piece of his *Shirt*, much reverenced by great-bellied women: the *Coals* that roasted S. *Laurence*; two or three *Heads* of S. *Ursula*; *Malchus* his *Ear*; and the paring of S. *Edmonds nails*; the image of an Angel with one wing which brought hither the Spears head that pierced Christs side; an Image of our Lady with a Taper in her hand, which burnt nine yeers together without wasting, till one forswearing himself thereon, it went out; and was now found to be but a piece of wood: our Lady of *Worcester*, from which certain veils and dressings being taken, there appeared the Statue of a Bishop ten foot high. These and others were now brought forth, and with great ostentation shewed to the people: Among which were two notable Trumperies I cannot omit; One was the *Rood of Grace* at *Boxley* in *Kent*; which being made with divers vices to turn
Febr. 24. the eyes and move the lips, was shewed publickly at *Pauls* Crosse by *John* Bishop of *Rochester*, and there broken and pull'd in pieces. The other was at *Hales* in *Glouceſter-ſhire*, where the *Blood of Jesus Christ* brought from *Jerusalem*, being kept (as was affirmed) for divers Ages, had drawn many great offerings to it from remote places: And it was said to have this property, That if a man were in mortall sin, and not absolved, he could not see it; otherwise, very well: Therefore every man that came to behold this Miracle confest himself first to a Priest there, and then offering something to the Altar, was directed to a Chappell where the Relick was shewed; the Priest who confest him (in the mean while) retiring himself to the back part of the said Chappel, and putting forth a Cabinet or Tabernacle of Crystall, which being thick on the one side, that nothing could be seen thorow it, but on the other side thin and transparent, they used diversly: For if a rich and devout man ent'red, they would shew the thick side, till he had paid for as many Masses, and given as large Alms as they thought fit; after which (to his great joy) they permitted him to see the thin side, and the blood. Which yet (as my Authour, a
Will. Thomas. Novemb. 24. Clerk of the Councell to *Edward* VI, and living in those times, affirms) was proved to be the blood of a Duck every week renewed by the Priests, who kept the secret betwixt them. Besides which, the Images of our Lady of *Walsingham*, of *Ipswich*, of *Penrise*, of *Islington*, and S. *John* of *Oxulston* (called otherwise Mr. *John Shorne*,) who was said to shut up the Divel in a Boot; and divers others were publickly burnt: Insomuch, that a huge Image called *Darvel Gadern* being fetch'd out of
May 22. *Wales* served to burn Frier *Forrest*, (condemn'd for counselling people in Confession not to beleeve the Kings Supremacy,) and to elude I know not what old blinde Propheſie.

And by this means the Monasteries grew infamous where most of these Images were kept, and divers were undeceived, who

who before held a reverend opinion of theſe pretended Relicks and Miracles, yet, as this way, there was danger leſt the people ſhould not believe thoſe Miracles which the Church had delivered for true, the King held a hand over his Subjects, and found means to humble them; for they were taught, that howſoever the Miracles of thoſe later times proved counterfeit and falſe, yet that God hath done, and can again do Miracles, when it is for his glory and ſervice; And that it did not repugn to Faith, that for honouring the memory of his Saints, he permitted them ſometimes, where the people were not withdrawn therby from his worſhip, to the worſhip of the creature. 1538

Upon the Ceſſation of Armes betwixt the Emperour and French King formerly mentioned; the Pope endeavoured a further peace and correſpondence, as thinking them capable both of making war with the Turk, and revenging his quarrel on our King, againſt whom he was much intentive to joyn them. But there are many difficulties in procuring two potent Princes to concur in the ſame enterprize. Nevertheleſs, both of them were diſ-affected to our King at this time, not yet ſo much for their particular Intereſts, as that his overthrowing of Religious houſes, and many rigorous Executions of his Subjects had given ill impreſſions of him, which our King underſtanding procures to hold his Treaty with *Francis*. And therefore recalling from *Spain Edmond Bonner* Biſhop of *Hereford*, and his Ambaſſador then with the Emperor, he imployed him in *France* in the place of *Stephen Gardiner*, who had ſoured all things; ſince, being one who both diſliked the Kings late proceedings, and ſecretly favour'd the Emperor, he did his Maſter little ſervice in that Court. *Bonner* being now come, was roughly received by *Gardiner*, and coldly by the French King (as I find by an Originall) yet he obtained at firſt that the Old and New Teſtament in Engliſh might bee printed at *Paris* in the largeſt Volume, whereof yet complaint being made by the Clergy there, the Preſſe was ſtayed, and as much as was already printed, publiquely burnt, ſave ſome few Copies, that being gotten for waſte-paper, were recovered and ſent into *England*, whither alſo the Printers themſelves following ſhortly after, finiſhed their work. Howbeit as *Bonner* had in his other affairs here but little ſatisfaction, he was repeald at laſt on this occaſion; being commanded by our King to deliver a high meſſage, concerning his Penſion, now four years detained, as alſo touching a Fugitive and Traitor, who was received and favoured by *Francis*: He uttered it in ſo haughty a manner (as was thought) that *Francis* return'd both to our King and him ſome harſh language; nevertheleſſe, as he feared leaſt it ſhould cauſe warre, He ſent to *England* an expreſſe Meſſenger both to Interpret and excuſe himſelf, and to deſire *Bonner* might be recalled; which the King did, as thinking him

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henceforth an unuſefull ſervant in that place) yet ſo as he forgot not to beſtow the Biſhoprick of *London* on him for his reward, and to employ him to the Emperor afterwards. But as *Francis* (having about this time made a ten yeares Truce with the Emperor, as ſhall be told hereafter, and a Treaty with *Scotland*) talked louder then before; ſo the Lady Regent in the Low-countries, permitting divers Exactions on our Merchants, ſhewed diſaffection to our State, without that our King in his preſent condition knew well how to repair himſelf, ſince being reſolved to take order about his home buſineſſes not yet fully ſetled, He thought of Forreign Affairs, no otherwiſe then to attend the occaſion, and confederate himſelf where it might be for his beſt advantage. For which at laſt divers Overtures were made. The firſt it ſeems came from the Emperour, whoſe Ambaſſador here ſignified to *Cromwell* Lord Privy Seal his Maſters deſire, that a Match might be had betwixt our King and *Chriſtiana* the Dutcheſſe of *Milan*, being a beautifull Lady, and at that preſent lately come into the Low-countries. *Cromwel* anſwered, that he would firſt ſee her picture, and then ſpeak to the King; Which being granted, one *Hans Holin* (or *Holbin* I believe) being the Kings ſervant was ſent over, and in 3. houres ſpace (as *John Hutton* our Agent there hath it) ſhewed what a Maſter he was in his Science. Our King hereupon ſeemed inclinable, giving charge to *Hutton* to treat of the buſineſſe. But the Lady Regent (though ſaid to have ſufficient power) referred all to the Emperour, who having appointed an interview with *Francis*, was ſo ſlow in returning an Anſwer, that our King underſtood it as a delay, and therefore neglected the buſineſs a while; and he had reaſon; for a Treaty was now formed betwixt *Francis* and the Emperour, for his Son the Duke of *Orleans* and her, and the place nominated at *Compiegne*, where *Francis* (now returned from the Interview, whereof hereafter) met Queen *Mary* Regent of *Flanders*: Whereof our King being advertiſ'd, ſent ſome privately thither, to inform him of that which paſſed; but *Milan* being refuſed as dowry to the Duke, the Treaty was ſuſpended. This made our King proceed again, imploying *Thomas Wriothesly*, and ſome others, to the Lady Regent for this purpoſe; but this Treaty produced others, ſo that a Match was propoſed betwixt *Don Lewis* of *Portugall* and our Princeſſe *Mary* in the termes ſhe then was, excluded by Act of Parliament from all claim to the ſucceſſion, except ſuch as the King ſhall give her: As alſo a ſtrict confederation and amity. The conditions our King required with the Dutcheſſe of *Milan* were great; for though ſhe was but the ſecond Daughter of *Denmark*, *Dorothea* the Elder being married to *Frederick*, Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and Duke of *Bavaria*, yet he demanded with her the whole Kingdome of *Denmark*, (there being no Iſſue male now alive of *Chriſtierne* the

Octob. 20. 1534.

March.

October.

the II.)desiring for this purpose the Emperors assistance, which also the Emperor seemed to promise, as offering to treat with Duke *Frederick* about renouncing his Title to it; and the rather, that he was more suspected at this time in the German affaires, then that the Emperor desired to greaten Him, by such an Accession. And with *Don Lowis*, the Emperor offered *Milan*, when the King would shew how to defend it, and give only a Dowry of three hundred thousand, or two hundred thousand crowns; Promising further, That if the French King, upon this occasion denyed the Pension usually paid our King, to take no Peace with him till he had paid it; He offered also to endeavour a reconciliation with the Pope if our King so pleased. Nevertheless, divers jealousies and cavils arising, (especially after the Interview) betwixt the Emperour and *Francis*, (whereof presently) the Treaty, though continuing, went on but coldly; the Lady Regent objecting sometimes that our King treated of a Match in *France* with the Daughter of *Guise*; another while saying, that in regard of the Dutchess nearness of bloud to the late Qu. *Katherine*, there needed a Dispensation from the Pope, which she knew the King would hardly accept; but these Answers being taken as illusory, the Treaty at last not only broke off, but a cruell war was intimated betwixt the Emperor and our King; especially after he heard of the Treaty betwixt him and the Lady *Anne* of *Cleves*, which followed. But *Francis* omitted not likewise to make his Propositions, offering our King what Lady he pleased in his Country, which yet came to nothing, as will appear hereafter, neither ought their motions of alliance to seem strange, both as there were ever causes of jealousie betwixt these great Princes, & as they knew wel, our King had setled his affairs here.

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Records.

While things past thus, the Truce expiring in *February* betwixt the French King and Emperour, the Pope obtain'd yet that it should be continued for six months; hoping in the interim to conclude a Peace; whereunto as his good intentions might concur; so his particular Interests wanted not; he imploying the Cardinal *Carpi* to the Emperour, and Cardinal *Jacobaccio* to the French King for concluding two Matches for his Family; one betwixt his Grand-childe *Ottavio Farnese* and *Margarita* Relict of the Duke of *Florence*, naturall Daughter of the Emperour: The other betwixt *Victoria Farnese* and *Antoine de Bourbon* Duke of *Vendosme*; and for bringing them to an Interview, at which himself would be present. All which was accorded, and the time and place of meeting appointed at *Nizza* about the beginning of *June* 1538, where they all came; but so as the Emperour being lodg'd in *Villa-Franca*, and the French King in *Villa-Nova*, they neither saw one another in their severall Courts, nor at the Pope's at *Nizza*: Insomuch, that notwithstanding the Pope's solicitation, their mutuall jealousies of

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the Pope's affection, the number of their Attendants not to be regulated as long as third perſons intervened, their late Defyes, and greatneſſe of buſineſſes to be determined permitted no ſafe terms of meeting. Nevertheleſſe, the Pope (after he had in vain deſired them to ſend ſome Biſhops to the Councel now at *Nicenza*) concluded a Truce betwixt them for ten yeers, and ſo the meeting diſſolv'd. The Pope preſently recalling his Legats from *Vicenza*, and deferring the Councell till Eaſter the next yeer.

June 18.

July 28.

And now the Emperour and *Francis* being neer each other, and for the reſt, Princes of ſo great courage, as they heard with ſome indignation the difficulties their Counſellors had repreſented about an Interview, reſolved betwixt themſelves to meet. *Francis* ſent an Invitation to him to repoſe at *Alqueſmortes* and *Marſeilles*, in his way to *Spain*; and *Charles* accepted it; who coming thereupon neer the Shore, *Francis*, attended with *Montmorancy* (now Conneſtable) and few others, without all difficulty paſſed in a Shallop to the Emperours Galley; and after an hours ſtay, and ſome complements in French (which Language both ſpake) *Francis* return'd to land. And now the Emperour was penſative and doubtfull whether he ſhould go on ſhore; many of his Councell oppos'd it; but the Duke of *Alva* ſaid generouſly, He ſhould go; which counſel the Emperour followed: and thereupon landing, the French King, and his Queen, the Daulphine, and a huge Train received him with demonſtration of joy: and two meales they did eat together, at which the Dutcheſs of *Eſtampes* (much regarded by *Francis*) was preſent. But the next day after (being the 16 of *July*) rich gifts having paſſed on both ſides, the Emperour departed for *Spain*.

July 15.

July 16.

And now it was diſputed at *Rome* whether theſe two Princes ſhould joyn in a war againſt the Turk, or bring our King to reaſon: The former took place; the Turk, as being much animated againſt the Chriſtians, having made great Preparatives: and when he had not, our King being a perſon with whom they would not eaſily have fought in the Popes quarrel: which alſo is the more probable, that *Francis* would not ſo much as concur with him in a War againſt the Turk, though ſolicited by the Pope, Emperor and Venetians, no more then our King: though (as I finde by our Records) intreated by the ſaid Venetians, as having a particular War with the Turk at this time in *Morea* and *Sclavonia*; ſo that they above named onely joyned, according to a League made at *Rome* Febr. 8. the Pope furniſhing thirty ſix Galleys, the Emperour eighty two, and the Venetians as many; who yet being led by *Andrea Doria*, and coming to fight with the Turkiſh Fleet of 130 Veſſels under *Barbaroxa*, were on the Coaſt of *Epire* towards night Septemb. 24. defeated;

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ed; when ſuch a huge Tempeſt of Thunder and Lightning aroſe, as ſcattered them every way: yet few dayes after they took from the Turk *Caſtel Novo*, a Fort in the Gulf of *Cataro*, and leaving a Gariſon there, return'd.

All which engagements of War, though in effect they were ſo many divertions of it from us, could not ſecure our King from ſuſpicion either of Treachery at home, or Invaſion from abroad. Therefore he took eſpeciall care of the Sea-Coaſts, and particularly had an eye to the actions of thoſe who might ſtir in favour of Cardinall *Poole*; who being encouraged by the Pope, had no little intelligence from our kingdom. Notwithſtanding all which attention, divers Meſſages paſſed betwixt the ſaid Cardinal and his friends and kindred; which coſt ſome of them their lives not long after.

And now the King knowing that while any ſuperſtitious worſhip reigned here, the Friers and Prieſts would oppoſe his Reformation, eſpecially as long as ſuch were accounted Saints who had reſiſted their Prince, Reſolved, after he had burned ſo many Images, to burn the bones of *Thomas Becket*, Arch Biſhop of *Canterbury* in the time of *Henry* II, (though others mention not the burning; And one living in thoſe times, affirms onely, that his bones were ſcattered amongſt ſo many dead mens, that they could not be found again without ſome great Miracle.) Together with which, our King ſeiſed on that immenſe Treaſure and Jewels which were offered to his Shrine; there being few ſince *Henry* the Second's time which paſſed to *Canterbury*, that did not both viſit his Tombe, and bring rich Preſents to it. Among which, there being one ſtone eminent, which it was ſaid, *Lewys* the Seventh coming hither on Pilgrimage from *France*, *Anno Dom.* 1179 beſtowed; our King wore it in a Ring afterwards. For which reaſons, as alſo for being ſo great an example of contumacie againſt his King, he was (as *Sanders* hath it) conſtrain'd *Cauſam iterum ad Tribunal dicere*; That is to ſay, his life and actions being examin'd, he was declar'd by our King that he deſerved no canonization: and proved beſides, that the Scull which the people did ſo much venerate (and which was now burnt as an impoſture) was not his own, (it, together with his bones, being found in his Tombe, and ſcattered, as aforeſaid,) and that there was forgery in divers Miracles there exhibited; with which yet our King, being not content, caus'd his name to be raz'd out of the Kalender, and forbad the keeping of his Holiday. But becauſe it may appear what a kinde of Saint this man was, I will report ſome part of his life; not out of his Legend, or indeed *Polydore Virgil*, who moſt fabulouſly affirms, that certain men in *Kent* for cutting off *Becket*'s Horſe tail, their Progeny ever after, as long as any of them remained, had tailes like Beaſts. But of a Book of the ſaid Clerk of

Will. Thomas Il. Pel. Ingl.

Aug. 23. 1179

Sand. Sch. Angl.

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of the Counſell, formerly mentioned, leaving to every man yet the choice of beleeving what relation he pleaſeth.

This man (as my Author hath it) being born of an Engliſh Merchant, and a woman of *Barbary*, having been brought up in learning, and promoted to the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, conteſted with King *Henry* the ſecond for the Popes Authority: Inſomuch, that in his *Pontificalibus*; with his Miter upon his head, and gilt Croſſe born before him, he publikely excommunicated all thoſe who oppoſed the Church; wherewith the
1165. King being offended, *Becket* fled to the Pope, who cheriſhed him ſo much, as in contemplation of him, he excommunicated the King and kingdom; ſo that for about four yeers ſpace, neither Maſſe, nor other publike Service was uſed in the Church.
1170. But by the Interceſſion of the French King, *Becket* and the Maſſe being reſtored, and our King and Kingdom abſolved, all things ſeemed quiet, till he began new quarrels: At which the King being diſpleaſed, ſaid, If he had faithfull ſervants, he ſhould not be ſo wronged; Which ſome Gentlemen that ſerved him hearing, went to *Canterbury*, and taking their time, upon ſome ill language given, killed him in the Cloiſter of his Cathedrall Church, and ſo fled. Whereupon the Monks ſhut their gates, and perſwaded the People that the Bells rung of themſelves; nor content herewith, they caſt a certain compoſition into a well adjoyning, and made the People beleeve that it appeared bloudy by Miracle, for that holy Martyr, which at laſt obtained ſuch credit that *Henry* II came in perſon, together with
1179. Aug. 23. *Loüys* of *France* to viſit the Holy place, and gave many rich poſſeſſions to the Monaſtery; for further teſtimony of his favour to them, refuſing ever to receive again, or pardon the murtherers, yet theſe wonders ended at laſt; for our King on ſome occaſion coming to *Canterbury*, diſcovered the fraud of the well, and aboliſhed the Miracles.

But what pretext ſoever our King had to proceed thus with *Becket*, nothing was taken to be a greater cruelty and rapine: Inſomuch, that upon news hereof, the Pope deferred no longer to publiſh his Bull of Excommnication (formerly decreed
Decemb. 17. 1535) againſt our King; wherein he alſo mentions this fact with much horrour and deteſtation; ſending alſo his Agents abroad with the ſaid Bull, who ſet it up in divers places of *Flanders*, *France* and *Scotland*; being ſuch a Bull (ſaith the Writer of the *Councel of Trent*) as neither his Predeceſſours left him example for, or his Succeſſours ever imitated. But the Pope gained little hereby; or all his rigours were but ſo many Incentives
Aprill 8. to King *Henry* to oppoſe him; therefore as he had ſent publike-
May. proteſtations every where againſt the Councel to be aſſembled at *Vicenza*, affirming the ſame difficulties would be about holding of it there, which muſt have been at *Mantua*; ſo having made

made way by the diſcovery of the former Impoſtures, he ſuppreſſed more Monaſteries, and every day more and more deveſted the Clergy of their former Authority. Howbeit, on the other ſide, he oppoſed all Reformation but his own; as appears both by burning two Dutch Anabaptiſts, and by a Diſpute hee publickly held in *Weſtminſter*-Hall with one *Nicholſon, alias Lambert* a Prieſt; againſt whom hee maintained the preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament after the manner he ſet down in his Articles; concluding, that he ſhould have mercy if hee recanted; otherwiſe, that he ſhould be burnt. But *Lambert* deſpiſing mercy on thoſe terms, the ſentence was executed: ſo deep a tincture doth Religion give, as being once throughly entred, nothing afterward can either change or efface it.

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Novemb. 19.

Novemb. 22.

The King having thus made it appear, that howſoever he rejected the Papall Authority, he concurred not every-where with the Reformers, thought he might with more reaſon now confront the report which Cardinall *Poole* and his Friends had raiſed, that he had wholly altered his Religion. In which number, becauſe *Henry Courtney* Marqueſſe of *Exceter* (the King's Couſin-german, as being Son of *Katherine*, Daughter to *Edward* the Fourth) and *Henry Poole* Lord *Montacute*, and Sir *Edward Nevil* Brother to the Lord *Abergavenny*, and Sir *Geffery Poole* Knight were eminent; he took occaſion (upon ſecret information given by Sir *Geffery*) to cauſe them to be indicted, for deviſing to maintain, promote and advance one *Reginald Poole* late Dean of *Exceter*, enemy to the King beyond the Seas, and to deprive the King; upon which the two Lords, before *Thomas* Lord *Audley* (for the preſent ſitting as his High Steward of *England*) were found guilty: not long after which, Sir *Edward Nevil*, Sir *Geffery Poole*, two Prieſts and a Mariner were arraign'd, and found guilty alſo, and judgement given accordingly. The two Lords and *Nevil* were beheaded, the two Prieſts and Mariner hang'd and quarter'd at *Tiburn*, and Sir *Geffery* pardoned; Sir *Nicholas Carew* alſo (Knight of the Garter, and Maſter of the Horſe to the King) for being of counſell with the ſaid Marqueſſe, was beheaded. The particular offences yet of theſe great perſons are not ſo fully made known to me, that I can ſay much. Onely I finde among our Records that *Thomas Wriotheſley* Secretary (then at *Bruxils*) writing of their apprehenſion to Sir *Thomas Wyat* (his Highneſſe Ambaſſadour in *Spain*) ſaid, that the Accuſations were great, and duly proved. And in another place I read that they ſent the Cardinal Money.

Decemb. 31.

Jan. 3.

1538

Jan. 9.

March 3.

Novemb.

Vinc. Herald.

I finde little more of this yeer for our parts, ſave that notwithſtanding all theſe ſeverities, neither was one *Conesby* Groom of the Kings Chamber deterr'd from counterfeiting the Kings Seal Manuall; nor one *Clifford* from counterfeiting his Privie Signet: both which therefore ſuffered death.

The

The Life and Reign

1539

Sandov. l. 24. Novemb. 1.

The Emperour now in *Spain*, among his home-buſineſſes, thought none more requiſite then to take order for money: Therefore hee aſſembled at *Toledo* a Cortes or Parliament of both States; ſo that the Grandees of *Caſtilla* and *Leon* on the one ſide, and Cardinal of *Toledo* and Clergy on the other, did enter into it: where the Emperours neceſſities being repreſented by occaſion of his late Warres, It was declared, that neither his ordinary Revenues, nor the Indies, nor the Cruzades, Tenths and other helps granted by the Pope, did ſuffice to keep him out of debt. Wherefore the Emperor deſired that at their charge all his Eſtate and Dominions might be preſerv'd and ſecur'd both by Sea and Land; ſo as hee might have the ordinary Rent of *Caſtilla*, and the India's for paying his debts and ſpending money. The Clergy hereupon agreed, That their moſt ready and equall way for ſupplying the Emperors wants, was to grant a Siſa or Taxe for a certain time, with a limitation to what it ſhould extend; ſince leſſe corruption and extortion would follow this way then any other: Onely they deſired the Emperour, That he would procure a Licenſe and Commandment from his Holineſſe to this purpoſe. But the Grandees and Nobles who had immediate power in their hands to conſent unto the Emperours Demand, would yet reſolve nothing ſuddenly in their own name or the Peoples, nor before they had committed the buſineſſe to twelve elect perſons among them; among which the Conneſtable being chief, ſpake much againſt Impoſitions; deſiring rather to ſupply the Emperour ſome other way: And that they might confer with the Burgeſſes or Procuradores of the chief Cities hereof; beſeeching his Majeſty withall, that he would ſtay at home and ſtudy peace, as having made eighteen yeers of continuall War both by Sea and Land: Which Anſwer being brought the Emperour, It was replyed on his part, that hee demanded Money, and not Advice. Hereupon, certain amongſt them propoſed to lay Impoſition upon Commodities exported: but the reſt agreed not. Whereupon the Cardinall of *Toledo* came and told them in his
Febr. 1. Majeſties name, That he aſſembled them to the intent he might communicate his owne and his Kingdoms neceſſities; it ſeeming reaſonable, that as they were generall, ſo ſhould the Remedie be: But by as much as is done, hee conceiveth there is no cauſe to detain you any longer, and therefore gives you leave to depart.

The *Cortes* being thus diſſolved, the Emperor upon occaſion, told the Coneſtable he had done ill, and deſerved to be thrown out of a Corredor or open Gallery, where they were: To which he anſwered, Your Majeſty will pleaſe to adviſe; for though I am little, I weigh much. But it ſeems, the Emperor ſpake neither in earneſt, nor the Coneſtable, as one that reſent-

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ed; ſo that nothing followed. Howſoever, the Grandees and Nobles of *Spain* behaved themſelves inſolently at this time, to the Emperor; who having commanded a Juſt or Tourney, wherein all the principal Perſons were to meet: it happened as they rode in their equipage and order to the place, an Alguazil ſtroke the Duke of *Infantados* Horſe, on ſome occaſion; whereupon the Duke turning about, demanded, Do you know me? and the Alguazil ſaying, yea: He with his ſword cut him on the head; who with blood about his ears, coming to the Emperor (then on horſe-back,) incenſed him ſo much, as he ſent preſently to apprehend the Duke; But the Coneſtable being preſent, ſaid to the Officer, You have no Authority, as long as I am in place; and ſo forced him thence. The Emperor now much offended, that all theſe Acrevemiencos were done in his preſence, ſends another Officer to apprehend the Duke; at which the Grandees and others were ſo diſpleaſed, that they all rode away in Troop; ſo that the Emperor having few or none to attend him in this great Solemnity, was forced to deſiſt and return; both to his own great ſcandal, and thoſe who came to be ſpectators. But the Emperor found means afterwards, to let them know how ſenſible he was of this contempt. 1539

The *German* Proteſtants, this while, being ſollicited for ayd againſt the *Turk*, and denying it, unleſs the Emperor firſt granted them ſuch a ſolid and entire Peace in the Cauſe of Religion, as might comprehend both the preſent and future Confederates; the adverſe party entered a Counter-league to that of *Smalcald*, calling it Holy, and ſtipulating mutual defence, if they were moleſted for the *Roman* Religion. The Emperor notwithſtanding, giving Commiſſion to *Heldus* and others, to treat with the ſaid Proteſtants of an Accommodation; which yet took no effect, though there were a meeting held at *Francfort*, to this purpoſe. Howſoever, our King omitted not to ſend His Agents (*Chriſtopher Mount* and *Thomas Payn*) thither, ſhewing, He took it ill, that they treated of a Pacification without his knowledg, deſiring to underſtand the Conditions thereof, and whether they intended to be conſtant to their profeſſed Doctrine: To which, *Burgart* and others in their name, *April* 23. coming to *England*, brought Inſtructions to this effect, That their manifold troubles, ſuffered them not hitherto, to ſignifie the ſaid Pacification, which yet was not likely to take effect, no Conditions being ſo much as propoſed. Neither would they accept any contrary to the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion; ſo that there needed be no doubt of their Conſtancy: But they are informed, that His Majeſty had ſet forth a Proclamation, injoyning rigidly and under heavy Cenſures, thoſe Points which the laſt yeer their Ambaſſadors deſired as Abuſes might be Reformed; which unleſs His Majeſty pleaſed to mitigate,

November 25. 1538.

Febr. 12. Records.

April 23.

Records

1539 they could determine nothing of the Legation of learned Men, which he expected. For we have, say they, disputed enough already, and the King is not ignorant of our Opinions touching Private Mass, Communion in one kinde, and Celibate of Priests. And unless we understood that our Doctrine herein were prescribed by God, we would not undergo the dangers we do for maintenance thereof: Neither let the King imagine, that we will now either deny the said Doctrines, or send any of our Divines into *England*, to give Approbation to the contrary. Together with which, *Philip Melancthon* sent a Letter to the King (superscrib'd *Serm^o, &c. Capiti Anglicæ Ecclesiæ, post Christum Supremo*,) exhorting him to perfect the Reformation begun, and not hearken to those who would hinder it, by exacting too severely Ceremonies and things indifferent; wherefore, he desires His Majesty to mitigate the late Proclamation. What Answer our King gave to this, doth not appear to me: But the King was so far from condescending thereunto, that he obtained a Confirmation of the said Articles in the next Parliament, under greater Penalties, as shall appear in its place. In the mean time he consented to strengthen himself at home, by inriching his Treasury. Therefore, having formerly gotten the consent of his Parliament, for dissolving all Religious Houses under 200 l. yeerly, he did now attempt the rest; so that though divers of the Visitors had heretofore petitioned, that some might be spared, Both for the vertue of the Persons in them, and the benefit of the Country, (the poor receiving thence relief, and the richer sort good education for their children:) And though *Latimer* mentioned, that some two or three might be left in every shire for pious uses, *Cromwel* yet (by the Kings Permission) invaded all; while betwixt threats, gifts, perswasions, promises, and whatsoever might make man obnoxious, he obtained of the Abbots, Priors, Abbesses, *&c.* that their Houses might be given up. Among which, those that offered their Monastries freely, got best Conditions of the King; for if they stood upon their right, the Oath of Supremacy, and some other Statutes, and Injunctions brought them in danger, or their Crimes at least made them guilty of the Law; which also was quickly executed. And particularly on the Abbots of *Glassenbury*, *Colchester*, and *Reading*, who more then any else resisted.

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Records.

In conclusion, the Title made to these, seems not to be grounded upon a grant by Statute, or claim of Right, but was either some voluntary surrender, Purchase or Forfeiture. Howbeit, the King thought fit to have this proceeding presently confirmed by Act of Parliament: Therefore by his Writs he summoned it to begin *April* 28. 1539. In the mean while, rumors were every where dispersed, that Cardinal *Pool* labored with

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with divers Princes, to procure Forces againſt the Kingdom, and that an Invaſion was threatned. And this again ſeemed more credible; that the Truce concluded between the Emperour and French King was generally known, and that neither of them wanted pretext to bring an Army hither. This alſo was ſeconded by a ſudden journey of the King unto the Sea-coaſt; unto divers parts whereof, he had formerly ſent ſundry Nobles and expert perſons to viſit the Ports, and places of danger, who failed not for their diſcharge upon all event, to affirm the perill in each place, ſo great, as one would have thought every place had needed fortification; beſides he cauſed his Navy forthwith to be in a readineſs, and Muſters to be taken over all the Kingdom. All which preparatives being made againſt a danger which was beleeved imminent, ſeemed ſo to excuſe the Kings ſuppreſſing of Abbies, as the People (willing to ſpare their own purſes) began to ſuffer it eaſily; eſpecially when they ſaw order taken for building divers Forts and Bulwarks upon the Sea-coaſts; many, if not moſt of thoſe wee have at this day, being, though not ſo exact as the modern, yet of his raiſing. And that they ſuſpected the diſcontented Religious Orders (ſooner then any elſe) would aſſiſt an Enemy. But if the reaſons of theſe proceedings were held by ſome as currant, by others they were taken to be no more then Palliation, and by the Clergy but rapine, who divulged beyond Seas the miſerable ruines of themſelves, and houſes, in ſuch terms, as the Chriſtian world was aſtoniſhed; for though their exceſſive number excuſed the King in ſome part for the firſt ſuppreſſion, this latter (they ſaid) had no ſuch ſpecious pretext, when yet ſurrender, purchaſe, or the like were urg'd; So that notwithſtanding the Kings neceſſities, no little occaſion of ſcandall and obloquy was given.

The number of Monaſteries firſt and laſt ſuppreſſed in *England* and *Wales* were (as *Cambden* accounts them) ſix hundred forty five; whereof theſe had voices among the Peers: The Abbot of S. *Albans* (being as I take it) declared the firſt Abbey of *England* (whether in favour of Pope *Adrian* the IV. his Father called *Breakſpear*, who upon his wives death rendred himſelf a Monk there, or S. *Alban* himſelf Protomartyr of *England*) S. *Peters* in *Weſtminſter*, S. *Edmondsbury*, S. *Bennets* of *Holm*, *Berdſey*, *Shrewsbury*, *Crowland*, *Abingdon*, *Eveſham*, *Gloceſter*, *Ramſey*, S. *Maries* in *York*, *Tewxbury*, *Reading*, *Battail*, *Winchcombe*, *Hide* by *Winchester*, *Cirenceſter*, *Waltham*, *Malmeſbury*, *Thorney*, S. *Auguſtine* in *Canterbury*, *Selby*, *Peterborough*, S. *Johns* in *Colcheſter*, *Coventry*, *Taveſtock*: Of Colledges were demoliſhed in divers ſhires, ninety. Of Canteries, and fire-Chappels 2374. And Hoſpitals 110. The yeerly value of all which were, as I find it caſt up 161100 l. being above a third part of all our ſpirituall Revenues; beſides

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the money made of the preſent ſtock of Cattell and Corn, of the Timber, Lead, Bels, &c. and laſtly, but chiefly, of the Plate and Church-ornaments; which I finde not valued, but may be conjectured by that one Monaſtery of S. *Edmondsbury*, whence was taken (as our Records ſhew) five thouſand Marks of gold and ſilver, beſides divers ſtones of great value. All which being by ſome openly call'd Rapine and Sacriledge, I will no way excuſe: though I may ſay truely, that notwithſtanding ſo many Religious Houſes were deſtroyed, there are yet in every kinde (the ſuppreſt Abbies and Chantries onely excepted) left ſtanding ſo many, as give no little increaſe to Learning, ſplendor to Religion, and teſtimony of Charity to the Poor. So that although I cannot but pity the ruine of ſo many pious Foundations, as affording a ſingular conveniency to thoſe who deſired to retire to a holy, pious and contemplative life, when abuſes were taken away; yet I have thought fit to mention theſe particulars, that it may appear to forreign Nations wee are not deſtitute of many Monuments of Devotion: Of which alſo our King had ſuch regard, that he did not imploy all the profits ariſing from the aforeſaid Diſſolutions, on Fortifications or the like; for hee not onely augmented the number of the Colledges and Profeſſors in his Univerſities, but erected (as he had promiſed) out of the Revenues gotten hereby, divers new Biſhopricks; whereof one at *Weſtminſter*, one at *Oxford*, one at *Peterborough*, one at *Briſtol*, one at *Cheſter*, and one at *Gloceſter*; all remaining at this day, ſave that of *Weſtminſter*, which being revok'd to his firſt Inſtitution by Queen *Mary*, and *Benedictines* placed in it, was by Queen *Elizabeth* afterwards converted to a Collegiate Church, and a School for the teaching and maintenance of young Scholers: Beſides, many of the ancient Cathedrall Churches formerly poſſeſſed by Monks onely, were now ſupplied with Canons, and ſome new ones enacted and endowed; the Revenues allotted by the King to theſe new Biſhopricks and Cathedrals amounting to about 8000 *l. per annum.* So that Religion ſeem'd not ſo much to ſuffer hereby, as ſome of the Clergy of thoſe times and ours would have it believed: our Kingdom in the mean while having (as *Cromwell* projected it) in ſtead of divers ſupernumerary and idle perſons, men fit for imployment, either in War or Peace, maintained at the coſt of the foreſaid Abbies and Chantries: So that the Deſolations (appearing in their ſtately Foundations at this day) are by our Politicks thought amply recompenſed. Beſides, the King in the demoliſhing of them, had ſo tender a care of Learning, that he not onely preferred divers able perſons which he found there, but took ſpeciall care to preſerve the choiſeſt Books of their well-furniſhed Libraries: wherein I finde *John Leland* (a curi-

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ous Searcher of Antiquities) was imployed. But hereof enough, ſince I do not intend to exceed the Terms of an Hiſtorian, and therefore ſhall come now to the Parliament, which being compoſed of perſons well-affected to the Kings Service, (as his manner was always with great induſtry to procure ſuch) Theſe Statutes among others were enacted.

That Religious perſons being put at liberty, might purchaſe, ſue, and be ſued; but not claim any Inheritance as deſcending on them: And that if they had made a vow of Chaſtity after one and twenty, they ſhould not marry. But this enabling them not to buy, they thought no ſufficient amends for the loſſe of their preſent maintenance.

That the King by the advice of his Counſell, or the more part of them might ſet forth Proclamations under ſuch penalties and pains as to him or them ſhall ſeem neceſſary, which ſhould be obſerved as though they were made by Act of Parliament: But that this ſhould not be prejudiciall to any perſons Inheritances, Offices, Liberties, Goods, Chattels or Life, &c. But this was repealed 1. *Edw.* 6. 12.

That the King might nominate ſuch number of Biſhops, Sees for Biſhops, Cathedrall Churches, and endow them with ſuch poſſeſſions as he will. [Which, though repeal'd 1 & 2 *Phil. & Mar.* yet order was taken therein again 8 *Eliz.* 1.]

It was declared alſo how Lords in the Parliament ſhould be placed.

That Leaſes made of Manors belonging to Monaſteries diſſolv'd, or to be diſſolv'd, and aſſured to the King, ſhould take effect: wherein is expreſſed, that the King ſhould hold, poſſede and enjoy, to him, his Heirs, and Succeſſors for ever, All Monaſteries, Abbathies, Priories, Nunneries, Colledges, Hoſpitals, Houſes of Friers, or other Religious and Eccleſiaſticall Houſes and Places, which ſince the fourth of *February* 27. *Hen.* 8. have been diſſolv'd, ſuppreſs'd, renounced, relinquiſhed, forfeited, given up, or by any other means come to his Highneſs; or which ſhall be diſſolv'd, &c. As alſo all Manors, Lordſhips, Lands, Tenements, Rights, Liberties, &c. belonging to them. All which (except ſuch as came by Attainder of Treaſon) ſhould be under ſurvey and governance of the Kings Court of Augmentation of the Revenues of the Crown. Other mens Titles yet ſaved.

It was alſo particularly enacted, That whereas *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk* by the Kings aſſent had purchaſed of one *William Flatbury* late Abbot of the Monaſtery of *Sipton* in *Suffolk*, the ſaid Monaſtery, with all &c. And whereas *George* Lord *Cobham* had likewiſe purchaſed the Colledge or Chantry of *Cobham* in *Kent*, It was enacted, that the Act above-written ſhould not be prejudicial to the ſaid Duke, or Lord *Cobham*. Whereby it appears, the

1539 the Kings intention was to unite all the Abbey Lands, &c. to the Crown, ſave theſe ſo ſpecified.

The Six Articles, called by ſome the Bloody Statute, were alſo enacted this Parliament: being,

I. If any perſon by Word, Writing, Printing, Cypherıng, or any otherwiſe do preach, teach, diſpute, or hold opinion, that in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, under form of Bread and Wine (after the conſecration thereof) there is not preſent really the naturall Body and Bloud of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt conceived of the Virgin *Mary*; Or that after the ſaid Conſecration there remaineth any ſubſtance of Bread and Wine, or any other ſubſtance but the ſubſtance of Chriſt God and man; Or that in the Fleſh under form of Bread, is not the very Bloud of Chriſt; Or that with the Bloud, under the form of Wine, is not the very fleſh of Chriſt as well apart, as though they were both together; Or affirm the ſaid Sacrament to be of other ſubſtance then is aforeſaid, or deprave the ſaid bleſſed Sacrament: Then hee ſhall be adjudged an Heretick, and ſuffer death by burning, and ſhall forfeit to the King all his Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Goods and Chattels, as in caſe of high-Treaſon.

II. And if any Perſon preach in any Sermon, or Collation openly made, or teach in any common School or Congregation, or obſtinately affirm or defend, that the Communion of the bleſſed Sacrament in both kindes is neceſſary for the health of mans Soul, or ought or ſhould be miniſtred in both kindes: or that it is neceſſary to be received by any perſon (other then Prieſts) being at Maſſe, and conſecrating the ſame.

III. Or that any man, after the order of Prieſt-hood received, may marry, or contract Matrimony.

IIII. Or that any man or woman which adviſedly hath vowed or profeſſed, or ſhould vow or profeſſe Chaſtity or Widow-hood, may marry or contract Marriage.

V. Or that private Maſſes be not lawfull, or not laudable, or ſhould not be uſed, or be not agreeable to the Lawes of God.

VI. Or that Auricular Confeſſion is not expedient and neceſſary to be uſed in the Church of God, he ſhall be adjudged to ſuffer death, and forfeit land and goods as a Felon.

If any Prieſt, or other man or woman which adviſedly hath vowed Chaſtity or Widow-hood, do actually marry or contract Matrimony with another; or any man which is, or hath been a Prieſt, do carnally uſe any woman to whom he is or hath been married, or with whom he hath contracted Matrimony; or openly be converſant or familiar with any ſuch woman, both the man and the woman ſhall be adjudged Felons. Commiſſions alſo ſhall be awarded to the Biſhop of the Dioceſſe, his Chancellor,

cellor, Commiſſary, and others, to enquire of the Hereſies, Felonies, and offences aforeſaid. And alſo Juſtices of Peace in their Seſſions, and every Steward, under-Steward, and Deputy of Steward in their Leet or Law-day, by the oathes of twelve men, have authority to enquire of all the Hereſies, Felonies, and offences aforeſaid. 1539

In this Parliament alſo *Margaret* Counteſſe of *Salisbury* (being Daughter of *George* Duke of *Clarence* Brother of *Edward* the fourth, and Mother of Cardinall *Poole*,) as alſo the Cardinal himſelf, and *Gertrude* Wife to the late Marqueſſe of *Exceter*, Sir *Adrian Forteſcue*, and *Thomas Dingley* Knight of S. *Johns*, were attainted of Treaſon. Againſt *Margaret* and *Gertrude* it was alledged, that they were complices with the Marqueſſe of *Exceter* and other Traitors: Our Records alſo tell us, that certain Buls granted by the Biſhop of *Rome* were found at *Cowdrey*, being then (as I take it) the Counteſſe of *Salisbury's* houſe; and that the Parſon of *Warblington* conveigh'd Letters for her to her Son the Cardinall; and that ſhe forbad all her Tenants to have the New Teſtament in Engliſh, or any other new book the King had priviledged. But whatſoever the cauſe was (for our Parliament Records are ſhort in the particulars) I finde by a Letter from the Earl of *Southampton* and Biſhop of *Ely* to *Cromwell*, That (though ſhe were ſeventy yeers old) her behaviour yet was maſculine and vehement, and that ſhe would confeſſe nothing. Howſoever, the teſtimonies brought convincing her, ſhe was condemn'd.

Againſt Cardinall *Poole* it was alledg'd, That he had conſpired againſt the King with the Biſhop of *Rome*, and taken preferment of him.

Againſt the reſt, I finde no more, but in generall, that they were complices. Howſoever, *Forteſcue* and *Dingley* ſuffer'd firſt; for *Margarets* execution was deferred for two yeers, as ſhall be told hereafter; and *Gertrude* dyed a naturall death: And for the Cardinal, he could not be taken, though I finde our King required him earneſtly of all thoſe Princes that received him in their Dominions. July 10. 1557.

The Six Articles being now publiſhed, gave no little occaſion of murmure; ſince to revoke the conſcience not onely from its own Court, but from the ordinary ways of reſolving controverſies, to ſuch an abrupt deciſion of the common Law (as is there ſet down) was thought to be a deturning of Religion from its right and uſuall courſe; ſince the Conſcience muſt be taught, not forced; without that it ſhould at any time be handled roughly, as being of ſo delicate a temper, as though it ſuffer an edge to be put on, who doth more, diminiſheth or breaks it. Beſides, to make the contravening of Doctrines to be capitall, before they be fully proved, is prejudiciall to that liberty,

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liberty, without which no man can juſtifie himſelf before God or man. For if it be death to beleeve otherwiſe then wee are commanded, how unſafe will it be to make exact enquiry? and without it who can ſay his Religion is beſt? Beſides, the example is dangerous; for if Infidels and Heathens (to retain their people in obedience) ſhould do the like, who would ever turn Chriſtian? Therefore *Cranmer* for three days together in the open Aſſembly oppos'd theſe Articles boldly; though yet it appears not what Arguments he uſed. Onely I finde the King ſent to him for a Copy of them, and miſliked not his freedom, as knowing all he ſpake was out of a ſincere intention; though ſome thought he had a private Intereſt, as being a married man, though fearing of this Law, hee ſent away his Wife for the preſent into *Germany*, ſhe being kinſwoman to *Hoſiander* the Divine of *Noremberg*, whom he married during his Ambaſſade with the Emperor about *Anno* 1532.

Fox.

But that it may ſeem leſſe ſtrange why the King, who before was much diſpoſed to favour the Reformers, did on a ſudden ſo much vary from them, I have thought fit to ſet down ſome of the Motives, as I conceive them. In which number certainly, the objections of *Stephen Gardiner* formerly mentioned may have place, while ſpeaking againſt the Treaty with the Proteſtants in *Germany*, he alledged that they would not allow the Kings Supremacy, leſt they ſhould infer an inveſting of the ſame Authority in the Emperor, whoſe abſolute power they ſeemed to fear more then that of the Pope himſelf: And as this ſuſpition alienated ſecretly the mind of our King, who ſaw that if he embraced their Reformation, they would abridge his power; So they not only delayed to approve his Divorce, but lately (as is ſhewed) in a peremptory manner refuſed all accommodation, unleſſe our King yeelded wholly to the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion. Again the Duke of *Saxony* about this time particularly ſhewed ſome diſaffection to him in the overture of his Match with *Anne* of *Cleve*.

Laſtly, as Affairs then ſtood, the King was both in that danger of Rebellion at home, and invaſion from abroad, as he thought it not ſafe to reform any further in Religion; for which reaſon alſo as he was ſevere againſt all new Sectaries, eſpecially *Anabaptiſts*: ſo when occaſion was given, he ſtill teſtified his deſire as far as was poſſible to keep an unity with the Roman Church, affirming that the Pope had ſlanderouſly called him Heretick. Inſomuch that the ſame time, he publikely diſputed with *Lambert* in *Weſtminſter Hall*, He declared his Reſolution to continue in the Religion he had openly profeſſed. For theſe Reaſons therefore (for I ſhall not here intermeddle with thoſe of Conſcience) it ſeems our King was the more diſpoſed to keep him to the ancient formes of the Church. And now the

Proteſtants

Proteſtants in *Germany*, deſpairing of accord with the Emperor, aſſembled at *Arnſtet* in *Thuringia*, *Nov.* 9. to conſult about mutuall defence. To which purpoſe, they ſent Ambaſſadors to our King; who told them, (as I finde in our Records) that he would make a league with them in honeſt cauſes, as he had done with the Duke of *Juliers*, and after that he would treat of an accord and league in Religion. Though *Sleidan* (a little differing herein) writes that King *Henry* told them plainly, he thought their Doctrine touching Communion in both kinds, Private Maſſe, and Prieſts marriage erroneous, and that his learned men ſhould diſpute herein. And that *Cromwell* thereupon told them, the beſt way was to ſend an honourable Ambaſſade, and *Melancthon*; aſſuring that if they came to any reaſonable agreement of Doctrine with our King, he would not only furniſh them with a vaſt ſum of mony for their occaſions, but enter into a ſtrict league with them for defence in generall. But the ſtanding firme to the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion, and intending no League, but in caſe of Religion, the buſineſs ended for the preſent, in a reſolution to anſwer the Kings Arguments concerning the ſix Articles in writing, and ſend it in a Book to him, and to deſire an abolition of them.

1539

1540.

Sleid. l. 12.

1540. April 13.

And now the ſix Articles cauſed no little apprehenſion in all the Reformers: yet I doe not find the Law was uſed with much rigour, till *Cromwels* death. Nevertheleſs, the terror of it made *Latimer* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Shaxton* Biſhop of *Salisbury* (being committed to priſon) to reſign their Biſhopricks to the King, they being unwilling it ſeems to have a hand in the approbation or execution of them. So that if Sir *Thomas Moor* and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* had their ſcruples about the Supremacy; Theſe men were as Conſcientious about the ſix Articles.

July 1.

This year the Emperor glad to repoſe himſelf a while from war, attended his pleaſures in *Spain*, while *Barbaroſſa* with a ſtrong Fleet keeping the Seas, and landing his men, did miſchief in many places. Recovering ſo after a brave reſiſtance by *Sarmiento* a Spaniard, the place of *Caſtel-novo* in the Gulf of *Cataro*; which though it excited the Emperor to proceed in his war againſt the Turk; yet a Mutiny ariſing in *Gant* (his native town) made him reſolve in perſon to go and appeaſe it. And the rather, that having now loſt his Empreſſe, and check'd a little the greatneſſe of ſome principall perſons in *Spain*, he thought himſelf more free and diſingaged. All the difficulty was what way to take; for if the Sea were full of hazard, there was no Land-way, but by *France*; which though beſt, when it could be handſomly procured, yet (the buſineſs being brought to his Councell) was judg'd impoſſible; nevertheleſſe, an overture thereof being ſecretly given to *Francis*, and a promiſe of *Milan* to one of his Sons (as the French write) he both gladly embra-

Aug. 7.

May 21.

Bellay.

1539 ced the occaſion, and offered his two Sons for Hoſtages of his ſafe paſſage. This was thankfully received by the Emperor, but as the Age was full of ancient honour, (which I never found intermitted but in barbarous times) the Emperor would have no ſecurity, but only a ſafe conduct under the hand and Seal of *Francis*; taking that pledge only for his life and the Empire, while *Francis* that he might exempt his magnanimous Gueſt from jealouſie, ſent his two Sons and *Anne de Montmorancy* the Coneſtable to receive him at *Bayonne*, whither in his mourning weeds, he came with XXII Perſons only, (as our Records have it) in the end of *November* 1539. and ſo like Knight Errant following his journey, he every where (as *Francis* had permitted) delivered all Priſoners. Coming thus to *Caſtel le Herand*, the King (though troubled with an ulcer in his ſecret parts)

1540. Jan. *Du Pleix.* and the Queen and Dutcheſs of *Eſtampes* his Favorite, and a great train of Noble Perſons wellcom'd the Emperor with all demonſtration of love. This confident Paſſage having (it ſeemed) aboliſhed all memory of their former rancour; holding their way thus to *Amboiſe*; the Emperour was there almoſt ſtifled by a thick and ſudden ſmoak, which (though the French report to have been the caſuall burning of ſome hangings neer his Chamber) alſo might be true, yet one *Style* (imployed there by our King to write him the ſucceſſe of this journey) ſaid it came thus. They who had charge from *Francis* to make the Emperors reception, had hung a long Iron chain from the top of the Caſtle to the bottome, covered all over with Pitch, Tar, and Roſin in very great quantity, which being lighted at the Emperors coming (ſomewhat in Night) did afterwards upon ſome accident, go out in that ſnuffe and ill ſavour, as the Emperor ſuſpected it was done on purpoſe to choak him; but theſe jealouſies were ſoon cleered, ſuccours not only coming in quickly, but *Francis* commanding the Authors of this diſturbance to be hanged, had not the Emperor interceded for them. And here, during ſome ſtay, both Princes (who formerly would have uſed their Armes againſt each other) ending their emulation in ſhooting a Stag, which they both hit at the ſame time with their Hand-guns, (as *Style* relates) departing hence to *Paris*, the Court of Parliament in their Robes, the Chancellor and Officers of the City met him, with a brave Equipage, which yet the Emperor ſeemed not much to affect; his black cloth Suit, and private train being not proper as he thought for ſuch ſhewes; ſo that he wiſhed they had been ſpared. Nevertheleſs *Francis* would not omit any thing which might ſerve either for oſtentation or magnificence, ſo that in the ſplendor thereof, all note of their former diſſention ſeem'd hidden or effaced. Howbeit, there wanted not ſome who perſwaded *Francis* to cancell the Treaty of *Madrid*, and make a new

Records.

one

one at *Paris*, and that *Milan* ſhould be reſtored into the bargain. But as the Coneſtable *Montmorancy* (a perſon of great worth,) oppos'd this advice, ſo *Francis* abhorred it. Beſides, the Dutcheſſe of *Eſtampes* (who at firſt ſeemed averſe) being gain'd by a Diamond, which the Emperor having purpoſely let fall, had after given, (upon her taking it up) changed her language and now began to ſerve the Emperor. Seven daies thus being paſt, either in Masks, Tilts, Turneys, and other Royall diſports and triumphs, or in friendly and private communication, the Emperor thought fit to depart, giving by way of ſatisfaction for his good entertainment many aſſurances of his love to *Francis*, who alſo for making it more entire to him, as well as withdrawing it from our King, had diſcovered ſome ſecrets (formerly paſt betwixt them) which deturned the Emperor much from makeing any new alliance in our Parts. But as this, at laſt was diſcloſed again to our King, the unkind uſage he received herein, made him attend an occaſion to reſent it. And now the Emperour and *Francis* leaving *Paris*, the Coneſtable entertained them both at his goodly Pallace of *Chantilly*: The admirable ſituation whereof, and variety of country pleaſures about it, was ſuch, as it made the Emperor wiſh that he had ſuch another place, when it had coſt him one of his Provinces. Both Princes going hence to St. *Quintin* bid adieu to each other, leaving nothing more to be admir'd, in all the Paſſages betwixt them, then that they never ſpake of any particular difference, but by way of gentle diſcourſe, or urg'd it further, then either of them pleas'd to give ear, ſo much did civility prevail with them over all other conſiderations; and thus at length, in *Febr.* the Emperor came to *Valencionnes*; whither *Francis* his children having accompanied him, and received both from him, and his ſiſter *Mary* Lady Regent there all kind and Regal uſage (excepting an abſolute promiſe to reſtore *Milan*) they departed and left the Emperor to attend his great occaſions in thoſe Countries. Where being happy in nothing more, then that his adventure of paſſing through *France*, (which nothing could juſtifie but the event) had ſucceeded ſo well, he compoſed the ſtirs there ſhortly after.

1540

Febr.

The paſſages of this Interview being now advertiſed to our King, made him attempt betimes to break off their new Allyance: or when that could not be done, to prevent the conſequences. Therefore, immediately upon the departure of the Emperour from *Paris*, hee ſent the Duke of *Norfolk* to treat with *Francis* to this effect: To offer him aſſiſtance for recovery of *Milan*. And for this purpoſe, that the arrerages of the Penſions due to our King, and Salt-money ſhould be remitted: Furthermore, that with all induſtry he ſhould make him jealous of the Emperours ambition. And laſtly, to propoſe a ſtrict

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1540 League with him, even to the excluſion of the Pope out of their Dominions, as he ſaid: he ſaid he had already contracted with the Duke of *Cleves*, and in a manner with the Duke of *Saxe*, the Count Palatine of *Rhine*, the Dukes of *Baviere*, *John* Marqueſſe of *Brandenburg*, the Langrave of *Heſſe*, and the Marqueſs *Joachim* Elector, and other Princes of *Germany*. The Duke coming thus to *Paris*, had audience of *Francis*; but finding him reſolute not to break with the Emperour, if hee performed his part, he return'd before the end of *February*.

Having thus delivered together the whole buſineſſe of the Interview, and ſucceſſe thereof, leſt the Reader ſhould be interrupted with broken and imperfect Narrations, I ſhall look back on ſome other Affairs which paſſed this while.

1539. Our King having found that neither the Marriage propos'd betwixt himſelf and the Dutcheſſe of *Milan*, was like to take effect, nor any other in *France*, conſidered now where he might beſtow himſelf with moſt advantage: whereupon *Cromwell* adviſed to a Treaty with *Cleves*; and the rather, that he might oppoſe the Emperour, who did ſtill retain ſuch a grudge againſt him for diſ-inheriting the Princes *Mary*, as it was thought, hee would endeavour to execute the Pope's Sentence: ſo that hereunto certain conſiderations of State, rather then beauty or riches did conduce. For as *John* Duke of *Cleves* was next neighbour to the Emperors Dominions in the Low-Countries, and Father-in-law to the Duke of *Saxony*, he ſeem'd moſt proper to joyn with in League to this purpoſe. But the old Duke *John* dying ſhortly after, the Treaty was renewed with Duke *William* his Son, April 1539. to whom alſo the Princeſſe *Mary* was propos'd, when hee demanded her upon fitting terms. But difficulties appear'd in either of theſe Affairs; for the Lady *Anne* having been demanded by the Duke of *Lorain*'s Son, the old Duke of *Cleves* had in great part accorded it: And for the other Match, it was much croſs'd by the Emperour, who offered Duke *William* the Dutcheſſe of *Milan*, not without ſome hope that hee would releaſe *Gueldres*, which the ſaid Duke claim'd by the gift of *Charles* of *Egmond*, late Duke thereof. Howbeit, the Treaties with our King went on; but ſo as they were by the *Clevois* cunningly delayed, till a meeting with the Emperours Deputies at *Bruxels* had paſt, and advice was taken with the Duke of *Saxony*: Yet were not theſe the onely impediments; for the Lady *Anne* underſtood no Language but Dutch; ſo that all communication of ſpeech betwixt our King and her was intercluded. Yet, as our Ambaſſadour, *Nicholas Wotton* Doctor of Law, employed in this buſineſſe, hath it, ſhe could both write and read in her own Language, and ſew very well; onely for Muſick, hee ſaid, it was not the manner of the Country to learn it.

1538.

But

But for her better deſcription, *Hans Holbin* the Kings ſervant took her Picture, and her younger Siſter *Amelies*, and ſent them hither; upon whoſe excellent repreſentation of the Lady *Anne*, the Match being reſolved on, was fully concluded at the coming over of *Frederic* Duke of *Baviere* Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, and the ſeveral Ambaſſadors of the Dukes of *Saxony* and *Cleves*; and ſhortly after the Lady with a brave Equipage was ſent into *England*. The other Treaty yet ſucceeded not; for the young Duke of *Cleves* finding no diſpoſition in the Emperour to releaſe *Gueldres*, concluded a Marriage with the onely Daughter of *Henry* King of *Navarre*, and *Margarita* the French Kings Siſter the yeer following; which yet took no effect. This Lady being on her way now as far as *Rocheſter*, the King came diſguiſed to her on New-yeers day: but the ſight ſo diſliked him, that he was glad (as his own words were afterwards) that hee had kept himſelf from making any pact of Bond with her, and that hee was woe that ever ſhe came into *England*; and that hee thereupon deliberated with himſelf how to break it off; though, as he conſidered it would make a ruffle in the world, and drive the Duke her Brother into the Emperour or French King's hands, he ſaid, It was too far gone. The truth of all which is ſo declared by our Records, that I make no queſtion, but if her coming had happened at any other time then when the Emperour and French King were together in *France*, as is before related, He would have ſent her back. Howſoever, he thought fit to diſcover himſelf at laſt to her; who thereupon fell on her knees, but he taking her up lovingly, kiſs'd her, without making ſhew of any inward diſcontent, which alſo hee had ſo at length digeſted, that he reſolved to marry her, when the enſurance made by her to the Duke of *Loraine*'s Son were cleered; which buſineſſe being committed to *Cromwels* care, who was a ſpeciall Counſellor of the Match, hee ſaid (as the King afterwards charged him under his hand) that a ſufficient Inſtrument for this purpoſe was brought: But whether *Cromwell* did forget himſelf herein, or his Maſter, it is hard out of Records to determine; for I finde in an Originall written by *Cromwell*, 25 of *June*, to the King, out of the Tower, That *Oleſleger* and *Hohſteden* (the Duke of *Cleve*'s Commiſſioners for bringing over the Lady) had with them indeed no ſuch Inſtrument, nor any diſcharge or Declaration touching the Covenants of Marriage betwixt the Duke of *Loraine*'s Son; nevertheleſſe, that *Oliſleger* offered to remain here as Priſoner, till a revocation of all the aforeſaid Covenants and Contracts of Marriage were brought; and that this being told the King, made him ſay, he was not well handled in this buſineſſe. Howſoever, all was remitted to the Councel-Table, where the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* and Biſhop of *Dureſme* ſaid, If nothing but Sponſalls had paſt

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1540 past betwixt them, ſuch a Renunciation as was offered would ſerve; and that then the making a Proteſtation in an Honourable Preſence before certain Notaries, it ſhould be a ſufficient diſcharge in Law; And now the procuring of the ſaid Inſtrument in writing being undertook by the aforeſaid Commiſſioners, the King required the Lady to make a Proteſtation before the Lords to this effect: which being done, hee ſaid to *Cromwell*, that there was no remedy now, and therefore he muſt put his neck in the yoak (as the words under his hands are): Whereupon, the next day after hee ſolemnly married her at *Greenwich*, reſolving to confederate himſelf with the Princes of *Germany*, if they would come to ſome moderate accord in Doctrine. But in the morning *Cromwell* coming to him, and demanding whether he lik'd her better then before, He anſwered, Nay, much worſe; for that he having found by ſome ſignes that ſhe was no Maid, he had no diſpoſition to meddle with her: Nevertheleſſe, he outwardly cheriſhed her, without making any publick demonſtration of diſ-favour towards her, or neglect of any Solemnity for her Reception at *London* and elſewhere. All which made the greater ſhew, that the King remembring what enemies he had abroad, and diſcontented perſons at home, had renewed his Guard of Fifty Penſioners, intermitted ſince the firſt yeer of his Reign.

Jan. 5.

Jan. 6.

Dec. 1539.

It is formerly related, how not onely *James* King of *Scotland* deſired in marriage *Mary* the Daughter of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and Relict of the Duke of *Longueville*; but a touch given that our King had ſome inclination to her: Howbeit, *Francis* choſe rather to give her to *James*, as knowing that leſſe States united to greater, depend on them; whereas the equall for the moſt part live in jealouſie with their neighbours: Therefore the Match being concluded, ſhe was brought to *Scotland*, and ſoon after with childe, which being a Son, the Grand-mother *Margaret*, Queen of Scots, and Siſter to our King, having Chriſtned, ſhortly after died, aged about fifty yeers, and was buried at the Carthuſians Church in *Perth*. But neither that childe, nor another born the yeer following, lived long; they (though in ſeverall places) ending their lives within ſix hours one after the other, the ſame day (as the Scottiſh Hiſtory hath it.) I find little els by our Records, of *Scotland*, for this yeer; ſave that ſome Libels and Prophecies being divulged in *Scotland* againſt our King, the Authours were puniſhed by *James*. The yeer following Sir *Ralf Sadler* Secretary was diſpatched thither; about the time that the Emperour and French King were together: For our King knew well how much it concern'd him now on every part to prevent danger. The Inſtructions given to *Sadler* were (after preſenting the King's love and ſome Horſes) Firſt, To bring *David Beton* Cardinall and Arch-biſhop of S. *Andrews*,

Jan. 1538. *Leſl.*

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Andrews into ſuſpicion with that King, as having written to *Rome* in other terms then he ſhould; which Letters being intercepted in *England*, were now to be ſhewn. But King *James* did not much weigh this. 1540

Secondly, To perſwade him, for augmenting his Eſtate, to take into his hands the Abbeys; which *James* likewiſe refuſed, ſaying, what need I take them into my hands, when I may have any thing I can require of them? And if there be abuſes in them, I will reform them; for there be a great many good.

Thirdly, To diſcover his affection, by telling him how rumours were diſperſed (which the aforeſaid Interview made probable) that the Emperour, French King, and Biſhop of *Rome* would invade *England*; and that it was ſaid, King *James* would do the ſame: But he proteſted with many oathes againſt it. Whereupon *Sadler* told him how neer he was to the Engliſh Crown; and that hee ſhould eſteem his Uncles friendſhip above any others, deſiring again there might be an Interview; which *James* approved, when the French King might be preſent; but afterward by a particular Meſſage excuſed it: ſo that ſome jealouſies paſs'd betwixt them; which alſo appear'd by certain Fortifications raiſed about this time upon the Borders by our King, and a Navie of fifteen Ships and 2000 men made in readineſſe by *James*; who wanted not money, his Clergy giving great ſummes onely that their Houſes might not be diſſolv'd. What the occaſion of theſe preparations yet was, I cannot tell; but I gather out of our Records, That about this time certain Iriſh Gentlemen came to invite him to their Country, promiſing to acknowledge him their King, and that divers Nobles and Gentlemen of *Ireland* ſhould come over to do him Homage. How this offer was accepted, appears not; but the Preparatives came to nothing, by the good order which our King gave; who both by frequent and kinde Meſſages, and ſecuring his Borders, kept his Nephew in good intelligence. One doubt yet remained undecided, as I gather out of our Records, which was, That our King took it ill, that *James* aſſum'd his Title of *Defender of the Faith*, onely adding the word *Chriſtian* unto it, as if (ſaid hee) there were any other Faith.

That Beauty and attractive which ſhould take the Kings eye in *Anne* of *Cleve*, not appearing, nor that converſation which ſhould pleaſe his ear; and her Brother beſides excuſing himſelf in the performance of ſome Articles of the Treaty, he did more willingly thinke of a Divorce; for which purpoſe, the *Pre-contract* with the Duke of *Lorrains* ſon was chiefly pretended. For though *Oliſleger* Chancellor of *Cleves*, had according to his promiſe 26. *Febr.* 1540. procured an Inſtrument in writing out of the Records of *Duſſeldorp* dated *Febr.* 15. 1535. April 11.

teſtifying

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teſtifying the *Sponſalia* heretofore made by the Parents betwixt the Duke of *Lorain*'s ſon, and the Lady *Anne* ſhould not take effect. Yet this it ſeems either was not ſhewed, or did not ſatisfie our King. Howſoever it was not depoſited *in Archivis Regiis*, but found among *Cromwels* Papers after his apprehenſion. And now although all ſcruples ſeem'd more conſiderable, that ſo many doubts had been already caſt concerning the Kings former Marriages, yet the King determined at what price ſoever to ſeparate himſelf from *Anne* of *Cleves*, and together to ruine *Cromwell*. For though He had not long before made him Knight of the Garter, Earl of *Eſſex*, and High Chamberlain of *England*, yet as he was odious by reaſon of his low birth to all the Nobility, and hated particularly by *Stephen Gardiner* and all the Roman Catholiques, for having operated ſo much in the diſſolution of Abbies: And that the Reformers themſelves found he could not protect them from burning. And laſtly, that beſides a Subſidie that the Clergy gave of four ſhillings in the pound, he had gotten in the preſent Parliament, not without much reluctation, one tenth, and four fifteen parts of all Lay mens goods; he was univerſally hated, which our King conſidering, and having beſides divers Articles brought againſt him, he now judged him no longer neceſſary; therefore he gave way to all his Enemies Accuſations; which could not be but materiall; it being impoſſible that any man, who medled ſo much in great and publike affairs ſhould not in divers kinds ſo miſtake, forget, and erre, as to incur the note of a Criminall, when ſevere inquiſition were made againſt him. And now the King having gotten ſufficient proof againſt *Cromwell*, cauſed him to be arreſted at the Councel-Table by the Duke of *Norfolk*, when he leaſt ſuſpected it: To which, *Cromwell* obeyed, though judging his perdition more certain, that the Duke was uncle to the Lady *Katherine Howard*, whom the King began now to affect. The News whereof, and his commitment to the Tower being divulg'd, the People with many acclamations witneſſed their joy; So impatient are they uſually of the good fortune of Favorites ariſing from mean place, and inſolent over the ill, whereof the King being informed, proceeded more overtly, both in his Parliament buſineſs, and the Divorce; and the rather that all former faults being now imputed to *Cromwell*, every body began to hope of a better age. But *Cromwell* (if we may beleeve ſome of our Authors) foreſaw his fall two yeares before, and therefore provided for his Family; neither did the late honours give him much comfort or ſecurity, when he thought they were conferr'd only to make him the greater Sacrifice: It cannot be denyed yet, but the crimes whereof he was attainted in Parliament, are in the generall termes great and enormous, and ſuch as deſerv'd the moſt

Aug. 26.
1537.
April 18.

April 12.

Regn. 31.

June. 13.

Fox p. 814.

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moſt capitall puniſhment, though as ſome of the accuſations were conceal'd 2. yeers before they were alledged, and the particulars of ſome others not ſpecified. And laſtly, that he was not permitted to anſwer for himſelf, the proceedings againſt him were thought rigorous; but ſo few pitied him, that all was eaſily paſſed over: Nevertheleſs, I find by an Originall *Cranmer* writ to the King in his behalf boldly, conſidering the times; For though (as is in his Letter) he heard yeſterday in his Graces Councell that he is a Traitor; yet he ſaith who cannot bee ſorrowfull, and amaz'd that he ſhould be a Traitor againſt your Majeſty, he that was ſo advanced by your Majeſty, he whoſe ſurety was only by your Majeſty, he who loved your Majeſty (as I ever thought) no leſſe then God; he who ſtudied alwaies to ſet forwards, whatſoever was your Majeſties will and pleaſure; He that car'd for no mans diſpleaſure to ſerve your Majeſty; He that was ſuch a ſervant in my judgement, in wiſedome, diligence, faithfulneſſe, and experience, as no Prince in this Realm ever had; He that was ſo vigilant to preſerve your Majeſty from all Treaſons, that few could be ſo ſecretly conceived, but he detected the ſame in the beginning? If the Noble Princes of memory, King *John*, *Henry* the Second, and *Richard* II. had had ſuch a Counſellor about them, I ſuppoſe they ſhould never have been ſo Traiterouſly abandoned, and overthrown as thoſe good Princes were: After which, he ſaies again, I loved him as my friend, for ſo I took him to be, but I chiefly loved him for the love which I thought I ſaw him bear ever towards your Grace ſingularly above all other: But now, if he be a Traitor, I am ſorry that ever I loved him, or truſted him, and I am very glad that his treaſon is diſcovered in time; but yet againe I am very ſorrowfull; for who ſhall your Grace truſt hereafter, if you might not truſt him? Alas! I bewaile and lament your Graces chance herein, I wot not whom your Grace may truſt. But I pray God continually night and day to ſend ſuch a Councellor in his place whom your Grace may truſt, and who for all his qualities can and will ſerve your Grace like to him, and that will have ſo much ſollicitude and care to preſerve your Grace from all dangers as I ever thought he had. All which, as being a Character of *Cromwel* in *Cranmers* opinion, I have faithfully copied out of the Originall. Not yet that I will pretend excuſes for him, whom the Laws have condemned; though *Fox* doubts not to ſay, That as Generall Councels have ſometimes been obſerved to erre, ſo Princes and Parliaments may be ſometimes informed by ſiniſter Heads; but that his puniſhment may ſerve as a Caution for thoſe that ſerve ſevere Princes, to procure ſufficient warrant for all that they doe. The Crimes objected to *Cromwell* ſeeming to be chiefly an uſurpation of power, to ſet at liberty certain

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Perſons not capable of it, and granting certain Licenſes, and making certain Cõmiſſions in high Affairs, without the Kings knowledg: For which, though *Cromwel* in his diſcretion might have found due motives; yet as he proceeded not warily therein, he fell into the danger of the Law. Furthermore, he was accuſed for being an Heretike, and favoring them: (But then, that the Head of the Churches Vicegerent in Spiritual Affairs, ſhould be an Heretike and favorer of them, to ſome ſeemed ſtrange, to others gave occaſion of merryment.) As for his ſpeaking certain high preſumptuous words concerning the King, and ſundry of the Nobility; many thought, it proceeded rather out of miſtaking and raſhneſs, then any ill intention. *Cromwel* thus unheard, and almoſt unpitied, being condemned while he was in the Tower, omitted not yet to write unto the King, whereof hereafter. The context of my Hiſtory requiring, that I come to the proceedings of the Kings Divorce.

Sanders Schiſm. Angl.

I finde by an original, that *Iohn Clerk* Biſhop of *Bath* was ſent to the D. of *Cleves*, at the end of *Iune*, to tell him, That the King never conſented heartily to the matrimony with his Siſter; and that he never did, nor intended to conſummate the ſame; eſpecially, ſince he could not but take notice of the precontract with *Lorrain*: Beſides which, that there were ſecret cauſes, which the K. without great neceſſity would not have diſcloſed, becauſe they touch'd the Honor of the Lady; yet that all her Jewels ſhould be reſtored with an honorable Augmentation in Revenue, *&c.* And ſo that ſhe ſhould be tranſported into her Country. Beſides, that aſſurance ſhould be given the D. of the Kings lone, in all his occaſions with the Emperor. After which, if the D. ſhould remain perverſe, to tell him, That the Matter is already ſo debated by His Maj. and the whole Realm, (as the Reader wil ſee hereafter) the Parliament now ſitting, that they be utterly reſolv'd to proceed to juſtice. But theſe Inſtructions again were checked by others of *Iuly* 3. and he commanded to perſiſt only in the point of precontract with *Lorrain*, which was upon Remonſtrance of the Lords in the upper Houſe, to be debated in Parliament, ſince they found the Inſtrument for Revocation thereof was of no value: And that certain perſons were appointed of both Houſes, who ſhould repair to the King, to beſeech Him by way of humble Petition, That it would pleaſe Him, both to grant, that the Biſhops and the Clergy of the Realm, might examine the Matter, and thereupon declare their Judgment, and Sentence; and alſo, to abſtain from her company, till the caſe were decided: Whereunto His Majeſty condeſcending and agreeing, upon Thurſday next it ſhould be opened to the Parliament, and brought to the King; and from thence, remitted to the Biſhops and Clergy; and alſo notified to her. All which tending onely to an Examination, His Majeſty could not deny, not doubting but

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but the ſaid Duke conſidering that it is the general motion of the whole Realm; and remembring the effuſion of blood which hath been in the ſame, by uncertainty of Titles, will think it reaſonable, That this laſt Matrimony, for their more certainty and the Kings diſcharge, ſhould be examined. Theſe ſecond Inſtructions (ſigned by the King as the former were,) yet did not pleaſe: He being finally commanded to urge for his beſt Argument *Authoritatem rei indicatæ*: All which Inſtructions were ſent the Biſhop in his way, before he came to *Bruges*, where the Emperor was; whom he was commanded to ſalute on His Majeſties part, and to deliver him certain Letters. The particulars whereof, though not extant in our Records, yet (as I gather by ſome Circumſtances) tended to a Reconciliation with the Emperor, whom the King in this Match had diſobliged. Of the delivery whereof, alſo the Biſhop (being not yet come to the Duke of *Cleves*) advertiſed our King, who this while commanded the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and Sir *Thomas Wriotheſley*, to acquaint the ſaid Lady therewith; (who, upon pretence of better ayr, was lately removed to *Richmond*.) But the news ſtroke her into a ſudden weakneſs, and fainting, till at laſt recovering her ſelf, ſhe was by little and little perſwaded to refer the Matter to the Clergy: Secondly, to relinquiſh her Title of Queen; inſtead whereof, the King had deviſed another which He thought might content her: And this was (as I finde by our Records) that ſhe ſhould have the name and dignity thenceforth of His Adopted Siſter; which ſtile, yet afterwards gave ſome ſubject of diſcourſe: Howſoever, ſhe accepted it, and ſubſcribed (in theſe terms) a Letter to the King. Beſides, ſhe ſent another to her Brother the Duke of *Cleves*, acknowledging the Juſtice of the proceeding; and that ſhe was untouched by the King, and that ſhe was well intreated in *England*, and therefore deſired to ſtay: Laſtly, ſhe promiſed to ſhew the King all Letters received from her Brother, Mother, or any elſe. Whereupon, the Officers which before attended her as Queen, were diſcharged, and others appointed to wait on her in the quality of the Kings Adopted Siſter.

July 6.

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July 11.

And now the Duke underſtanding by the Biſhop of *Bath*, and *Nicholas Wotton* Reſident there, That our Clergy aſſiſted by the Court of Arches, had declared (upon her Teſtimony, that ſhe was untouched by our King) that the Marriage was voyd, and that either part might marry freely; and that the whole Parliament had confirmed the Sentence, and ſhe accepted it, remained much perplext, as with tears he witneſſed; yet finding it a buſineſs publikely reſolved, he ſaid little; eſpecially, after he heard that *Richmond* Houſe, and other fair Lands, were allotted her for maintenance; and that ſhe ſhould have precedence before all, ſave the Queen, and the Kings Children. Howbeit, he

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July 12.

would never consent to the disannulling of the Match; so that the Bishop returned, leaving the Duke no otherwise satisfied then that his Sister had sped no worse. Thus, at length a Law passed, declaring the Marriage voyd, both by the Judgment of the Clergy of *England*, and also by her own consent, and that it was high treason to judg or believe otherwise.

Another Act also was made, shewing, What Marriages were lawful, and what not: Wherein is ordained, that all Marriages (without the degrees prohibited by Gods Law) made and consummate by carnal knowledg, shall be firm and good. Notwithstanding any precontract, which hath not been so consummate. But this Law was repealed 1 and 2 *Phil.* and *Mar.* and 1 *Eliz.* 1.

April 12.

Regn. 32.

Other Acts also passed this Session of Parliament, which began *April* 12. Among which I thought fit to remember these. An Act declaring in what Cases a man may dispose all his Lands by his last Will in Writing; and in what, but part thereof. And in what Cases the King, and other Lords shall have their Wardships.

That no person should sell or buy any Right or Title, or maintain it, or procure maintenance in any suit.

The punishment also by death of Priests married, or unmarried; and of women offending with them by Incontinency, was repealed. For as the Clergy of those times thought it (though one of the six Articles) too severe; the punishment (upon their Remonstrance) was laid on their Goods, Chattles, and Spiritual Promotions; and this also better pleased the King.

Sanctuaries also, and priviledged places were reduced to a few, and certain Rules prescribed to them.

That Horses feeding on Commons, (not being of a lawful height,) (that is to say, not being fifteen handfuls high, at two yeers old) should be seized on by any man for his own use.

That Forests, Heaths, Commons, *&c.* should be driven once in the yeer, and unlikely Tits in them to be killed. Nevertheless, that Horses of small height might be put where Mares were not kept.

The Statutes also, of 5. *Rich.* 2. 3. 6. *Rich.* 2. 8. 4. *Hen.* 7. 10. and 23. *Hen.* 8. 7. touching fraighting in English Ships, were onely rehearsed and confirmed, and a rate set down what should be paid for the fraight, or portage of the several sorts of Merchandizes from the Port of *London* to other places, and from thence to *London*.

That no Alien not Denizen shall set up any Trade in the Kings Dominions, and they who are Denizens should be bound by and unto all the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, particularly those of 14. *Hen.* 8. and 21. *Hen.* 8. above mentioned.

That

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That *Trinity* Term in regard of impediment of Harveſt, and danger of infection, ſhould be abbreviated. Certain Priviledges alſo were granted to Phyſicians in *London*, as that they ſhould not keep watch and ward, nor be Conſtables; and that they might practiſe Chirurgery: Barbers, and Chirurgions were alſo made one Company, and certain Priviledges given them; as not to bear Armor, or to be put in any Watches or Inqueſts.

A Court alſo of the firſt Fruits, and Tenths, granted to the King, was erected.

The Court of the Kings Wards alſo, and the names and ſeveral Duties, and Offices thereof, was erected.

It was enacted alſo, That the Lands and Goods of St. *Johns* in *Jeruſalem*, ſhould be in the Kings diſpoſition; For which, theſe Reaſons chiefly were pretended: Becauſe the Knights of *Rhodes* or Saint *John*, otherwiſe called Fryars of the Religion of Saint *John*, drew yeerly great ſums of Money out of the Kingdom; That they maintained the uſurped power of the Biſhop of *Rome*; that they defamed and ſlandered the King and His Subjects; that the Iſle of *Rhodes*, whence the ſaid Religion took its name, was ſurpriſed by the *Turks*; that the Revenues might be better imployed for defence of the Realm; nevertheleſs, certain Penſions were allowed unto the Pryor, and others of the ſaid Order, that were dutiful Subjects. But all their Lands, as well in *England* as in *Ireland*, were granted to the Kings Majeſty to be in the Survey, Rule, and Governance of the Chancellor, and others, Officers of the Court of Augmentations. And thus fell that ancient and pious Order, not without much ſcandal abroad, both to the King and Government. Though yet, the envious diſreſpect ſhewed unto the Engliſh being ſuch, as they never attained higher dignity then the Turcoplier or Captains place of the Light-Horſe in the Iſle of *Rhodes*, did (in the opinion of ſome) extenuate this proceeding: The King, yet grew not much the richer hereby, as giving great Portions of the ſaid Lands to divers of our Noblemen and Cavaliers, who lately had held a ſolemn Juſts, Tourney and Barriers in *Weſtminſter*, and feaſted ſumptuouſly, both the King and Court. May 1. Hall.

Laſtly, a general and free Pardon was granted of all Hereſies, Treaſons, Felonies, and Offences, (ſome particular Perſons and Matters onely excepted;) In which number *Cromwel* was not yet included. For, though divers Letters and Meſſages paſſed from him to the King; and one particularly written after his Condemnation, and extant in our Records, wherein he much excuſed himſelf, ſaying, That if his medlings under His Majeſty were great, ſo His Majeſties Authority was great; and that he proteſted, beſides, under many execrations, That he June 25.

was

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July 28.

was innocent in his intentions; And laſtly, utterly denyed all Treaſon and Hereſie, as that he was no Sacramentary, *&c.* he could not prevail. And thus the 28. of *July*, (being four days after the Diſſolution of the Parliament,) he was brought to the Tower-Hill, where, after Profeſſion that he would die in the Catholike Faith, his head was cut off: And to this end came *Cromwel*, who from being but a Blackſmiths ſon, found means to travel into divers forraign Countries, to learn their Languages, and to ſee the Wars (being a Souldier of *Bourbon* at the ſacking of *Rome*;) whence returning, he was received into the Cardinal *Wolſeys* ſervice: To whom, he ſo approved himſelf, by his fidelity, and diligence, That the King after his fall, voluntarily took him for his ſervant; in which place, he became a ſpecial Inſtrument for diſſolving the Abbeys, and other Religious Houſes, and keeping down the Clergy; whom in regard of their Oath to the Pope, he uſually termed the Kings half Subjects: And for expelling the Monks, he ſaid it was no more, then a reſtoring them to the firſt Inſtitution of being lay, and laboring Perſons: Neither did it move him, That ſo much ſtrictneſs and auſterity of life was injoyn'd them in their ſeveral Orders, ſince he ſaid they might keep it, in any condition: But as theſe Reaſons again were not admitted by divers learned and able perſons, ſo he got him many enemies, who at laſt, procured his fall; but not before he had obtained ſucceſſively the Dignities of Maſter of the Rolls,[a] Baron, [b] Lord Privy Seal, [c] Vicegerent to the King in Spiritualities, [d] Knight of the Garter, [e] Earl of *Eſſex*, Great Chamberlain of *England*, *&c.* He was noted in the exerciſe of his places of Judicature, to have uſed much moderation; and in his greateſt pomp, to have taken notice, and been thankful to mean perſons of his old acquaintance, and therein had a vertue which his Maſter the Cardinal wanted: As for his other deſcriptions, I leave them to be taken out of *Cranmers* Letter formerly mentioned, with ſome deduction; For it ſeems written to the King, in more then ordinary favor of his ancient ſervice.

[a] July 9
[b]
[c] July 18. } 1536
[d] Aug. 26. 1537.
[e] April 14. 1540.

At the ſame time with *Cromwel*, *Walter* Lord *Hungerford* ſuffered. The Crimes objected to him, were, For taking into his Houſe as Chaplain one *William Bird*, who had called the King Heretike, *&c.* That he had procured certain perſons to conjure, to know how long the King ſhould live; alſo that he had uſed the ſin of Buggery.

July 22. Hollinſh.

Shortly after which, divers great perſons from *Italy*, and other places came to ſee the King, whom he very courteouſly received, and being richly rewarded, diſmiſſed them.

The King continued yet his rigor to thoſe that diſputed either his Authority, or Articles; inſomuch, that both the Reformers and Maintainers of the Popes Authority ſuffered ſo frequently,

frequently, That his enemies ſaid, while he admitted neither ſide, he ſeemed to be of no Religion. Howbeit this was but calumny, for he ſtood firmly to his own Reformation. 1540 Sanders.

And now the Lady *Anne* of *Cleves*, contenting her ſelf with the ſtile of the Kings Adopted Siſter, the Lady *Katherine Howard*, daughter to *Edmond* the third ſon of *Thomas*, firſt Duke of *Norfolk*, and brother to the preſent Duke, was marryed to the King, and preſently after ſhewed publikely as Queen. Auguſt. 8.

Our Hiſtorians ſay, That in *Auguſt*, this yeer, there was ſo great a drought, that the Springs failing, the Salt-water flowed above *London*-Bridg. I finde alſo, that *Frederic* Count *Palatine* of *Bavaria* was in *England*, to obtain ayd of the King, for the reſtitution of his Father in Law the King of *Denmark*. But as our Records do not ſet down the time exactly, ſo I know not whether to place him in this yeer, or the yeer preceding. Howſoever, he found ſome difficulty in his buſineſs, and the rather that he asked ſo great a ſum as ſix hundred thouſand Duckats, when the King had ſo much uſe of money, for the fortifying of His Kingdom. Auguſt.

Let us look a while upon forraign buſineſs, the memory of thoſe courteſies which were done the Emperor, being yet freſh, *Francis* thought fit to ſend the Cardinal of *Lorrain* and Coneſtable *Montmorancy*, to Treat concerning the Reſtitution of *Milan*: But the Emperor reſolute, at what price ſoever not to quit it, made them at length this Anſwer:

There is nothing I deſire ſo much, as the peace and quiet of the World, which that it may be firm and true, I am content, to give unto the King more then ever he meant to ask, or I to grant. Of two Daughters which I have, I am willing to beſtow the elder in marriage to the Duke of *Orleans*, and with her for dowry, the State of *Flanders*, with the ſtile and title of a King; ſo ſhall *Francis* have two Sons, both Kings and Neighbors: Beſides, if his eldeſt ſon and mine die, he and my daughter ſhall be the greateſt Princes in the World; for they ſhall have *Spain* and all my other Dominions. As for *Milan*, let them not think I will ever part with it, ſince it were nothing elſe then to diſjoynt (the Spaniſh is more elegant *Deſcabesar*) all my Eſtates. And let it not grieve the King; for I had it by good and lawful Succeſſion, and poſſeſs it as belonging to the Empire. Take *Milan* from me, and you take away my paſſage between *Flanders* and *Spain*, *Italy*, *Sicily* and *Germany*. This is that I had to ſay to you. And if it pleaſe you not, there is no occaſion to ſpeak more of the buſineſs. Sandov.

The Cardinal and *Montmorancy* hereupon advertiſed this good offer; but *Francis* as a man paſſionate, and affronted, returned this Anſwer,

That ſince he might not have his Inheritance, he would have nothing

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nothing elſe; neither, would he care to ſpeak any more of Peace.

And thus the Treaty brake off; yet ſo, as it was thought that *Francis* herein ſhewed ſome wilfulneſs; he being not further off from *Milan* for having *Flanders*, nor to be bound ſo by any confederation, as he might not eaſily find occaſion to diſſolve it, the cauſes both of War and Peace being perpetuall. And now the Emperour glad of this refuſall, proſecutes his buſineſſe in *Germany*, without care of giving *Francis* any further ſatisfaction.

In *France*, where all was now quiet, little paſt this yeer, ſave that *Francis* being deſirous to enlarge his Borders, built a Fortreſſe at *Ardres*, and made a Bridge over to the Engliſh Pale; which our Gariſon hearing, beat down. The French yet reedified it: but our Gariſons overthrew it again. Whereupon, the French raiſing ſome Forces under *Monſieur de Biez*; our King commanded *Henry Arundel* Lord *Matrevers* (lately made Deputy of *Calais* in the place of *Arthur Plantagenet*) to put the Town into defence by fortifying and victualling it; and ſhortly after ſent over the Earl of *Hertford* and Sir *Edward Kerne*, who diſputed the right of the Borders with *Monſieur de Biez*, and other Commiſſioners from *Francis*. But as no effect followed hereon, and *Francis* beſides took occaſion to complain, that our King in the late Parliament had made the French liable to Subſidies, and other new Impoſitions, contrary to the antient Treaties: our King on the other ſide, remonſtrating thoſe Acts were neither new, nor derogatory to the ſaid Treaties; both Princes remained unſatisfied of the others actions. Therefore on the French party Monſieur *de Vendoſme* was commanded to raiſe Forces in *Picardy*; and from *England* were ſent *William* Earl of *Southampton* lately made Lord Privie-Seal, and *John* Lord *Ruſſell* newly conſtituted high Admirall, with a few Troops of Northern Horſe: without yet that any thing was attempted on either ſide for the preſent.

I will conclude this year with a Narration of the firſt beginning which the Jeſuiticall order took from *Innigo de Loyola* of *Guipaſcoa* in *Spain*. This *Innigo* or *Ignatius* being born 1592. (that is to ſay, in the year that the *Indies* were diſcovered, and *Granada* taken in by *Ferdinand*) ſeems the third great effect of that unparalel'd aſcendent which *Spain* had at that time: He lived yet obſcurely till he came to 29 years of age, but then turn'd Souldier in the wars of *Navarre* 1521. where being hurt in the knee, the pain thereof ſeems to have wakened devotion in him to a Religious life; for aſſoon as he recovered, he went to our Lady of *Monſerrat*, to whom he offer'd his ſword and dagger, which being done, he gave his clothes away to a poor man, and took upon him a ſhirt and miſerable habit, which he girt about

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October 13.

June.

Novemb. 14.
Jan. 1541.
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October.

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Hall. 1541.
April.
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July 28.

Sandov.

about him with a rope of ruſhes : And in theſe Arms (for ſo are *Sandoval*'s words) he watch'd one whole night before our Lady, and ſo went to an Hoſpitall three Leagues off, and there attended the ſick-perſons, whence he travell'd after to the *Holy Land*; being returned thence, and now in his age of thirty three he began to learn Grammar at *Barcelona*, which in two yeers he attain'd. And being deſirous to make further progreſſe, he went to the Univerſity of *Alcala*, and ſo to *Salamanca*, where being oppos'd and perſecuted, he left all and came to *Paris*, & there ſtudied till he had found at laſt divers others with whom he agreed to return in Pilgrimage to the *Holy Land*, and *Jeruſalem*. Thus about 1536. going firſt to *Venice*; he ſtaid till his Companions overtook him, and went from thence to *Rome*, whither he followed them; and obtain'd of *Paul* the third the foundation of the Jeſuiticall Order 27. *Sept.* 1540. The decay of Religious Houſes in *England*, and the progreſſe of the *Lutherans* in *Germany*, authorizing (it ſeems) their Inſtitution, who ſithence have ſo dilated themſelves, as their Diſciples fear not to ſay, that for advancement of their Doctrine, they have gone to further countries then the Apoſtles ever reach'd; and that God reſerv'd the entire diſcoveries both of Eaſt and Weſt Indies untill the latter times, only that thoſe Holy Fathers might have the honour of their converſion; Of the devotion and miracles which this *Ignatius* is ſaid to have exhibited in his journies, I affirm nothing, as contenting my ſelf to have taken the more Hiſtoricall part out of *Sandoval*, (who ſeems to be a great extoller of him.) Sundry Reformers on the other ſide in ſtead of confeſſing him to be a good man, or a Miracle-worker, ſaid, he was an Incendiary and hanted with evill ſpirits. Which latter part not only *Sandoval*, but *Turrianus* and *Bobadilla* (both of them Jeſuites) confirm; Moreover *Turrianus* related (as *Hoſpinian* hath it) that he died in much fear and trembling, & that his face was ſtrangely black, *Haſenmullerus* beſides (once a Jeſuite) adds that no bones were found in his body, and that all the Jeſuites at his Buriall were witneſſes thereof. Concerning which therfore no little diſpute is on both ſides, whether good or bad Angels took them away, while divers ſober men think neither; but that we may pretermit the conſtructions of paſſionate men on the one or the other ſide, as unfit to eſtabliſh that peace in which God is beſt ſerv'd, there is little occaſion to ſay more of the Jeſuites in this place, then that they are generally held ſuch Miniſters of the King of *Spain*, that they have more advanc'd (by the ſecret operations of their Confeſſions, and intelligence which is admirable) the deſignes of the houſe of *Auſtria*, then either the Continent of *Spain*, made entire by the union of *Granada*, (as is formerly touched) or the *Indies* themſelves. By which meanes, as alſo that their Doctrine and learning is ſo ex-

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Septemb. 27.

1540 act in all things, ſave where they overmuch ſtudy the Pope, and Spaniards ends, they have made themſelves the moſt conſiderable among all the Religious Orders.

1541. And now a cruell time did paſſe in *England*; for as few durſt protect thoſe who refus'd to ſubſcribe to the 6. Articles, ſo they ſuffered daily, whereof *Fox* hath many examples: neither was it eaſie for any man to eſcape (Commiſſioners being appointed in every Shire to ſearch out and examine thoſe who were refractory) nevertheleſſe, their Puniſhments did but advance their Religion; for as they were notified abroad, and together their conſtancy repreſented, who were burnt, It was thought they had ſome aſſiſtance from above, it being impoſſible otherwiſe that they ſhould ſo rejoyce in the midſt of their torments, and triumph over the moſt cruell death. Therefore not only the over-learned, and better affected ſort, but even all Chriſtian Princes endeavoured ſome conſent of opinion: The Pope himſelf not omitting to concur therein, as thinking it better to allow ſome degrees of latitude in Religion, only when their ſeverall Authorities might be conſerv'd, then to hazard a generall Schiſme, and diſtraction. Hereunto alſo it conduced not a little, that the Turk taking notice of theſe diviſions, prepared to invade *Germany*. Therefore the Emperor appointed a meeting

Octob. 28. 1540. at *Worms*, where divers learned and able men on both ſides ſhould

Jan. 1. diſpute, hoping ſo an end would follow. Howbeit, as the Divines could not agree among themſelves, the buſines was referred to

April 5. Sleid. a Diet, ſhortly to be held at *Ratisbone*, whither the Pope ſent Cardinal *Gaſpar Contareni*. And here the Emperour being preſent requires both ſides to permit the choice of the Delegats to him, which they granted, whereupon he appointed on the one ſide, *Julius Plug*, *John Eccius*, *John Gropper*; on the other *Philip Melancthon*, *Martin Bucer*, and *John Piſtorius*, gravely adviſing

April 22. them to handle the buſineſſe ſincerely; theſe men, after a modeſt excuſe, except the charge, deſiring only certain Aſſeſſors who might teſtifie their proceedings; whereupon the Emperor gave them *Frederic* Count Palatine, and *Nicholas Peronot* Seig-

April 27. niour *de Granvile*, and ſome others; offering them further a Book to conſider, ſome Paſſages whereof they all admitted, others they corrected, and of ſome others the Protſtants writ their opinion apart, ſo the Book was re-exhibited to the Emperor, and he (it ſeem'd) well contented therewith; nevertheleſſe, becauſe the Pope interven'd not herein, this way was oppos'd; *Contareno* alledging, that all agreement in this kind would be vain unleſſe the Holy See confirmed it; whereupon

July 7. the Emperor referring the Proteſtants Confeſſion to him, he again refers it to the Pope: But as this requir'd time, ſo the Emperor deſirous his endeavours ſhould take ſome effect, demands

mands whether thoſe Articles whereof the Delegates were agreed might be received, untill a Councel were had. The Proteſtants deſired it; but the Legat and Catholick Princes oppos'd it, ſaying, They were not the moſt materiall, and therefore to be pretermitted till the reſt were determined &c. Concluding with a deſire, that all might be deferred to the Generall Councell now intended. 1541 July 12.

The Emperour finding all Reconciliation at this time to be hopeleſſe, and that the Turk ſtill approach'd, took this way, promiſing himſelf to go to *Rome*, and ſollicite the Pope herein; Adviſing the Proteſtants in the mean time, Firſt, to inſiſt in the reconciled Points: Secondly, The Roman-Catholick Biſhops to reform their own particular Churches, and ſo make way for a generall Reformation; taking order withall, that Religious Houſes ſhould not be thrown down, nor people drawn from one Country to another upon pretence of converting them: yet that they who came willingly might be receiv'd; promiſing further, if a generall Councell could not be obtain'd, to procure a Provinciall; or if neither, that within 18 months another Diet ſhould be called, whither he would intreat a Legat from the Pope to come: ſuſpending, in the mean time, that rigid Decree at *Augsburg* againſt the Proteſtants; whereupon, they alſo promiſed him their Aſſiſtance againſt the Turk. And thus ended the Diet; to which our King ſent *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Sir *Henry Knevet*, by whom (if we may beleeve *Sanders*) he held a doubtfull part; ſometimes excuſing himſelf to the Proteſtants, ſometimes offering a Reconciliation with the Pope by the Emperours means, when Penance and Reſtitution ſhould not be required. But as neither our Hiſtories nor Records, nor the diligent *Sleidan* make mention hereof, that I can finde; ſo I leave the credit thereof to the Readers diſcretion. July 28. *Sanch.* Schiſm. Angl.

Francis not ſatisfied with the Anſwer formerly mentioned, nor the Negotiation of *Montmorancy*, did reſent both. Againſt the Emperour he took offence for not reſtoring *Milan* according to his promiſe (as hee alledged) to *Montmorancy*: againſt him again, he ſhewed no little diſpleaſure (as ſome affirm) for diſſwading him to ſeize on the Emperor at that time: Though I rather beleeve it was an occaſion of ſome private quarrell betwixt the Admirall *Brion* and him; in which, ill offices were done him by the Dutcheſſe of *Eſtampes*, lately allyed to *Brions* kindred: Howſoever, *Montmorancy* was confined to a private life; neither would the King ever after ſee him. And now *Francis*, reſolv'd when occaſion was offered to break with the Emperour, ſends *Anthony Rincon* a revolted Spaniard in Ambaſſage to the Turk, and one *Ceſar Fregoſo* a Genoueſe to the Venetians: both theſe meeting in *Peidmont* with Seignieur *du* 1530. June.

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Bellay the Kings Lieutenant there, were advertiz'd that the Marqueſſe of *Guaſto* the Emperors Lieutenant in *Milan* laid wait for them: Howbeit, whether truſting to their quality, or Addreſſe, they agreed to paſſe by water along the *Po*; ſending yet their Commiſſion and Diſpatches by another way into *Venice*; for the reſt, hoping betwixt changing their habit, and diligence, to eſcape: But (as it falls out often, they who hide not themſelves cunningly, give but the more occaſion to diſcover themſelves; ſo) they were prevented, and by certain perſons with viſors aſſaſi'nd upon the water. *Francis* hearing hereof, ſaid it was done by the Emperour or the Marqueſſe of *Guaſto*'s procurement, and that the Law of Nations was violated therein: But they, on the other ſide, diſclaimed the fact, offering to put the ſuſpected perſons into the Pope's hands, to be there examin'd; proteſting nevertheleſſe, that the killing of *Rincon* was onely a chaſtiſement due to a treacherous Subject. *Francis* hearing this, ſurpriſeth *George* of *Auſtria* (naturall Son to *Maximilian* late Emperour) in his Journey from *Spain* to *Flanders* thorow *France*, and commits him to priſon. Some other paſſages alſo happened about this time, which increaſed the jealouſie betwixt them: for as *Francis* had given in marriage *Jone* Daughter of *Navarre* to the Duke of *Cleves*, and therein ſtrengthened himſelf againſt the Emperour: ſo hee again by giving the Dutcheſſe of *Milan* to the Son of the Duke of *Lorain*, got the ſame advantage of Allyance againſt *Francis*.

July 3.

A little Rebellion now appearing in *York-ſhire*, in which Sir *John Nevil* was a complice, the King took order to ſuppreſſe it betimes; commanding the ſaid Sir *John Nevil* to be put to death at *York*. Shortly after followed the Counteſſe of *Saliſbury*'s Execution; which, whether occaſioned by the late Rebellion (as being thought of Cardinal *Poole*'s inſtigation) or that ſhe gave ſome new offence, is uncertain: The old Lady being brought to the Scaffold (ſet up in the Tower) was commanded to lay her head on the Block; but ſhe (as a perſon of great Quality aſſured mee) refuſed, ſaying, So ſhould Traitors do, and I am none: neither did it ſerve that the Executioner told her it was the faſhion; ſo turning her gray head every way, ſhee bid him, if he would have her head, to get it as hee could: So that he was conſtrained to fetch it off ſlovenly. And thus ended (as our Authors ſay) the laſt of the right Line of the *Plantagenets*.

April.

May 27.

And now the King reſolved to go in Progreſſe to *York-ſhire*; Not yet ſo much to extinguiſh the relicks of the laſt Commotion, as thoſe of Superſtition, Miracles & Pilgrimages: Beſides, he was in hope to meet his Nephew of *Scotland*, who being ſolicited again for Interview, had (it ſeems) promis'd it. Yet before he went, he cauſed two Lords and divers others to be put to death:

One

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One was the Lord *Leonard Gray*, who having been (the yeer precedent) recall'd from his Deputies place in *Ireland*, was then committed upon ſuggeſtions miniſtred by the Councell there, with whom (I finde by our Records) hee often wrangled; who furniſh'd therefore divers Articles of High Treaſon againſt him: So that though hee had (the yeer 1539) repulſed *O Donell* and *O Neale* (who invaded the Engliſh Pale) and rendered the King divers good Services heretofore in *France*, *Ireland*, and other places, could not eſcape: The chief points objected againſt him (extant in our Records) were, his readineſſe to joyn with Cardinall *Poole* and other the Kings Enemies, he having for that purpoſe (as was alledg'd) left the Kings Ordnance in *Galloway*; and that he conſented to the eſcape of his Nephew *Gerald*, formerly mentioned; which, with divers others, to the number of twenty (if *Hall* ſay true) being brought to a Jury of Knights, (for being no Parliament Lord, he could not be judged by his Peers) hee ſaved them the labour of condemning him, and without more adoe confeſſed all: Which, whether this Lord (who was of great courage) did out of deſperation or guilt, ſome circumſtances make doubtfull: and the rather, that the Articles being ſo many, he neither denyed nor extenuated any of them; though his continuall fighting with the Kings Enemies (where occaſion was) pleaded much on his part: Howſoever, hee had his head cut off. The other was a young Lord, *Thomas Fines* Lord *Dacres* of the South, who ſuffered for committing a murther in company of ſome light perſons (who were with him a Deer-ſtealing). All things being now ready for the intended Journey, the King, accompanied with his Queen, paſſed thorow *Lincoln-ſhire*, where the people (thankfully acknowledging their late Pardon) preſented him with divers ſums of money; which the *York-ſhire* men alſo imitated. And now being come to *York*, hee cauſed Proclamation to be made (as I finde in our Records) that if any man in thoſe parts found himſelf wronged for lack of juſtice, or otherwiſe, by any whom his Majeſty hath put in truſt, or other, he ſhall have free acceſſe to the King and his Councell for redreſſe. After this, News was brought him that his Nephew King *James* would not meet: ſo that although our King had made great Preparations to receive him, all was fruſtrated. This fill'd the King with indignation; yet he conceal'd it for the preſent; though reſolving in himſelf to reſent it in the higheſt degree. Therefore departing from *York Septemb.* 26 towards *London*, Hee was on the way encountred by the Ambaſſadour of *Portugall*, deſiring a Licenſe for the Tranſportation of Wheat into that Country, being in great need thereof. To which was anſwered, That if that King would admit in his next Navigation to *Calicut*, ſome Engliſhmen of our Kings appointment to adventure there for providing

Hall, June 25.

June 28.

Juue 29.

Aug.

Septemb. 16.

Septemb. 20.

Councel Book

Buchan.
Leſl.

October 14.

Records.

1541 providing this Realm with Spices, he ſhould have his requeſt. But of this alhough the ſaid Ambaſſador undertook to write to his Maſter, I find no further mention. Our King being now return'd, prepared for War. Which *Fames* hearing, ſent Ambaſſadors hither to excuſe himſelf, and renew their former correſpondence, which King *Henry* refuſing, *Fames* alſo leavies men, (as ſhall be told the yeer following.)

Decemb.

But our King encounters after this journey a greater vexation; For the Queen was ſuppos'd to offend in Incontinency; ſome particulars whereof being extant in our Records, I have thought fit to tranſcribe, rather then to make other Narration; the Family of which ſhe came being ſo noble and illuſtrious, and the honour of her Sex (which is tender) being concerned therein.

Novemb. 2.

Novemb. 12. The Letter ſent from divers of the Councell to *William Paget* our Ambaſſador then in *France*, was this.

After our hearty commendations, by theſe our Letters we be commanded to ſignifie unto you, a moſt miſerable caſe; which came lately to Revelation, to the intent that if you ſhall hear the ſame ſpoken of, you may declare the truth as followeth.

Where the Kings Majeſty upon the Sentence given of the invalidity of the pretenced Matrimony between his Highneſs and the Lady *Anne* of *Cleves*, was earneſtly and humbly ſollicited by his Councel, and the Nobles of his Realm, to frame his moſt noble heart to the love and favour of ſome noble Perſonage to be joyned with him in lawfull Matrimony, by whom his Majeſty might have ſome more ſtore of fruit, and Succeſſion, to the comfort of this Realm; It pleaſed his Highneſs upon a notable apparence of Honor, cleanneſs and maidenly behaviour to bend his affection towards Miſtris *Katherine Howard*, daughter to the late Lord *Edmond Howard*, Brother to mee the Duke of *Norfolk*, inſomuch as his Highneſſe was finally contented to honour her with his Marriage, thinking now in his old daies, after ſundry troubles of mind, which have happened unto him by Marriages, to have obtained ſuch a Jewel for womanhood, and very perfect love towards him, as ſhould not only have been to his quietneſs, but alſo brought forth the deſired fruit of Marriage, like as the whole Realm thought the ſemblable, and in reſpect of the vertue and good behaviour which ſhe ſhewed outwardly, did her all honour accordingly. But this joy is turned into extream ſorrow; for when the Kings Majeſty receiving his Maker, on *Allhallowes* day laſt paſt, then gave him moſt humble and hearty thanks for the good life he led and truſted to lead with her, and alſo deſired the Biſhop of *Lincoln* his ghoſtly Father, to make like Prayer, and give like thanks with him; on All Souls day being at Maſſe, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* having

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having a little before heard that the ſame Miſtris *Katherine Howard* was not indeed a Woman of that pureneſs, and cleanneſs that ſhe was eſteemed; but a Woman, who before ſhe was joyned with the Kings Majeſty, had lived moſt corruptly and ſenſually; for the diſcharge of his duty opened the ſame moſt ſorrowfully to his Majeſty, and how it was brought to his knowledge, which was in this form following.

Whiles the Kings Majeſty was in his Progreſs, one *John Loſſells* came to the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and declard unto him, that he had been with a Siſter of his married in *Suſſex*, which ſometimes had been ſervant with the old Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*, who did alſo bring up the ſaid Miſtris *Katherine*, and being with his ſaid Siſter, chanced to fall in communication with her of the Queen, wherein he adviſed her (becauſe ſhe was of the Queens old acquaintance) to ſue to be her woman; whereunto his Siſter anſwered, that ſhe would not ſo doe; but ſhee was very ſorry for the Queen; why quoth *Loſſells?* Marry quoth ſhe, for ſhe is light both in living and conditions; how ſo quoth *Loſſels?* Marry quoth ſhe, there is one *Francis Derham*, who was ſervant alſo in my Lady of *Norfolks* houſe, which hath lyen in bed with her in his doublet and hoſe between the ſheets an hundred nights. And there hath been ſuch puffing and blowing between them, that once in the houſe a maid which lay in the houſe with her, ſaid to me; ſhe would lie no longer with her, becauſe ſhe knew not what Matrimony meant. And further ſhe ſaid unto him, that one *Mannock* ſometime alſo ſervant to the ſaid Dutcheſſe, knew a privie mark of her Body. When the ſaid *Loſſels* had declared this to the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he conſidering the weight and importance of the matter, being marvellouſly perplex'd therewith, conſulted in the ſame with the Lord Chancellor of *England*, and the Earl of *Hertford*, whom the Kings Majeſty going in his Progreſſe left to reſide at *London* to order his Affairs in thoſe parts, who having weighed the matter, and deeply ponder'd the gravity thereof, wherewith they were greatly troubled, and unquieted, reſolved finally, that the ſaid Arch-Biſhop ſhould reveal the ſame to the Kings Majeſty; which becauſe the matter was ſuch, as he hath ſorrowfully lamented, and alſo could not find in his heart to expreſſe the ſame to the Kings Majeſty by word of mouth, he declar'd the information thereof to his Higneſs in writing. When the Kings Majeſty had read this Information thus deliverd unto him, his Grace being much perplexed therewith, yet nevertheleſs ſo tenderly loved the woman, and had conceived ſuch a conſtant opinion of her honeſty, that he ſuppoſed it rather to be a forged matter, then of truth. Whereupon it pleaſed him ſecretly to call unto him the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Admirall, Sir *Anthony Brown*, and Sir

Thomas

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Thomas Wriotheſly, to whom he opened the caſe, ſaying, He could not beleeve it to be true. And yet ſeeing the Information was made, he could not be ſatisfied till the certainty thereof was known; but he would not in any wiſe that in the Inquiſition any ſpark of ſcandall ſhould riſe towards her. Whereupon it was by his Majeſty reſolv'd, that the Lord Privy Seal ſhould go ſtrait to *London*, where the ſaid *Loſſels* that gave the Information was ſecretly kept, and with all dexterity to examine and try whether he would ſtand to his ſaying: who being ſo examined, anſwer'd, that his Siſter ſo told him, and that he had declared it for the diſcharge of his duty, and for none other reſpect; adding that he knew what danger was in it; nevertheleſſe, he had rather dye in declaration of the truth as it came to him, ſeeing it touch'd the Kings Majeſty ſo nearly, then live with the concealment of the ſame: Which Aſſeveration being thus made by the ſaid *Loſſels*, the Kings Majeſty being informed thereof, ſent the Lord Privy Seal into *Suſſex* to examine the Woman, making a pretence to the womans Husband of hunting, and to her for receiving of Hunters; and ſent the ſaid Sir *Thomas Wriotheſly* to *London* at the ſame inſtant, both to examine *Mannock*, and alſo to take the ſaid *Derrham* upon a pretence of Piracy, becauſe he had been before in *Ireland*, and hath been noted before with that offence, making theſe pretences to the intent no ſpark of ſuſpition ſhould riſe of theſe Examinations. The ſaid Lord Privy Seal found the woman in her Examination conſtant in her former ſayings: And Sir *Thomas Wriotheſley* found by the confeſſion of *Mannock* that he had commonly uſed to feel the ſecrets & other parts of her body, ore ever *Derrham* was ſo familiar with her; and *Derrham* confeſſed that he had known her carnally many times, both in his doublet and his hoſe between the ſheets, and in naked bed, alledging ſuch witneſſes of three ſundry women one after another, that had lyen in the ſame bed with them when he did the Acts, that the matter ſeem'd moſt apparent. But what inward ſorrow the Kings Majeſty took when he perceived the Information true, as it was the moſt wofull thing that ever came to our hearts, to ſee it; ſo it were too tedious to write it unto you. But his heart was ſo pierced with penſiveneſſe, that long it was before his Majeſty could ſpeak, and utter the ſorrow of his heart unto us: And finally, with plenty of teares (which was ſtrange in his courage) opened the ſame. Which done, ſhe was ſpoken withall in it by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; to whom at the firſt ſhe conſtantly denyed it, but the matter being ſo declared unto her, that ſhe perceived it to be wholly diſcloſed, the ſame night ſhe diſcloſed the ſame to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who took the confeſſion of the

ſame

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ſame in writing ſubſcribed with her hand: then were the reſt of the number, being eight or nine men and women which knew of their doings, examined, who all agreed in one tale.

Now may you ſee what was done before the Marriage; God knoweth what hath been done ſithence: But ſhee had already gotten this *Derrham* into her ſervice, and trained him upon occaſions, as ſending of errands, and writing of Letters when her Secretary was out of the way, to come often into her Privie Chamber. And ſhe had gotten alſo into her Privie Chamber to be one of her Chamberers, one of the women which had before lyen in the bed with her and *Derrham*: what this pretended is eaſie to be conjectured. Thus much we know for the beginning; whereof we thought meet to advertize you, to the intent afore ſpecified: And what ſhall further ſucceed and follow of this matter, we ſhall not fail to advertiſe you thereof accordingly.

You ſhall alſo receive herein incloſed a Packet of Letters, directed unto Sir *Henry Knevet* his Graces Ambaſſadour with the Emperour, which his Highneſſe pleaſure is you ſhall ſee conveigh'd unto him by the next Poſt that paſſeth from thence into the Emperours Court. Thus fare you right heartily well. *From the Kings Palace at* Weſtminſter *the* 12 *of November.*

Your loving Friends,

Thomas Audeley Chancellor.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
E. Hertford.
William Southampton.
Robert Suſſex.
Stephen Winton.
Anthony Wingfield.

Here were other Names, which are now defaced in the Original; but D. *Norfolk* may by the contents of the Letter be ſuppoſed one.

Beſides the perſons ſpecified in this Letter, one *Thomas Culpeper* (being of the ſame name with the Queen's Mother) was indicted for the ſame fault (as our Hiſtories have it) which he and *Derrham* at their Arraignment confeſſing, *Culpeper* had his head cut off, and *Derrham* was hang'd and quarter'd. But it reſted not here; for the Lord *William Howard* (the Queen's Uncle, newly return'd from an Ambaſſage in *France*) and his Wife, and the old Dutcheſſe of *Norfolk*, and divers of the Queens and the ſaid Dutcheſſe kindred and ſervants, and a Butter-wife were indicted of miſpriſion of Treaſon (as concealing this Fact), and condemn'd to perpetuall priſon; though yet by the King's favour ſome of them at length were releaſed. The King yet not ſatisfied thus, for more authorizing his Proceeding, referred the Buſineſſe to the Parliament ſitting the 16 of *January*, 1541. Where upon Petition of both Houſes, that

Novemb. 31.
Decemb. 10.
Decemb. 7.
Decemb. 10.
Decemb. 22.
Jan. 16.

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hee would not vex himſelf, but give his Royall aſſent to what they ſhould doe; they had leave to proceed, and together thanks given them that they took his ſorrow to be theirs. Hereupon they attainted the Queen and the Lady *Jane Rochfort*, as alſo *Culpeper*, *Derrham*, &c. And ſo the Queen and Lady *Jane Rochfort* (Wife to the late Lord *Rochfort*, and noted to be a particular inſtrument in the death of Queen *Anne*) were brought to the Tower, and after confeſſion of their faults, had their heads cut off.

Febr. 13. *Hall.*

An Act alſo paſt, declaring that it ſhall be lawfull for any of the Kings Subjects, if themſelves do perfectly know, or by vehement preſumption do perceive any will, act or condition of lightneſſe of Body in her which ſhall be the Queen of this Realm, to diſcloſe the ſame to the King, or ſome of his Councell; but they ſhall not openly blow it abroad, or whiſper it, untill it be divulg'd by the King or his Councell. If the King, or any of his Succeſſours ſhall marry a woman which was before incontinent, if ſhee conceal the ſame, it ſhall be High Treaſon, &c. But this Act was repealed 1 *Edward* 6. 12. and 1 *Mary* 1.

Divers other Acts alſo paſt, whereof I have thought fit to ſet down theſe: That they who under colour of a falſe token or counterfeit Letter got other mens money into their hands, ſhould be puniſhed at the diſcretion of thoſe before whom they were convicted, any way but death.

It was declared alſo, how many ſton'd Horſes every man ſhould keep according to his degree. But this was afterwards repealed; though yet of ſpeciall uſe in defence of the Kingdom, when due regard of the perſons were had.

Further it was declared, who might alſo ſhoot in Guns and Croſs-bows.

Moreover, That ſhooting with Bow and Arrows ſhould be uſed, and unlawfull Games debarred.

Jun. 10. 1541.

The order alſo for puniſhment of Murder and bloud-ſhed in the Kings Court, with all the ceremonies thereof was ſet down; the occaſion, it ſeems, being given by Sir *Edmond Knevit*, who being lately condemn'd to loſe his hand for this fault, was yet pardoned.

The Authority of the Officers of the Court of Wards and Liveries, was ſet down.

That in certain Caſes there ſhould be triall of Treaſon in any County where the King by Commiſſion will appoint; And this ſaved much trouble and charges: For as divers things were made Treaſon in this King's time, which yet were repealed afterwards; ſo the Lords of the Councel were not onely continually vexed with theſe buſineſſes, but the King at great charges in remanding the Priſoners.

That

1542

That none ſhould be Juſtice of Aſſize in his own Countrey.

The Court of Surveyors of the Kings Lands, the names of the Officers there, and their Authority was ſet down.

All practice of Conjuration, Witchcraft and falſe Propheſie, was made Felony.

The Kings of *England* having for a long time ruled *Ireland* by no other Name then Lords thereof, our King now thought fit to change the Stile, and honour a populous and warlike Kingdome with the Title of a King. Therefore in a Parliament held at this time in that Country, he gave order to be declared King of *Ireland*; which was proclaimed here during this Parliament, and finally enacted 35. *Hen.* 8. 3. This being notified to *James*, much offended him; though whether out of emulation for his aſſuming the Title, or that himſelf had any deſigne on this Country (as by his laying claim to divers parts thereof, and by former paſſages may be ſuſpected) is uncertain. Howbeit, underſtanding that *Mac-Connell* and ſome Scots, who held part thereof (as *Leſleus* hath it) were not diſturb'd in their poſſeſſion, hee more patiently ſuffered it. Our King on the other ſide, finding none conteſted with him for the Soveraignty of the Iſland, did not ſo much regard their particular right: though yet, as there were divers Commotions about this time, hee had occaſion to hold a hand over the diſaffected perſons: But by the diligence of Sir *Anthony Sentleger*, whom the King had lately made Deputy there, all was quickly compoſed.

Jan. 23.

Leſl. de Reb. geſt. Scotorum.

July 7. 1540.

During this Seſſion of Parliament ſome wrong was offered (as our Hiſtories ſay) to their ancient Priviledges; a Burgeſſe of theirs being arreſted: Whereof the King underſtanding, not onely gave way to their releaſing him, but puniſhment of the offenders: inſomuch, that the Sheriffs of *London* were committed to the Tower, and one delinquent to a place call'd *Little-eaſe*, others to Newgate. By which means the King (whoſe Maſter-piece it was to make uſe of his Parliaments) not onely let Forraign Princes ſee the good intelligence betwixt him and his Subjects, but kept them all at his devotion: which alſo he ſo induſtriouſly procured, that rather then hee would ſeem to require more at this time then they had lately given, hee borrowed divers ſums of money of men above 50 *li.* yeerly in his Books (which he looked on often) giving them in lieu thereof Privie Seals as ſecurity for their repayment in two yeers; by this means ſuffering his Parliament rather to take notice of his wants, then to ſupply them; which yet ſerved to ſupply them upon his next occaſion. The Iriſh Nobility alſo being well informed of theſe proceedings, and collecting thereby the abſoluteneſſe of the Kings power every-where, the chief

March 28. *Hall.* *Stow.*

1541

of them this yeer ſubmitted themſelves, and acknowledge him now their King; among whom *Euſtace* the great *O Neale* preſented himſelf, and was made Earl of *Tirone*.

October. The Diet of *Ratisbone* being ended, the Emperour from thence ſent to the Pope, deſiring him to permit an Interview at *Lucca*, which the Pope accorded; whereupon the Emperor paſſing thorow *Milan*, came by land to *Genoua*, and thence taking water, to *Lucca*, where the Pope now was. And here many things were to be determined: For firſt, the Emperor (as he had engaged himſelf to the Proteſtants of the laſt Diet) urged a Councel, which the Pope thought fit to hold at *Vicenza*, where it was laſt indicted: But the Venetians oppos'd it, as fearing leſt the Turk, with whom they had lately made a Peace, ſhould think it was call'd to Confederate all Chriſtian Princes againſt him. Thus was the Councel again fruſtrated: other Affairs being alſo interrupted by the Ambaſſadour of *Francis*, who made divers Inſtances, that at leaſt the bodies of *Rincon* and *Fregoſe* might be reſtored; hoping that together with the Law of Nations, they would not yet violate that of Nature, and deny them the Rights of Buriall. But the Emperour ſtill proteſting himſelf to be no way conſcious of this fact, omitted Anſwer to the reſt [illegible]his while the Turk having gotten ſome places of import[illegible] *Hungary*, and overthrown the Army of *Ferdinand* (led [illegible]*dolph*,) the Pope endeavoured a Reconciliation of all [illegible] differences; deſiring the Emperour to give to *Fr*[illegible] the Eſtate of *Milan*, and him to reſtore all he had in [illegible]to the Duke of *Savoy*. But the Emperour [illegible]*ve Milan*, broke of the Treaty; for the reſt, preparing for an Expedition to *Algier*: His Fleet conſiſting of 64 Galleys, 200 Ships, 100 Frigots, 20000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe, beſides Voluntiers and Sea-men. Setting ſail with theſe from *Mallorca*, and other places where his Fleet attended him, he came in two dayes to the Coaſt of *Algier*, defended by *Azan-Aga* and about 800 Turks (being Cavallery for the moſt part) and about 5000 Moors, Renegadoes. It was now *October* 23 1541 when his men landed without much reſiſtance. The firſt thing done was to require *Azan Aga* to yeeld the place, and turn Chriſtian, as being the ſon of Chriſtian Parents, and born in *Spain*: But he anſwered, that hee deſired no more honour then to comply with his Loyalty, and die by the hands of ſo excellent an Emperour. But as the ſeaſon of the yeer was far advanced, foul weather began; ſo that they fought neither often nor with much advantage on either ſide. At laſt, a huge tempeſt aroſe, which finally deſtroyed 150 Ships, little and great, with all that was in them, ſave ſome horſes and a few men: And now the Tempeſt ſtill increaſing, the Emperour, who between noiſe and danger could not ſleep, demanded of ſome

Sea-

Concil. Trid. *lib.* 1.

October.

July 28.

Sandoval, *l.* 25.

Aug.

Sea-men then with him, how long the reſt of the Fleet might live if the Tempeſt continued? they anſwered, at moſt, two hours: he demanded then what a clock it was? they told him half an hour paſt eleven; Whereupon he ſaid to them, Comfort your ſelves; at twelve the Friers and Nuns riſe, and will pray for us: But the Tempeſt continued till far in the next day, when the miſerable carcaſſes of Ships and men ſwimming in ſome places, and drowning in others, made an hideous ſpectacle; while if any got to land, the Arabs and Moors without mercy kill'd them. And now, beſides the above mentioned Ships, fourteen or fifteen Galleys were caſt away; by which means not onely the Artillery and Victual fail'd, but even the deſire to continue the Siege: for one ſuch another Tempeſt would have deſtroyed all. Yet there was much difficulty in the embarking of the Souldiers, for the Ships did not ſuffice to carry them: Therefore they were fain to caſt overbord their moſt generous Horſes, who ſwimming from one ſhip to another, were drowned at laſt, not without much compaſſion of all, and eſpecially their Maſters. The reſt of the Navigation homewards yet was not proſperous, many Ships periſhing. At laſt, the Emperor came to *Calari* in *Sardigna*, where through contrary winds, he was conſtrained to paſſe his Chriſtmas; at length fair weather appearing, he arrived in *Spain*: And this was the third unfortunate voyage to *Argier*, it having been twice before attempted in vain. 1541

A Rupture with *Scotland* being now ſecretly reſolv'd, our King thought fit to aſſure *Francis* ſending for this purpoſe to Sir *William Paget*, his Ambaſſador there, Inſtructions, which were chiefly to hold *Francis* to his Treaties of perpetuall peace. But *Francis* ſaying it was made upon certain conditions, which were broken by our King, it was anſwer'd the Treaty was *Sans* Condition, and when it were not, that he had broken none. But *Francis* requiring then aſſiſtance for *Milan*, as was promiſed; it was replyed, that both by the Treaty laſt offered by the Duke of *Norfolk*, and another formerly by *Commeray*, this was ſpoken of indeed, but that there was complicated with it another condition, that he ſhould forſake the Biſhop of *Rome*, which he refuſed to doe; Bnt as this was interrupted with ſome wrangling, ſo there was no little debate about Ships detained on either ſide, our Officers having with-held ſome, under pretence they were Pirates, and they again ſeizing on ours by way of repriſall; ſo that matters were breaking forth to an open war. Which being advertiz'd to our King, gave him little hope of amity on thet part, and conſequently made him not only deſiſt from a Treaty of Marriage betwixt the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Princeſſe *Mary* propos'd formerly by *Pommeray* and now renewed, 1642. Febr. 1540. 1536. 1536.

1542 newed, but ſeek friends elſewhere (as will appear hereafter.) Our King refuſing in the mean time to enter into League with him againſt the Emperor.

March. Though the right line of the *Plantagenets* were extinct in the Counteſſe of *Salisbury*, and conſequently no fear of pretence to Succeſſion, on that part, there remained yet a naturall ſon of *Edward* the fourth, called Sir *Arthur Plantagenet* (created by King

April. 25. 1523. *Henry* the eighth, Viſcount *Liſle*) who came to his end on this occaſion: This Lord, during his Lieutenancy in *Calais*, being ſuſpected, as conſenting to a practiſe of ſome of his ſervants,

April. 17. 1540. (whereby they conſpired to deliver that Town to the French,) was thereupon ſent for, and committed to the Tower; but upon due Examination his Innocency appearing, the King at this time, not onely gave order to releaſe him, but for his more comfort ſent him a Diamond Ring, and a Gracious Meſſage; which ſo overjoyed and dilated his ſpirits, that the night follow-

March 3. ing he dyed.

The Emperor being now in *Spain*, *Ferdinand* holds a Diet at

Feb. *Spire*, where he requires ayd againſt the *Turk*; whereof *Francis* being advertiſed, ſends *Francis Oliver* thither with charge to repreſent, firſt the Aſſaſſinate of *Rincon* and *Fregoſe*, pretending it to be the more heynous, that *Rincons* Imployment was to hinder the *Turk* from invading *Hungary*: Secondly, to diſſwade them from taking Arms againſt the *Turk*, till their own differences were compoſed. Laſtly, to repreſent both the levity of the *Hungarians*, and their diſaffection to the German Nation: And therefore, that they ſhould fortifie their ſtrong places betwixt *Auſtria* and *Hungary*, and the other Confines, without taking much regard to the reſt. As for Pacification in Religion, that they ſhould conform themſelves on all ſides to the Confeſſion of our Faith, left us by the *Nicene* Councel. And for other points, if they could not agree them, they ſhould not yet be occaſion of hate or diviſion. But the wiſer ſort, who believed that *Rincons* diſpatches (when they were to be ſeen) would have told another tale, did not much believe the firſt part of his Speech: As for the ſecond, ſince it tended onely to give *Hungary* into the *Turks* hands, they rejected it wholly: And for the laſt, they regarded it little (though a wiſe and charitable advice) as being reſolved already of their Religion. After him, the Biſhop of

March 23. *Modena*, the Popes Legat, tells them that the Pope deſired Peace in Chriſtendom, and proviſion for wars againſt the *Turk*. As for the Councel which had been ſuſpended hitherto by the Emperors conſent to try if a Concord might, the while, be wrought in *Germany*, that it was reaſon to call it. Onely that *Germany* could be no fit place for holding thereof, ſince his Holineſs reſolving to be preſent, could not indure ſo long a journey or ſuch a change of Ayr. Beſides, he feared it would be turbulent.

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lent. Nevertheleſs, for ſatisfying them, he was content the ſame ſhould be aſſembled at *Trent*, (that is to ſay,) in the Borders of *Germany*. *Ferdinand* and the Catholikes accept this place with thanks, (when it might not be held at *Ratisbone* or *Collen.*) But the Proteſtants wholly diſliked it. And now the French Ambaſſadors finding themſelves but ſlighted, go thence diſcontented. And ſo the Diet brake up (after War had been decreed againſt the *Turk*, and Peace eſtabliſhed in the Empire.) And *May* 22. the Councel was indicted to begin in *November* following.

April 11.

May 22.

Francis being now informed by his Ambaſſadors that the Germans were ſo far from receiving his advice, that they thought him to be a perturber of the Peace of Chriſtendome, is not yet diſcouraged. Therefore, after a Proceſſion made in *Paris* for ſucceſſe in his War, and a preſent ſent to the Turk of 600 Marks of Silver curiouſly wrought, and 500 Veſtments for thoſe that attended him, together with a requeſt, that he would ſend his Fleet againſt the Emperor, and a publick Defiance ſent to *Charles*, Hee invades his Territories in five ſeverall places; Againſt them in *Brabant* hee imploys the Duke of *Longueville*, who was to joyn with *Martin Roſſen* Generall for the Duke of *Cleves*, to invade that part: Againſt *Artois* the Duke of *Vendoſme*: Againſt *Luxemburg* the Duke of *Orleans*: In *Piedmont* Monſieur *du Bellay* his Lieutenant there: And againſt *Perpignian* (the chief Town of *Rouſſillon*, and the Barrier of *Spain* to the Southward) the *Daulphin*, promiſing to ſecond him in Perſon.

July.

Hee began firſt in *Piedmont*, as being the immediate way to his deſired *Milan*: In which he held theſe places, *Turino*, *Montcalier*, *Savillan*, *Montdevis*, *Pignarola*, &c. For the Emperor ſtood *Aſti*, *Vercelli*, *Ulpian*, *Foſſan*, *Quieraſco* and *Alba*; among which *Quieraſco* was firſt attempted and yeelded: *Vendoſme* in *Artois* taking and razing *Tourneham*: The Duke of *Orleans* (aſſiſted with 500 Horſe from *Chriſtiern* the III King of *Denmark*) took *Luxemburgh* and other places; which yet *René* Prince of *Orenge* and Count of *Naſſaw* recovered ſhortly after. Nevertheleſſe, *Roſſen* deceiv'd him with a plain trick: For commanding his Infantry to lie flat in a Champian field behind his Cavalry, the Prince of *Orenge*, who did not imagine he was ſo ſtrong, charged him; but the Foot riſing, they and their Horſe together defeated him. Whereupon *Roſſen* and *Longueville* being about thirty five thouſand men, beſieged *Antwerp*; But it was ſtoutly defended not onely by the Natives, but by forraign Merchants, and particularly the Engliſh. Whereupon, *Roſſen* raiſing Siege and going to *Lovaine*, demands of them Money, Victuals, Artillery and Ammunition; which they of *Lovaine* accorded in part, commanding thereupon ſome Wine to be carried in Carts to the

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the Gate. But the Scholers, unwilling both to let it go, and ſuſpecting beſides that when the gates were ſo embarraſet, the Enemy behinde the Hogſhead might get into the Town, cut off the Harneſſe from the Horſes, and went to the Artillery planted upon the Wall, and diſcharged it upon the Enemy: whereupon *Roſſen* departing, ſpoil'd the Country round about. This while, the Daulphin brought an Army of forty thouſand men, whereof fourteen thouſand *Switz*, and four thouſand Horſe to *Perpignan*, which he beſieged, hoping *Barbaroxa* and the Turkiſh Fleet would ſecond him, according to his requeſt by *Polin*, whom *Francis* employ'd in thoſe parts. But the Town being bravely defended, and the Emperor beſides preparing to releive it, he rais'd the Seige, and the rather that Winter was now coming on. This while, the Emperor omitted not to complain to the Pope of *Francis*, proteſting, that he both diſturb'd the Peace of Chriſtendome and the Councell, and hindred him from oppoſing the Turk. Whereupon, the Pope deſiring to reconcile them, the Emperor anſwered, It was in vain to make Treaties with thoſe who did hold none; deſiring him therefore rather to take Armes againſt him, as confederate with the common Enemy of Chriſtendom.

Decem. 1541. The excuſe from *James* formerly mentioned being not held ſatisfactory, our King prepares for war; nevertheleſs, he thought not fit to diſcover himſelf, but as late as he could. Therefore upon *James* his requeſt he appoints Commiſſioners to examine buſineſſes betwixt them, not omitting yet to levy men, of which *James* being advertiz'd raiſed forces likewiſe (as is before ſet down). During this Treaty ſome Inrodes being made into *Scotland* and Ports attempted, I find by *Leſſeus* twenty eight Scotiſh ſhips were taken. Whereupon, the Scots entring the Engliſh marches, Sir *Robert Bowes* (who reſiſted them) with divers others were taken Priſoners; without being permitted yet to ranſome themſelves. Hereupon the Duke of *Norfolk* with the Kings Army marched forward, but upon a ſecond motion of Peace ſtayes at *York*. And together with the Earl of *Southampton*, Biſhop of *Durham*, and Sir *Anthony Brown* treats with certain Scotiſh Commiſſioners, who having variety of Inſtructions, (which they ſhewed one after another) and finally propoſing an Interview, were thought to be ſent thither only to gain time, winter now coming on, and the French King having ſo much to do at home as is before related. So that the King commanded the Duke of *Norfolk* to proceed, and together publiſhed a Declaration of the cauſes of this war. Which being extant in our Records, and ſet forth at large by *Hall*, I ſhall not need to inſert here, though yet for ſatisfaction of the Reader, I ſhall extract ſome particularities from thence.

Auguſt. 24.

October 21.

Hall.

The chief cauſes I conceive, were, That *Iames* entertain'd

ſome

ſome of the chief Rebels of the North. That he denied ſome grounds, (though of very ſmall value) for which good evidences were produced. That he fruſtrated our King, after a promiſe of an Interview. That his Subjects made an Inrode while the Treaty was on foot. Beſides all which, King *Henry* claimed Homage and Fealty, as due to him out of an ancient Title to that Crown; the demand whereof he ſaid he had neglected a great while becauſe of his Nephews minority, and other kind reaſons, his Title being by lineall Succeſſion, and recognized for many ages by the Kings of *Scotland*, to the Raign of *Henry* 6. which he proved firſt by Hiſtory. Secondly, by Inſtruments of Homage, by the ſeverall Kings, and divers great perſons ſealed with their Seals, and remaining in his Treaſury. Thirdly, by Regiſters and Records, judicially and authentically made. The Hiſtoricall part, he began chiefly (that I may omit the relation of *Brutus* and his three Sons) at *Anno Dom.* 900. (being 642 yeers paſt) ſhewing that *Edward* ſon of *Allured* had it under his Dominion. *Athelſtain* made one *Conſtantine* King thereof. *Eldred* took homage of *Iriſe* [or *Ericus*] King of Scots, and *Edgar* of *Kinald* (or *Kenneth.*) That this was interrupted yet in *Edward King* and *Martyr* his time. But *Malcolm* did homage to *Knute*, and *Edward* the Confeſſor making war againſt *Malcolm*, overthrew him and gave his Kingdom to *Malcolm* his ſon, who made him Homage and Fealty; That *Malcolm* did homage to *William* the Conqueror, and after him to *William Rufus*, but failing in his duty was depoſed, and *Edgar* brother to the laſt *Malcolm* and ſon to the firſt, ordain'd in that eſtate, who did his Homage and Fealty accordingly. This *Edgar* did homage to *Henry* the I. *David* did homage to *Matild* the Empreſſe, but refus'd it to *Stephen*, as having done it to *Matild*; but after his death *Davids* ſon made his homage to *Stephen*. *William* King of Scots, and *David* his brother with all the chief Nobles of *Scotland* made homage to *Henry* II. his Son, with reſervation of their duty to his Father. This *William* after much Rebellion and reſiſtance, during the abſence of *Henry* II. made his Peace and Compoſition with his Homage and Fealty; he alſo came to *Canterbury* and there did Homage to *Richard* the firſt. *William* did Homage to *Iohn* on a hill beſide *Lincoln*, and made his Oath upon the croſſe of *Hubert* then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *Alexander* King of Scots married the Daughter of *Henry* III. and did his Homage at *York*. *Alexander* came to the Coronation of *Edw.* I. and did his duty: *Iohn Baliol* made Homage and Fealty to *Edw.* 1. *Robert Bruce* made war againſt the *Baliols* which interrupted the buſineſſe for fourty four yeers. But afterwards *Edward Baliol* prevailing made Homage to *Edw.* the third. After this, *David Bruce* though on the contrary faction, made homage to *Edw.* the third. *Edward Baliol* who had the clear

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I.

1542 Title, ſurrendred the Crown to *Edw.* the third at *Roxenburgh*, who thereupon cauſed himſelf to be crown'd, and for a time entertain'd and enjoyed it as Proprietory and owner of the Crown, both by confiſcation and voluntary ſurrender. In *Richard* the II. and *Henry* the IV. times, ſome interruption happened by reaſon of inward diſſentions in this Kingdome; yet *Henry* V. commanded the Scots to attend him in his journie to *France*. And in this time the Realm of *Scotland* being deſcended on the *Stuarts*, *James Stuart* King of Scots made Homage to King *Henry* VI. at *Windſor*. All which Homages (though interrupted

II. ſometimes for more then LX. yeers) were yet within the memory of man. Of which therefore, Inſtruments made and ſealed with the Seals of the Kings of *Scotland* remain; ſo that it was

III. not for the Earldome of *Huntington* (as the Scots pretend) but for the Kingdom of *Scotland*. As for Records and Regiſters, that he had divers which were authenticall, and among others that of *Edw.* I. in diſcuſſion of the Title of *Scotland*, then challenged by twelve Competitors. And that ſentence was given for *Baliol*, who accordingly injoyed the Realm. That in a Parliament following, they did agree to the ſuperiority of the King of *England*, and enſuing their determination, did particularly, and ſeverally make Homage and Fealty with Proclamation, that whoſoever withdrew himſelf from doing his duty therein, ſhould be reputed as a Rebell; and ſo all made Homage and Fealty to *Edward* I. That during this diſcuſſion the Realm was ruled by Guardians deputed by him, and all Caſtles and Holds ſurrendred to him as to the Superiour Lord. And in the time of Vacation, Benefices, Offices, Fees, Promotions, paſſed as in the right of this Crown of *England*; Sheriffs alſo named and appointed, Writs and and Precepts made, obeyed and executed. And that at this time, the Biſhops of S. *Andrews* and *Glaſco* were not Archbiſhops, but recogniz'd the Archbiſhop of *York*, whoſe authority extended over all their Country. That ſithence the time of *Henry* VI. this Kingdome was lacerated and torn by diverſity of Titles, till his time. So that though *Edw.* IIII. after great travells, having attain'd quietneſs in this Realm, finally made preparation of war againſt *Scotland*, yet he was prevented by death. As for *Richard* III. that he uſurped the Kingdom till *Henry* the VII. his Father overthrew him, (which *Henry* the VII. by reaſon of his Eſtate not fully ſetled at home, forbare to compell the Scots to do their duty.) And for his own time, that twenty one yeers paſt of it in his Nephewes minority, when he had more care to bring him out of danger to the place of a King, then to receive of him Homage when he had full poſſeſſion of the ſame.

The concluſion of this Declaration yet ſeemed to be ambiguous; as not pretending directly to inſiſt upon the Claim, though

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though he ſaith, that ſuch be the works of God ſuperiour over all, to ſuffer occaſions to be miniſtred, whereby due ſuperiority may be known, demanded, and required.

The Scotiſh Writers tell the buſineſſe otherwiſe: not denying yet but *Athelſtaine* was King of the whole Iſland by the teſtimony of divers of our Brittain Writers. Nevertheleſſe, that their words were ſo to be underſtood, as the further parts of *Scotland* were not comprehended therein. As for the Homage done, That it was for the Earldom of *Huntington* (though as there was no Inveſtiture thereof in the King of Scots till the time of our *Henry* the Firſt, when *David* married the Daughter and Heir of the Earl of *Huntington* and *Northumberland*, it reaches not to Homages formerly made). Again, among thoſe who did Homage, ſome were reputed Kings of *Northumberland*, rather then *Scotland*. And for *Baliol*'s reſigning the Crown, they ſay, the Nobles did not conſent to it: And many other things, which for avoyding prolixity, I omit; deſiring the Reader to beleeve, that I am ſo far from undertaking to define the point, as (in an Hiſtoricall way) I have onely produced ſuch Notes as my leiſure would ſuffer me to gather at this time: profeſſing, for the reſt, That I ſhould not in any wiſe have intermedled therewith, but that *Hall* by ſetting forth the Declaration, gave the occaſion.

Theſe proceeding from time to time being advertiſed to *Francis*, cauſed him to ſend Monſieur *de Morvilliers* to congratulate the conſtancie of *James* in refuſing an Interview; which hee attributed to his reſolution not to forſake the Roman Church: Adviſing him for the reſt, to ſtand upon his Guard; and for that purpoſe, ſending him Money and Artillery. *Leſleus.* Aug. Sleidan.

And now the Army being ready to march on, *William Fitz-Williams* Earl of *Southampton* Captain of the Fore-ward died at *New-Caſtle*; A brave Lord, and ſo much eſteemd, that for the honour of his Memory, his Standard was born in the Fore-ward in all this Expedition. Hall.

The yeer thus being far ſpent, the Duke of *Norfolk* Lieutenant General, accompanied with the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Darby*, *Cumberland*, *Surrey*, *Hertford*, *Rutland*, and other Lords of the Northern parts; Sir *Anthony Brown* Maſter of the Kings Horſe, and Sir *John Gage* Controller of his Houſe, and above twenty thouſand men (the Earl of *Anguis* alſo being there preſent) enter *Scotland* 21 of October, and finding no reſiſtance, burnt in eight days above twenty Villages and Towns: Whereupon the Biſhop of *Orkney* and *James Leirmouth* came on their Kings part to require Peace; but the conditions not pleaſing, the Treaty was diſſolv'd. Nevertheleſſe, our Army retreated preſently to *Barwick*, as being betwixt the rigour of the ſeaſon and want of victuals, conſtrain'd thereunto. So that though *Leſleus* ſaith, the Engliſh retired upon hearing that October 21.

1542 the Scottiſh Army approached; this yet by others is thought improbable, becauſe they invaded not *England* till three weeks after the Duke of *Norfolk* was at *Berwick*, and had licenſed many of his ſouldiers. About which time therefore the Scotiſh Army being aſſembled, they entred *England* on the Weſt Marches with an Army of fifteen thouſand, or (as ſome ſay) a greater number. But *Thomas* the Baſtard *Dacres* and *Muſgrave*, having firſt ſent to Sir *Thomas Wharton* Warden of the Marches to come to their aid, and then leaving a Stale or Ambuſh on a hill ſide, came forwards with an hundred light Horſe, which being charged by ſome of the Scots, retired towards their Stale, and to *Wharton* now appearing, who had not yet above 300 men (as our Writers ſay). But whatſoever the Stratagem was, the Scots believing (it ſeems) the Duke of *Norfolk* was there with all his power, ſuddenly, as men amazed, fled. The Engliſh men purſued, and took the Earls of *Caſſelles* and *Glencarne*, the Lord *Maxwell* Admiral of *Scotland*, the Lord *Fleming*, the Lord *Somerwell*, the Lord *Oliphant*, Lord *Gray*, and Sir *Oliver Sinclere* the Kings Minion (as our Hiſtorians term him,) and divers others of note to the number of two hundred and above, and eight hundred of the meaner ſort (ſo that ſome had two or three Priſoners,) and 24 Pieces of Ordnance, with much Arms and Baggage.

Novemb. 24.

Hall.

The Scotiſh Writers tell the Buſineſſe a little otherwiſe; confeſſing yet the foreſaid Priſoners to be taken, and that their men ran away, and were defeated. But ſome ſay, the reaſon of it was, that Sir *Oliver Sinclare* being ſuddenly declared their General when the Engliſh appeared, the Nobles took it ſo ill, that that they cared not to fight. They ſay alſo, that the King was at *Solway* (where this encounter hap'ned) a little before, and no further off then *Carlawrock* when the blow was given; which, perhaps, made ſome think that he was preſent at the fight, and received a wound, of which preſently after he died, and not of ſorrow.

Leſlæus.

Hall.

James being now return'd, had in recompence of his misfortunes, a Daughter born, afterwards called *Mary*; which yet together with the many divertiſements his ſervants gave, could not keep him from a deep Melancholy, which was augmented alſo (as the Scotiſh and our Writers ſay) by the ſudden murder of an Engliſh Herald, whom our King ſent thither to ranſome Priſoners (though yet none of his Subjects, but *Leech* a *Lincolnſhire* Rebel kill'd him:) All which made that impreſſion in him, that he died within few days after, and was buried neer his firſt Wife *Magdalene*, in the Abbey of *Holy-Rood*. He was of a middle ſtature, yet well compact and ſtrong, given much in his youth to the love of women, to which his Governours gave way, thinking thereby to rule him the longer. This

Decemb. 7.

Leſl. Stow. Hall.

Deccmb. 14.

Buchanan.

hinder-

hindered him not yet to be active in all State affairs, and frugall in his own; Qualities rarely found in Princes so much addicted to their pleasure. No man endured labour, cold, hunger better (as his many Expeditions in Person against Rebels, shewed.) Under pretence of favouring the poorer sort, he was noted to be severe to his Nobility, which made them lesse ready when he had occasion to use them. Insomuch, that (as *Buchanan* hath it) he could not perswade them to come to Battel with the Duke of *Norfolk*. 1542

The murder of our English Herald being related to our King, mightily incensed him: and therefore hee not onely required *Leech*, (who yet was not demanded till after the death of King *James*, nor executed till May following); but sent to his Ambassadour *Paget* in *France*, both to acquaint *Francis* therewith, (whom hee lately knew had suffered in the like kinde,) and to desire him not to assist *James*. But the Answer hereunto was cold, as will appear hereafter. Decemb. 4.

The news of the Kings death, and the Princesse birth being brought to our King, awakened in him new Counsels: so that in stead of pursuing War against *Scotland*, he began to think how he might recover the young Daughter thence, and match his Son *Edward* to her. To which also he was so intentive, that he sent a Dispatch to his Ambassadour *Paget*, commanding him carefully to observe what past betwixt *France* and *Scotland*, as being jealous lest *Francis* should get or detain her from him. And there was reason to fear it, *Francis* having by the intervention of the Queen and Cardinall *Beton*, a great party there. Nevertheless, as our King knew how much it concern'd either Nation that all causes of Hostility should be taken away, and both Kingdoms united: So he doubted not but many, especially the wiser sort, would concur with him. Decemb. 22. Decemb. 26.

And now in *Scotland* two Factions were eminent: One that of the Queen, seconded by Cardinal *Beton*, who (as the Scotish Writers say) forged a Will, by which himself, assisted with three of the most powerfull Nobility, should govern the State, and with him all the French Faction joyn'd. *James Hamilton* Earl of *Arrain* chief of the other side (though observ'd to be a lover of quiet) was yet encouraged by his followers to assume that dignity; as being so neer of blood, and the Princesse so young, that many occasions might happen, whereof he might prevail himself: which reasons also inclin'd him to depend on our King.

While these things past in *Scotland*, the Prisoners taken in the last Battell, were by Sir *Henry Savil* and Sir *Thomas Wentworth* conducted from *York* to *London*, whither they came *Decemb.* 19. wearing every one (as our King had appointed) for a cognizance, a red S. *Andrews* Crosse, and were presently sent to the Tower, Decemb. 19. *Stow.* Records.

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Decemb. 21. Tower, where ſhortly after King *Henry* for more oſtentation commanded Sir *John Gage* Controller of his Houſhold, to bring them by two and two together in new Gowns of black Damask, and other apparell ſutable (all at his coſt) from the Tower to the Star-chamber, where *Thomas* Lord *Audeley* the Lord Chancellor was to tell them, what cauſe King *Henry* had of war againſt them, both for denying their Homage, and invading his Realm without Defiance, and keeping his Subjects without ſuffering them to make Ranſome, contary to the Laws of the Marches. Nevertheleſſe, that ſuch was his benignity, that he would ſhew them kindneſſe for unkindneſſe, and right for wrong: And thereupon (after their promiſe to remain true Priſoners) commanded that they ſhould be no more returned to priſon, but brought to divers Noble Houſes, there to be regaled and made much of. Thus the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had the Earl of *Caſſilis* commended to him; the Duke of *Norfolk* the Earl of *Glencarne*; Sir *Anthony Brown* the Lord *Maxwell*; the Lord Chancellor the Lord *Somerwell*; Sir *Thomas Lee* the Lord *Oliphant*; the Duke of *Suffolk* Sir *Oliver Sinclere*; *Thomas Thurliby* (lately made firſt Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*) *Robert Erskin*; and many others were with divers of our chief Nobility: where having paſt ſome time with as much contentment as the news of their Kings death (now brought) permitted, they forgot not to expreſſe how glad they would be that a Match might ſucceed betwixt our Prince and their Princeſſe, promiſing alſo their furtherance therein; which being related to our King, was taken ſo well, as they were not onely diſmiſs'd upon Hoſtages to be given for their return (when they were not able to effect this Match,) but richly rewarded. After which, again, being feaſted, they kept their Journey toward *Scotland*, till they came to the Duke of *Suffolk* (the Kings Lieutenant in the Northern parts) being then at *New-Caſtle*, where their Hoſtages being received, they had licence to go home; and with them alſo went the Earl of *Anguis*, and his Brother Sir *George Dowglaſſe* (now fifteen yeers abſent from their Country) who, during their long ſtay in theſe parts, had a liberall Penſion beſtowed on them by our King; for which alſo they promiſed their beſt aſſiſtance on all occaſions. Cardinall *Beton*, who this while (by pretext of his counterfeit Will) had made himſelf Viceroy, was now (upon detection of the forgery) depos'd, and *James Hamilton* Earl of *Arrain* choſen in his place: A Nobleman followed by many, both for his neerneſſe of Bloud to the Crown, and that the Cardinals cruelty and ambition had made him ſo hated. Beſides, there was found after the Kings death certain Papers, in which the names of above 300 of the principall Nobility and Gentry (and among them *James Hamilton*) were accuſed as Criminals: and this again made them more confident

Records.

Decem. 1540.

Decemb. 26.

Jan. 1.

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confident of his Protection. Moreover, he was noted willing to inform himself in the Controversies of Religion, and gave hope of a milde and temperate disposition. His first publick Action was the convoking of a Parliament in *March* following; whereof our King being advertised, sent Sir *Ralf Sadler* (his Secretary) thither, to procure the Marriage formerly mentioned, and a perpetuall Peace: Scotish Ambassadours being also deputed to treat thereof with our King. What Sir *Ralf Sadlers* first Instructions were, appears not by our Records, more then is formerly related out of the Scotish Writers; But by a subsequent Dispatch, dated *May* 6, I find that our King, in reward of some business that the Viceroy should effect, had promis'd his Daughter the Lady *Elizabeth* to his Son: And because our King passionately desired to have the young Princesse into his hands, both that he intended to marry her to his Son Prince *Edward*, and that he feared the French would prevent him, I nothing doubt but this was the Affair intimated betwixt them. Our Records also tel us, that *George Dowglasse*, and the other Lords who were sent home, excus'd themselves at first, as neither knowing what they did, nor able to perform their promises; so that though they had undertaken to procure the Marriage, and to get some Holds into their hands, where they might with more advantage set forth our Kings purposes, they declined it; alledging, among other difficulties, a certain fickleness in the Viceroy's disposition, and that the French party was so great. Howbeit, upon further debate of the businesse, certain Scotish Ambassadours were sent hither, being Sir *Willam Hamilton* and Sir *Iames Lermouth*; but their Negotiation not pleasing, as unwilling to admit other Governour then the Earl of *Arrain* during the Queens minority, or to deliver the Holds of *Scotland* till shee had Issue by Prince *Edward*, or to put her into our Kings custody, with some other Demands which were distasted by them, it was thought fit to send the Earl of *Glencarne* and Sir *George Dowglasse*; who, I finde, seconded the overture of the Contract of Marriage and perpetual Peace (which the first made) in more plausible terms: yet not so, but that Sir *George Dowglass* was dispatched Post to *Scotland* to bring a more satisfactory Answer; which was obtain'd: Insomuch, that a Treaty for Marriage sign'd and seal'd was brought back by those Scotish Ambassadours in *August* 1543 (as *Lesleus* hath it). And becaus I finde among our Records this following Treaty of *Iune* 29, I shall enquire for no other.

1543

March. *Buchan.*

May 6.

April.

April 14.

May.

Aug. *Lesleus.*

June 29. [*Lib. Concil.*]

First, That the Lords of *Scotland* shall have the Education of the Princesse for a time: yet so as it might be lawful for our King to send thither a Noble-Man and his Wife with a Family, under twenty Persons to wait on her.

That at ten yeers of age she should be brought into *England*, the

1543 the Contract being firſt finiſhed by a Proxie in *Scotland*.

That within two Months after the Date hereof ſix Noble Scots ſhould be given as Hoſtages for the performance of the Conditions on their part; And that if any of them died, the number of them ſhould be ſupplied.

Furthermore, it was agreed that the Realm of *Scotland* (by that name) ſhould preſerve its Laws and Rights: And that Peace ſhould be made for as long time as was deſired, the French being excluded.

Neverthelesſe, The Queen, Cardinal, and all the Clergy oppos'd this Treaty, and the Cardinal ſo particularly, that he was removed to a chamber apart, or (as other have it) into a Priſon, ſtill the main queſtion of the Marriage was voted and agreed, and Hoſtages promiſed for performance thereof. But as the Cardinal found means to corrupt his Keeper, ſo he eſcaped; and then began again to trouble all, uſing for this purpoſe the help of the Queen-Mother, and the pretext, it was unfit that the *Dowglaſſes*, being wholly devoted to the Engliſh, ſhould from a long Baniſhment be admitted to the ſupreme Councel concerning publick Affairs. Beſides, hee got huge ſums of money from the Clergy, upon colour that there was no other way to redeem themſelves from imminent ruine. Furthermore, he perſwaded that the Hoſtages ſhould not be ſent into *England*; hee procured alſo that our Ambaſſadour ſhould be contumelioufly uſed; whereof he complaining to the Viceroy, had no other Anſwer, but that the Cardinall had ſo diſcompoſed all things, that hee could give no remedy for the preſent. The Queſtion was then, What courſe they ſhould take about the Hoſtages left in *England*, upon condition that the late Nobles who were priſoners ſhould return, in caſe the Marriage and Peace took no effect. But the Cardinall anſwered, That Kindred, Friends, Children and all ſhould be ſacrificed for the good of their Country. Howbeit, *Gilbert Kenneth* Earl of *Caßilis* could not be perſwaded to ſtay; for having left two Brothers his pledges, he ſaid he would redeem their lives with his own: And thereupon, though many dehorted him, he went into *England*. Which generous counſell ſucceeded ſo well, that after a large commendation given him by our King, he was diſmiſs'd with his Brothers freely, and richly rewarded. On the other ſide, hee was ſo offended with the reſt, that hee detain'd all the Scotiſh Shipping in his Ports, and reſolved to denounce War againſt them. Whereupon, the Cardinal and Queen-Mother inform'd the French King thereof, and that the Factions were ſuch, as there was danger both Kingdoms ſhould be united; deſiring him further, to ſend over *Matthew Stuart* Earl of *Lenox*, as being of great power in that Country, and noted then to be adverſe to the *Hamiltons*: Beſides, it added to his reputation,

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tation, that it was thought the laſt King if he had died without Iſſue Male, would have deſign'd him his Heir and Succeſſor, and gotten it confirmed by Parliament. And to invite him the more, there was ſome ſecret hope given, he might marry the Queen Mother, and divers other things ſet down by *Buchanan*. Theſe motives, together with the French Kings approbation & promiſe of aſſiſtance made the young Lord to reſolve to repair to *Scotland*; whereof the Viceroy being informed, indeavors to get the yong Princeſs out of her mothers hands; hoping therby not only to govern all, but to draw the Engliſh on his ſide; but the deſign being vented to the Cardinal, a guard was given to the yong Queen. Buchanan.

In the mean while the Earl of *Lenox* arrives out of *France*, without diſcovering yet any thing of his Intentions; only he tels his friends in private the Promiſes made him, and what help he might expect from the French King. Whereupon they exhorting him to try his ſtrength, he gathered four thouſand men and advances; whereof *Hamilton* being advertiz'd, and finding himſelf inferior in Power, ſent to Treat of Peace, which followed, and an agreement for the preſent that the Queen ſhould be brought to *Sterling*, and four principall Perſons ſhould have care of her Education: And the rather, that it was ſuſpected that the Earl of *Arrain* would have delivered her to the Engliſh. Whereupon ſhe was conducted by *Lenox* unto the place appointed, and committed unto the tuition of *Grames*, *Erskin*, *Lindſey*, and *Leviſton*, and ſhortly after crown'd. The Viceroy being thus fruſtrate, and for the reſt, not much favoured by the People, ſuffer'd himſelf to be gain'd by the Cardinal; to whom he ſhewed himſelf ſo obſequious, as he ſeem'd to hold the name rather then the power of a Viceroy. Inſomuch, that the Cardinal who a little before was in danger of ſuffering for a notable Forgery, now abſolutly govern'd all. Whereof our King being adverтiſed, did no longer hope to recover the Queen by the help of the Viceroy, but reſolv'd openly to demand her, upon pretext that there was fear of her being conveyed into *France*; and in caſe of refuſal, to denounce War. The Meſſage hereupon being brought, the Scots utterly denied him, ſo that proviſion for war was made by our King. All things yet paſſed not ſo quietly in *Scotland* as was deſired by that State; for as the Cardinall being of immoderate Ambition could not indure the Earle of *Lenox* power, ſo hee endeavour'd to ſuppreſſe him; which he did alſo with much cunning. For whereas hope had been given him of a marriage with the Queen, he adviſed her to entertain him fairly till he had received an Anſwer of the French King of a Letter, wherein, though he made Honourable mention of him, he thought it convenient yet the ſaid Earl ſhould be recall'd. It being not likely otherwiſe that the Kingdom would long continue in Peace. In the mean while, as *Lenox* was yong, hand-

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ſome, and gentile, and brought up in all exerciſes of a Cavalier, he paſt his time in Tiltings, Masks, and other noble diſports; In which though he had the Earl of *Bothwell* for Rivall, this Lord yet appear'd ſo inferiour to him, as he retired home: Nevertheleſſe, *Lenox* finding himſelf at laſt deluded, and that all this was done only by the Queen and Cardinall to have the more leaſure to ruine him, he proteſted he would be revenged; neither wanted there an opportunity; for thirty thouſand crowns being ſent by the French King to him, in the diſpoſing whereof yet he was wiſhed to uſe the advice of the Queen and Cardinal, he diſtributed the money amongſt his friends; but the Cardinal alledging, that the money was ſent to himſelf, and to be employed in wars againſt the Engliſh, and that *Lenox* had intercepted it againſt all right, raiſed an Army to ſeize on him and the money together. But as *Lenox* was not ignorant of theſe Preparatives, he gathered in a ſhort ſpace an Army of ten thouſand men, ſaying, he would prevent the Cardinall; who being now deſirous to gain time, as knowing *Lenox* was not long able to maintain this expence, entertain'd him with frequent Pollicitations and Meſſages; *Lenox* alſo doubting leaſt ſome of his followers might forſake him, agrees with the Viceroy and him, and comes to *Edenburrough*, where (after a while) being advertiz'd, that ſome treachery was intended, he conveyes himſelf by night to *Glaſco*, and from thence to *Dunbritton*; after which, hearing both, that the *Douglaſſes* and the *Hamiltons* were agreed, and that through the calumnies of his Adverſaries, the French King was alienated from him, he ſeem'd much troubled, & the rather that ſome noble Perſons who deſired to end theſe controverſies, were ſuddenly cõmitted. But as our King prepared now to invade *Scotland*, this buſinés had another end then he could eaſily imagine.

And now if juſt cauſes of competition to the young Queen of *Scotland* hapned, no leſſe juſt cauſes for war againſt *Francis* were given, of which I find the chief or at leaſt the moſt recent, were theſe.

That he withheld divers of our Ships, and ſeiz'd upon our Merchants Goods.

That he detain'd the Penſion due yeerly to King *Henry*.

That he had fortified *Ardres* to the prejudice of our Engliſh pale, on which alſo he had incroached. Moreover divers ancient unkindneſſes not ſufficiently concocted remain'd in our Kings breaſt: As that he had given his Daughter *Magdalen* to *James*, and afterward the Daughter of *Guiſe* contrary to his promiſe and Treaty.

That he had not deſerted the Biſhop of *Rome*, and conſented to a Reformation, as he once promiſed.

That whereas with much freedome and confidence he had revealed divers ſecrets to him, they had been diſcloſed again unto the Emperor, while he was at *Aignes Mortes* and after

at

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at *Paris*. Beſides which, there was a common quarrell taken betwixt the Emperor and our King for having confederated himſelf with the Turk, *&c.* as is in the following Treaty. But to theſe *Francis* anſwered, That our King had failed alſo in not aſſiſting him againſt the Emperor. Our King replied, That *Francis* had violated the Treaty firſt. Beſides, he could not be ignorant of the warres againſt his Rebels at that time; howſoever theſe buſineſſes were ſo roughly conteſted that the Ambaſſadors were ſtayed on both ſides, though at length diſmiſſed, and an open Rupture reſolved. The conſequence whereof having a good while ſince been preſaged by our King, made him determine to enter into League with the Emperor, and to call a Parliament. March.

The League with the Emperor was to this effect (as appears by our Records.)

I. That there ſhould be Abolition of former Injuries.

II. A free Intercourſe.

III. A perpetuall Peace.

IIII. That they ſhould ayd or countenance no Enemies of each other.

V. That Rebels or Fugitives ſhould not be harbour'd, but upon warning given to be gone, if they obeyed not, to be baniſhed and proſcrib'd.

VI. He ſhall be taken for a Common Enemy who ſhall invade *England, Guiſnes, Calais, Berwick, Wight, Gerſey, Garnſey, Man, Spain, Brabant, Flanders, Holland, Zeland, Hainault, Artois, Limburgh, Luxemburgh, Namours, Friſe, Overyſſell, Utrech, Merklin.*

VII. And if he invade with ten thouſand men, the Prince invaded ſhall require aid of the other, who ſhall ſend him within forty daies, at his own charges, in this proportion, *viz.*

That if the enemy fall on *Calais*, or the Caſtle, and County of *Guiſnes*, the Emperor ſhall ſend at leaſt as many Souldiers Horſe and Foot, as may be paid for ſeven hundred crowns the day, each crown valued at fourty five Sol' *Tournois.*

If on *Wight, Gerſey, Garnſey, Man*, or *England*, the Emperor ſhall ſend for ayd ſuch a number of Foot, as can be paid for ſeven hundred crowns a day.

But if the Emperor be invaded in any of his countries above mentioned, the King of *England* ſhall ſend him for ayd, ſuch a number of Foot; at leaſt whoſe pay, conſidering their Clothes, Diet, and Weapons comes to ſeven hundred Crowns a day, each Crown worth forty Sol' *Tournois.*

And it is in the choice of him who demandeth aid, whether he will have Men or money, which Money ſhall be paid by the month, conſiſting of twenty eight dayes.

And whether Men or Money be required, the Prince of whom it is demanded, is not bound to be at this charge above

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four Months in one Yeer. But if the Prince in whoſe Aid they are ſent will retain them longer, hee may, at his own charge.

Neither Prince is bound to aid the other in divers places at once : And if both ſhall be invaded at the ſame time by the King of *France*, the one ſhall not be bound to aid the other.

If this Aid be demanded upon a falſe rumour, and the Enemie ſhall neither beſiege any City or Fort, nor make ſpoil, nor encamp in the Country of the Demandant, then the ſaid Demandant is to repay the money.

Concerning the Kingdom of *Spain* and *Ireland*, It is agreed, they ſhall aid one another by ſending Horſe and Foot, or Ships at the coſt of the Demandant : and concerning theſe two Kingdoms, the Number and Coſts of the Aid ſhall be as the time, and occaſion and ſtrength of the Prince of whom it was demanded will ſuffer : which thing ſhall be referred to the conſcience of the Prince ſo call'd upon.

And for the pay of the Souldiers, it ſhall be rated according to the Market of the Country wherein they are.

VIII. If any Article of this Treaty be violated by any of the Subjects, they ſhall be puniſh'd, and it remain.

IX. That no Letters of Merque ſhall be given without due warning, to the end the loſſes and wrongs may be otherwiſe repaired by the Prince.

X. That becauſe many ſcandalous and hereticall Books are ſpread abroad by Tranſlations, It is agreed that no Book written in Engliſh ſhall be printed or ſold in *Germany*, or the Emperours Dominions : Nor any Book written in Dutch, in *England*, under pain of Impriſonment to the ſellers and Printers, and burning of the ſaid Books.

XI That there ſhall be Intercourſe of Traffique according to the Treaty made 1520 ; and confirm'd and ordered in the Treaty of *Cambray*, 5 *Aug.* 1529.

XII. That if there be any damnification of the Subjects on either ſide, the wronged party upon requiſition may have the cauſe heard, and due reparation made.

XIII. That when upon Invaſion (as aforeſaid) War is denounced, no Truce ſhall be made by either Prince without the conſent of the other, except there be danger of Siege from the Enemy : In which caſe there may be Truce made (apart) for two months, within which time he is to give notice to the other.

XIIII. That no Peace ſhall be made, nor any Treaty ſeverally with the French King, or any other to the prejudice of this, but this to continue firm.

XV. That none are to be comprehended in this Treaty,

but

but by common conſent; as alſo no Enemy to either, nor in whoſe Dominions the other hath any pretence. 1543 42

XVI. This Treaty to be ratified by the Princes, under their Princely Word and Oath, and under pain to be infamous, and hated both by God and man, and under pledge of their goods, ſo that it ſhall be lawfull to invade the Realms and Dominions of the Infractor, to take perſons and goods and carry them away, till ſatisfaction be made: Provided, that they come not to this extremity, till a Diet or Meeting hath been required, and Juſtice denyed or delayed.

XVII. This Treaty to be underſtood according to the ſimple and plain tenour of the words, and no Interpretation admitted otherwiſe.

XVIII. It is alſo covenanted and agreed, that as ſoon as may be, the two Princes ſhall by their Ambaſſadours declare to the King of *France* (requiring his Anſwer thereto), *viz.*

1. They ſhall complain, that the Turk (Enemy to Chriſtian Faith) hath taken boldneſſe by his friendſhip to invade Chriſtendome.

2. That he renounce his correſpondence with the ſaid Turk, recalling his Orators that are now reſident with him.

3. That hee ſatisfie for the loſſe and prejudice done by the Turk, through his occaſion and procurement, to Chriſtendome; *viz.* Firſt, That hee reſtore the Town of *Maram* to the King of the Romans. And ſecondly, That he content the Emperour for the coſts and dammages ſuſtain'd in the loſſe of *Caſtel-Nuovo*, which the Turk, with the aid of twelve Galleys of the King of *France*, took. *Maramic. Orig.* Aug. 1539.

4. That he ceaſe from War with the Emperour, that he may more commodiouſly and ſafely take upon him the defence of the Chriſtian Common-wealth.

5. That he repay to the Germans the loſſe by them ſuſtain'd, in defending themſelves againſt the Turk.

6. That he pay the King of *England* all Arrearages, and that he give him ſome Lands and Poſſeſſions to ſecure the ſatifaction of the perpetuall Penſion. And if there be any thing elſe which each of theſe two Princes will require from the French King, it ſhall be lawfull for him to do it, ſo that he declare his intent therein in open and plain terms, before the Ratification of the preſent Treaty.

XIX. If the French King either for terrour of conſcience, or fear of revenge, ſhall deſire to come to agreement for Peace; neither of theſe two Princes may treat with him apart, untill the King of *France* hath given them ſatisfaction: (*viz.*) Till he hath paid the King of *England* all that is in arrear due to him by bargain. Alſo, for ſecurity for the payment of the annuall Penſion due for ever, hee ſhall ſurrender into the poſſeſſion of the

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the King of *England* the whole Country of *Ponthieu*, with the Town of *Boloigne*, and Territories of *Monſtrueil*, *Therouenne*, and *Arde*, with the Lands, Villages, and Towns adjoyning, as far as the Borders of the ſaid County of *Ponthieu*, &c. On condition, that the King of *England* and his Succeſſors ſhall hold them all for them and theirs, free from all Feod. On this condition yet, that they hold themſelves fully ſatisfied with the profits ariſing out of theſe Lands for the annuall and perpetuall Penſion. To the Emperour hee ſhall reſtore the Dutchy of *Burgundy*.

XX. If the King of *France* will not accept Peace on theſe Conditions, or delay it ten dayes after propoſition, the two Princes ſhall denounce War againſt him. Wherein

The King of *England* ſhall challenge to himſelf the Kingdom of *France*, Dutchy of *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, and *Guienne*. The Emperor, the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, the Cities and Towns of *Abbeville*,, *Amiens*, *Corby*, *Bray*, *Peronne*, *Hannere* and St. *Quintin*, with their Territories. Before recovering of all which, neither of the Princes ſhall deſiſt from Hoſtility but by conſent of the other, and for the good of Chriſtendome.

XXI. They ſhall have each a Fleet at Sea to ſecure Traffick: which Ships bearing two thouſand, or (if need be) three thouſand Souldiers, ſhall be ſet to Sea within a month after War denounced to the French King, and ſhall remain there on the Coaſts of *France*, infeſting his Country, and defending their Friends. Nor ſhall they licence their Souldiers, or diminiſh the number of Ships or men, but by conſent. And if there be any loſſe by tempeſt or fight, they ſhall ſupply it. For the Deſignes, they ſhall be ruled by the Admirals and the Councel of the two Princes.

XXII. After War, as aforeſaid, denounced by common conſent, in time and place agreed on, (ſo it exceed not the ſpace of two yeers) the two Princes ſhall either in Perſon, or by Lieutenant, invade the Realm of *France* with a compleat Army; that is to ſay, twenty thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe, or leſſe; nor ſhall deſiſt within four months, unleſſe he be beaten, or receive ſome diſaſter (except by mutuall conſent.)

XXIII. When King *Henry* ſhall with twenty thouſand Foot and five thouſand Horſe invade the Dominions of the French King, the Emperour ſhall at his own coſts lend him 2000 Lanskeneets, and 2000 of able Horſmen, to ſerve under him, till he licence his Troops.

XXIIII. When the King of *England* ſhall paſſe the Sea to invade *France*, and paſſe thorow any of the Dominions of *Charles*, the ſaid Emperour ſhall give him free paſſage, and let him have Ships, Carriage, Victuals and Ammunition, ſo he pay for them at a fair and reaſonable price.

XXV. This

XXV. This Treaty to be ratified and ſworn by both Princes within 15 days after Requiſition. 1543

Commiſſioners for our King were *Stephen* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Thomas* Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*, Sir *Thomas Wriotheſley* principal Secretary: For the Emperor, *Euſtachius Chappuis*, Doctor of both Lawes, Councellor and Maſter of Requeſts to the Emperour, and his Lieger Ambaſſador here in *England*. 42

This League minuted and agreed in *February* 15$\frac{43}{44}$, was ſworn to by *Charles* April 8, at *Molin del Rey* neer *Barcelona*, in the preſence of *Edmond Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, our Kings Ambaſſadour, and publiſhed in *June* following: Our King in the mean while providing for War, and his Parliament largely contributing to the expences thereof. Febr. 11.

In this Parliament, a Book intituled *A neceſſary Doctrine and Erudition for any Chriſtian Man*, receiving its approbation, was in *May* following printed and publiſhed in Engliſh by the Kings command; wherein he departs not from his Articles ſet forth *Anno* 1536, except in admitting ſeven Sacraments, and handling the Points in a more copious manner: for here at large out of the Scriptures and Fathers, he explains the Creed, the Sacraments and the Decalogue, the Lords Prayer, with the *Ave*; then the Doctrine of Free-will, and Good works: laſtly, adds prayer for the Dead; all with much moderation, as chuſing rather to reſolve high and obſcure Queſtions in generall terms, then by any peremptory and particular determination to make his people obnoxious; a fault noted by ſome Authors in *Charles* and *Francis*, both which about theſe times commanding their Divines to collect their Doctrine into certain brief Heads, propos'd it barely without explication or proof, under the greateſt penalties. But King *Henry* having laboured firſt to make Tenents underſtood, took order in the next place to have them obſerved on theſe conditions. Therefore, among other Laws enacted in this Seſſion, beginning the twentieth of *January* 15$\frac{43}{44}$, and laſting till the twelfth of *May* following, this is the firſt. Sleidan, *l.* 16.

Recourſe muſt be had to the Catholick and Apoſtolick Church for the deciſion of Controverſies: And therefore all Books of the Old and New Teſtament in Engliſh, being of *Tindal*'s falſe Tranſlation, or compriſing any matter of Chriſtian Religion, Articles of the Faith, or holy Scripture, contrary to the Doctrine ſet forth *Anno Domini* 1540, or to be ſet forth by the King, ſhall be aboliſhed. No Printer or Bookſeller ſhall utter any of the aforeſaid Books: No perſons ſhall play in Enterludes, ſing or rime contrary to the ſaid Doctrine: No perſon ſhall retain any Engliſh Books, or Writings concerning matter againſt the holy and Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, or for the maintenance of Anabaptiſts, or other Books aboliſhed by the Jan. 22. Regn 34.

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the King's Proclamation. There ſhall be no Annotations or Preambles in Bibles or New Teſtaments in Engliſh. The Bible ſhall not be read in Engliſh in any Church. No Women or Artificers, Prentices, Journeymen, Servingmen, of the degrees of Yeomen, or under Husbandmen, nor Labourers, ſhall read the New Teſtament in Engliſh. Nothing ſhall be taught or maintained contrary to the Kings Inſtructions. And if any ſpirituall perſon preach, teach, or maintain any thing contrary to the Kings Inſtructions or Determinations made or to be made, and ſhall be thereof convict, he ſhall for his firſt offence recant; for his ſecond, abjure, and bear a fagot; and for his third, ſhall be adjudged an Heretick, and be burned, and loſe all his Goods and Chattels. And this Statute, though rigorous, was yet a qualification of the ſix Articles, which impoſed death upon the firſt offence in this kinde: And as the King was now in good terms with the Emperour, hee might the better moderate them.

That the Lords authorized by the Statute of 28 *Hen.* 8. 14. to ſet the prices of Wine in groſſe, may mitigate or enhance the prices of Wine by retail, as time and occaſion ſhall require. Which Act, though expired before our times, had yet this uſe, that Vintners then were very much reſtrained from couſening; and the extraordinary number of them diminiſhed.

That any perſon being no common Surgeon, may miniſter outward Medicines.

That Biſhops now erected, ſhould pay their Tenths into the Courts of the Firſt-Fruits.

That Penſions &c. granted out of Abbeys &c. ſhould be paid ſtill as they were before.

That Laws ſpecially ſhould be made in *Wales* by the Officers there. Whereupon the Councel in the Principality of *Wales* and Marches was confirmed; and divers other Orders eſtabliſhed, too long to be recited here. Onely I muſt not omit how *Gavelkind* (which being heretofore uſed in *Wales*, did ſo divide and ſubdivide the Lands of the Ancient Nobles and Gentry there, that at laſt every mans part came to very little; and ſo diſabled them to keep the dignity of their Houſes) was here taken away and exſtinguiſhed.

Hollinſh. *Stow.*

In this Parliament, alſo, a Subſidie was granted to the King, to be paid in three yeers, after this rate; They who were in Goods worth 20 Shillings and upwards to 5 Pounds, paid four pence of every Pound; from 5 Pound to 10 Pound, 8 pence; from 10 Pound to 20 Pound, 16 pence; from 20 and upwards, two Shillings. All Strangers, as well Denizens, as others, inhabiting here, doubled the Sum; Strangers not Inhabitants, that were ſixteen yeers old and upwards, paid four pence for every Head or Pole. As for Lands, Fees and Annuities, every Native

Native paid eight pence in the pound from twenty ſhillings to five pounds; from five pounds to ten pounds, ſixteen pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, two ſhillings; from twenty pounds and upwards, three ſhillings. Strangers ſtill after all theſe rates doubling the ſum. As for the Clergy, they granted a Subſidy of ſix ſhillings in the pound, to be paid of their Benefices in perpetuity, in three yeers following: And every Prieſt having no perpetuity, but an annuall Stipend, paid yeerly during the ſaid three yeers 6 ſhillings 8 pence. Beſides which, I finde, by occaſion of a dearth of victuals, a Sumptuary Law was made, whereby the Maior and Sheriffs of *London*, as alſo the Serjeants and Yeomen of their Houſes were limited to a certain number of diſhes: They were forbidden alſo to buy certain kindes of Fowl. Nevertheleſſe, in regard of the great confluence of people in this Parliament time, and the ſcarcity of Fiſh, the King by Proclamation diſpenſed eating of white-meats in Lent, forbidding yet the eating of Fleſh ſo ſtrictly, as *Henry* Earl of *Surrey*, with divers Lords, Knights and Gentlemen were impriſoned for offending herein. 1543 Febr. 9.

And now the Iriſh finding by *O-Neale*, that the uſe our King made of this Stile of King of *Ireland*, was to confer Nobility more amply on them, according to their ſeverall merits and Services; *O-Brien*, *Mac-William-a-Burgh*, and *Mac-Gil-Patrick* came hither, and upon notice taken of their deſert, *O-Brien* was created Earl of *Twomond*, and *Mac-William* Earl of *Clanricard*; ſome others alſo had Honours given them, and received therein an obligation to continue firm to the Engliſh Crown: Of which likewiſe the Succeſſors of the aforeſaid Lords have given ample teſtimony. June 3. July 1.

The ſeparation or Divorce betwixt our King and the Lady *Anne* of *Cleves* now ſtanding uncontroverted, and Queen *Katherine* beheaded, our King bethought himſelf of another Match. In the concluding whereof yet he found ſome difficulty: For as by a Statute formerly mentioned it was declared death for any whom the King ſhould marry, to conceal her incontinency in former time; So few durſt hazard to venture into thoſe Bonds with a King, who had (as they thought) ſo much facility in diſſolving them: therefore they ſtood off, as knowing in what a ſlippery eſtate they were if the King, after his receiving them to bed, ſhould, through any miſtake, declare them no Maids: So that now he fix'd upon the Lady *Katherine Parr*, Widow to the Lord *Latimer*; who, as ſhe was eſteemed ever a Lady of much integrity and worth, and ſome maturity of yeers, ſo the King after Marriage lived apparently well with her for the moſt part. The publiſhing of this Marriage was accompanied with a Declaration of his League with the Emperour, and denouncing War to *Francis*: For which purpoſe, two Kings of July 12.

1543 June. Arms on the Emperour and our Kings part, were diſpatched to Him; while for more authoriſing their Meſſage, they were to require performance of certain Conditions before mentioned. But *Francis* not ſuffering them to come at all within his Dominions, they return'd; and both Princes, without more ceremony, prepar'd for War: The beginning and progreſſe whereof, that it may be the better underſtood, I ſhall look a while upon forrain Hiſtory.

Jan. 9. *Guillaume de Bellay* Seigneur *de Langey*, one of the compleateſt Gentlemen of his time, to whom the charge of all Affairs in *Piedmont* was chiefly committed, finding himſelf declining in health, deſires leave to return home, but too late; for being intercepted by death in his way, he deſired the King his Maſter accept thereof as a teſtimony that he had ſerved his Majeſtie to the uttermoſt of his force: whoſe loſſe, I finde, happened more unſeaſonably, that *Francis* had now need of his beſt ſtrength againſt two ſo puiſſant Princes as reſolved to invade his Dominions in Perſon. The Emperour ſet out firſt, as having divers Buſineſſes to determine by the way; leaving for Governour of *Spain* his Son *Philip*, aſſiſted by *Fernando de Toledo Duc de Alva* as Captain Generall, and *Franceſco de les Covos* for other Diſpatches during his abſence. His chief deſigne was to draw the Pope from the French King: To which, though the Pope was ſufficiently diſpos'd, yet he durſt not (ſaith *Sandoval*) leſt *Francis* ſhould renounce his Authority, as our King had done, and give ear to the Lutherans. Which being certified to the Emperour by his Ambaſſadours at *Rome*, made him withdraw ſome Revenues which he had given with *Margaret* his naturall Daughter, to *Octavio Farneſe* the Pope's Grand-childe. And now the Emperour having all things ready for his voyage, arrives from *Barcelona* at *Genoa* about the end of *May* 1543, as our Records ſay, or *June*, according to *Sandoval*. His neceſſities yet were great; inſomuch, that as he was forced before his leaving *Spain* to pawn the *Moluccas* to *Juan* King of *Portugall*, (and the rather, that ſome revolt happening in the Weſt-Indies about this time, hee was diſfurniſh'd of the Revenues uſually received from thence): ſo in *Italy* he was conſtrain'd to ſell the Fortreſſes of *Florence* and *Ligorno* to *Coſmo de Medicis* Duke of *Florence* for an hundred and fifty thouſand Duckats; though yet he wanted not ſo many reaſons to retain theſe places, as (unleſſe a moſt urgent neceſſity did excuſe him) it cannot but ſeem moſt ſtrange, both as he loſt ſo principall an Acceſſe to *Italy* by it, and ſuch a puiſſant means of conſerving the Florentines at his Devotion: Nevertheleſſe, I finde he would not part with *Siena*, though as being an Iſland-Town, and without means to be eaſily relieved, it could not ſo aptly ſerve for to make good his Authority in thoſe parts. To which yet I finde *Diego de Men-*

Sandov. 2. *Tom.* L. XXV.

May 25.

Mendozza Governour thereof ſo encouraged him, as he ſeemed rather to invite an attempt againſt *Rome*. The Emperour repoſing a while at *Genoa*, was deſired by the Pope to permit an enterview; which at laſt was accorded at *Buſſetio*, between *Parma* and *Cremona*, where the Pope and Emperour did meet *June* 21. Their different ends yet did not permit them to ſpeak principally of a Councell, nor at all, till their other buſineſſes were determined: for the Emperour, deſirous to incite him againſt the French King, and (howſoever) to get money of him, bent his chief diſcourſes that way. The Pope, on the other ſide, ambitious to get *Milan* for his Grand-childe *Ottavio Farneſe*, (who had married *Margaret*, naturall Daughter to the Emperour, as is before recited) intended little elſe; offering for this purpoſe, to make what Cardinals the Emperour deſired, to give an hundred and fifty thouſand Crowns for ſome yeers towards his Warre againſt *France*, and yet to leave the Caſtle of *Milan* and *Cremona* in his hands. Others ſay, the Pope would neatly have bought *Milan* for his Grand-childe, when the Emperour could give him good aſſurance for his purchaſe, and that the Emperour would not part with the Fortreſſe of *Milan* and *Cremona*. But to leave theſe things to the ſeveral Authors, I finde, that the Emperour requiring more money, the buſineſſe was ſuſpended, and the concluſion referred to Commiſſioners, who ſhould treat thereof as the Emperor proceeded in his journey through *Germany*: who, for all advantage and ſatisfaction in this Interview, had no account to give at his coming thither, but that hee could proteſt, hee had made ſome Overture of a Councell. The Pope finding thus no certain reſolution given to his requeſt, inclined to *Francis*; and the rather, that the League betwixt our King and the Emperour being publiſhed, he was highly incenſed againſt him, as having joyned himſelf in league with one who was ſo lately excommunicated, anathematized, curſed, deprived, and made incapable of all Confederation: Which yet ſo little moved the Emperour; as when it was repreſented that the Pope's proceeding herein was paſſionate, and for his proper intereſt onely, and that Religion ſtood upon firmer Principles, then that it could be perſonated in any one man, he did not relinquiſh his former intention: for more confirmation whereof alſo, he fail'd not to reproach unto the Pope his aſſiſting of *Francis*; ſaying, He might with more reaſon prevail himſelf of our King's aſſiſtance, then *Francis* could do of the Turk's.

1543 Sandoval, l. 25.

June 11.

The Emperour being now come into the Low-Countries, reſolves to chaſtiſe the Duke of *Cleves*; the chief places of whoſe Country he took in 15 days. Nevertheleſſe, upon his ſubmiſſion, he reſtored all but *Guelders* and *Zutphen*; of which yet he gave him ſome hope, when he would hold it in Fee from the Empire.

Auguſt.

Septemb. 7

This being advertiſed to *Francis*, made him detain *Jone* of *Navarre*; but for her the Emperour afterward gave the Duke in marriage (the Pope diſpenſing with the former Contract) *Mary* Daughter of *Ferdinand*. This proſperous Exploit yet was checked by the ſucceſſe of *Francis*, who this while had taken *Landrecy*, *Bapaumes*, and *Maubege*, (where there is a fair and magnificent Convent of Gentlewomen of Noble Houſes, which yet are not ſo bound to any vow of Religion, but that they may marry, and was in effect an Academy for their Sex). Afterwards he took almoſt all *Luxemburg*: therefore the Emperor prepared Forces to withſtand him, and recover the ſaid places. To which purpoſe Sir *John Wallop* with ſix thouſand men being ſent by our King (who failed not to aſſiſt the Emperor) landed at *Calais*, and from thence keeping along betwixt the Frontiers of *France* and the Low-Countries, did much ſpoil upon the French, till he joyned with the Emperors Forces before *Landrecy*, which the Emperor beſieged: whereof *Francis* being advertiſed, reſolves to relieve it: Hereupon the two great Armies being neer each other, it was thought a blow would follow. The Emperor, who deſired much to fight, puts his men in order, which being done, he exhorted them to do bravely, ſhewing withall the Imperiall Standard, which one *Quixada* carried, ſaying, If this ſhould fall, and my ſelf too, I charge you to take it up before me. *Francis* alſo drew out into the field, not omitting in the mean time to ſend Men, Victuals and Ammunition into the Town: the two Armies now confronting one another, night came on, through the benefit whereof *Francis*, diſlodging ſecretly, retires with his Army. The Imperialiſts finding this, follow; But as *Francis* had laid an Ambuſcado, he took divers of the more forward; among whom, it was the fortune of Sir *George Carew*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and other Engliſh to be taken Priſoners. The Emperor yet continued his Siege for ſome four or five dayes: But as it was now towards the midſt of *November*, he went with his Army to *Cambray*; where, perſwading the Inhabitants that the French had a deſigne upon them, he counſelled them to build a Cittadell; which they approving, hee found means to poſſeſſe himſelf thereof. He alſo ſent *Hernando Gonzaga*, and *Juan Baptiſta Gaſtaldo* to our King, to treat further of a War againſt *France* the next yeer; he omitted not alſo to call a Diet at *Spire*; whither he went with deſire (as much as ſafely he might) to oblige the Proteſtants to him; And the rather, that the Turks had at this time not onely taken *Strigonium* and other places in *Hungary*, but the Town of *Nizza* in the Confines of *France* and *Italy*, in this manner: *Antoine Polin* (afterwards Baron *de la Garde*) had now made two Voyages from *Francis* to *Solyman* the Turk, to ſolicite him to ſend his Sea-forces againſt the Emperor. Where-

Novemb.

upon

upon *Barbaroxa* was diſpatched with Commiſſion to joyn with him : Hee taking freſh water at *Oſtia*, within five leagues of *Rome*, gave that Alarm, that the Inhabitants began to fly ; but *Polin* aſſured them by his Letters : From thence coming to *Marſeilles*, *François de Bourbon* Duke of *Aquien* encountred them, having charge to command the Navall Army of the King, which was two and twenty Galleys, and eighteen other Ships : whereupon they beſieged and took the Town of *Nizza*, but not the Caſtle, which being ſtronger then that it could be won eaſily, they carrying ſome of the Inhabitants with them, retired to their Shipping ; and the rather, that they heard the Marqueſſe *de Guaſto* was coming out of *Piedmont* towards them ; who (I find) recovered it ſhortly after. And thus ended the two yeers Negotiation of *Polin* with the Turk, with ſmall preſent effect, and no conſequence but the carrying away of a few ſlaves by *Barbaroxa*, who wintered at *Thoulon*, betwixt *Nizza* and *Marſeilles*. Howſoever, I finde by *Sandoval*, that it was ſo hainouſly taken in *Rome*, that ſome Cardinals in a publick Conſiſtory, mov'd to deprive *Francis* from the title of *Chriſtianiſſimo*.

1543

Auguſt. 20.

I ſhall draw this yeer to a concluſion with a beginning given to the Councell of *Trent*, now appearing in ſome Rudiments. Many yeers had paſt without any manifeſt neceſſity of calling a Councel. Thoſe few Separatiſts which remained of the *Waldeſians*, *Picards* and *Hußites* being diſarmed, illiterate, and obſcure ; and theſe later not much differing from the Roman Church, but in the difference of the Cup in the Euchariſt : But *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, and divers others of late appearing, though not ſufficiently united among themſelves, gave yet the Roman Catholicks ſo little cauſe of Glory therein, that their greateſt diſſention ſeemed to be who ſhould be furtheſt off from them : every Reformer in his turn pretended both to diſcover new Errors, and to ſhew himſelf more averſe. This made the Pope reſolve at laſt on a Councel ; and the rather, that all Chriſtian Princes defired upon any reaſonable terms a Peace of Religion, as knowing how much it concerned them to ſettle that Affair : neither did they think there would be much difficulty, when all ſides came prepared thereunto, moſt of the points in difference being to be reconciled in middle and indifferent terms, or to be rejected as doubtfull (upon the grounds taken on either ſide) or at leaſt not tending to much edification. The Meeting was (as is above ſhewed) deſigned at *Mantua* firſt, by Pope *Clement* VII, 1533 ; then by *Paulus* III, 1537 : but being thence brought to *Vicenza*, and there ſuſpended during his pleaſure, at laſt it was removed to *Trent*, in the Confines of *Germany* ; which alſo was haſtened by the Pope, as fearing the conſequences of a Nationall Councel in *Germany*, whereof the Emperour had lately given hope ; ſo that he was (at what price ſoever) determined

1517.

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1543 termined to prevent it; as knowing wel what prejudice it might bring to his Authority. Neither did he any longer apprehend the defection of *Francis*; who knowing he ſhould loſe the Pope in his Buſineſſes of *Milan* and elſe-where, if he trifled any lon-
May 22. 1542. ger with the Proteſtants, had made ſevere Edicts againſt them. Whereupon Buls alſo were diſpatched every-where abroad, notifying the ſaid Convention to begin *November* the firſt following: which yet was in ſuch terms as ſcandalized the Emperor, ſuppoſing that *Francis* was uſed therein with more reſpect then
1542. he deſerved; ſince, in the late Diet at *Spire*, having ſecretly offered his aſſiſtance both to the Proteſtant and Roman Catholick Party in *Germany*, he had declared his intentions were only to foment diviſion; and beſides, had colleagued himſelf with the Turk. But for compoſing theſe differences, the Pope
Aug. 1542. having appointed Cardinall *Contareni* to go to the Emperor, and *Sandolet* to *Francis*, *Contareni* dying in the way, he imployed Cardinal *Viſeo* in his place, one ſo openly diſaffected by the Emperour, that it was thought no good would follow. Howſoever, to make it appear that this univerſally-deſired
Aug. 26. 1542 Councel was not retarded by him, he ſent at the ſame time unto *Trent* the Cardinals *Pietro Paulo Pariſio* a good Canoniſt, *Giovanni Morone* an expert Stateſman, and *Reginald Poole*, oppoſite to our King, and ſo eminent as might give more authority to all Proceedings againſt him. Their ſecret Inſtructions were yet rather to entertain the Ambaſſadors and Prelates which ſhould be there aſſembled, then to treat of any thing materiall without further direction. The Emperor ſent hither *Diego de Mendozza* his Ambaſſador reſident at *Venice*, and *Nicholas Perenot* Seigneur *de Granvell*, together with *Antonio* Biſhop of *Arras* (his Son) and ſome few Biſhops of the Kingdom of *Naples*; who together with ſome few Prelats (of the moſt affected to the Pope) being commanded to be preſent, were all that could give name and reputation to this General Councel: ſo far was it from having other Kingdom or Religion concurrent therein. How-
Nov. 1. 1542. foever, the Imperiall Mandate being exhibited by the Agents of *Charles*, inſtance was made that the Councell ſhould open, and a beginning be given, at leaſt, to a Reformation in Diſcipline. But the Papal Legats interpoſed a delay, ſaying, It was not convenient to begin an Univerſall Councel with ſo little a number: whereupon the buſineſſe came to Proteſts on both ſides; and ſo the Legates referring all to the Pope, nothing was concluded. Whereupon, the Imperialiſts departed, whom alſo the Neopolitan Biſhops followed, and finally the Legats themſelves, after having been there ſeven months without more then this oſtentation of a Councel.

Little elſe happened this yeer of Forrain Affairs, that I thought worthy my Relation, but that *Philip* Prince of *Portugall* (though

(though very young) had given him in Marriage *Donna Maria* Infanta of *Portugall*, by *John* the III and *Donna Catalina* Siſter to the Emperour. 1543

Information being made to our King, that divers this yeer were burnt for Religion at *Windſor*, it appears by our Hiſtorians, that he was nothing pleaſed; which yet, whether it proceeded from ſome better impreſſion hee might have taken of the Proteſtant Reformation; or that hee grew weary of the too many ſevere Executions, which had made his Government thought in Forrain Countries to be rigorous, cannot eaſily be determined. Howſoever, he made it known now that he could forgive. And therefore, though ſome of his Courtiers, as Sir *Thomas Cardine*, Sir *Philip Hobby*, and others of his Subjects were fallen into the danger of the Six Articles, he voluntarily gave them his pardon; and together, withdrew much of his favour from the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who was reported more then any to perſecute them, and ſuſpected to diſlike ſecretly the Kings proceedings: which was made more probable, when not long after his Secretary *German Gardiner* was executed for denying the Kings Supremacy. And perchance, as King *Henry* intended ſhortly to go in perſon to the Wars in *France*, the many puniſhments hee had inflicted on others might have begot ſome apprehenſion in him: yet not ſuch as could deter him from the Journey; for he made great preparations of Souldiers and habilements of War, and particularly of iron Peeces and Granades, which I finde this yeer were firſt caſt in *England*: While for the more contenting the Queen in his abſence, Hee conferr'd certain Honours on *William* Lord *Parre*, her Brother, who was made Earl of *Eſſex*; and her Uncle Sir *William Parre*, who was made Lord *Parre* of *Horton*, and Chamberlain to the Queen. All which yet ſeemed nothing to him, unleſſe hee parted in good terms with his Parliament: For he accounted it his moſt loyall Spouſe: and not without reaſon, ſince there was nothing I know deſired by him, which they performed not. This Seſſion (being the third) began the 14 of *January*, in the thirty fifth yeer of his Reign, and continued till the 29 of *March* 1544.

July 28.

March 7. 1544

Decemb. 23.

The firſt Act was concerning the Succeſſion: And herein, as I finde he endeavoured to cloſe with the Emperour, in giving the Princeſſe *Mary* a poſſibility of Succeſſion; ſo he ſetled that Buſineſſe among his children in ſuch ſort, that all cauſe of competition was taken away (as far as by our Laws he might.)

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43 Regn. 35. Jan. 14.

The beginning of the Act is a recitall of a former, 28. *H.* 8. 7. touching the Succeſſion; to which reference muſt be had. Whereupon it follows thus, or to this effect, (as I conceive.)

Foraſmuch as his Majeſtie ſithence the death of Queen *Jane*, hath taken to Wife the Lady *Katherine*, late Wife of *John Nevil*

1544 *Nevil* Knight, Lord *Latimer* deceaſed, by whom as yet his Majeſty hath noae Iſſue, but may have full well, when it ſhall pleaſe God : And foraſmuch as our ſaid dread Soveraign intendeth, by Gods Grace, to make a Voyage Royall in his moſt Royall Perſon into the Realm of *France*, againſt the French King; his Highneſs moſt prudently conſidering how this Realm ſtandeth at this time in the caſe of Succeſſion; And albeit, for default of ſuch Heirs as be inheritable by the ſaid Act, he might by the authority of the ſaid Act give and diſpoſe the ſaid Impériall Crown, and other the Premiſes by his Letters Patents under his Great Seal, or by his laſt Will in writing, ſigned with his Hand, to any Perſon or Perſons of ſuch Eſtate therein as ſhould pleaſe his Highneſſe to limit and appoint: Yet, to the intent his Majeſties diſpoſition and minde ſhould be openly declared to the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and other his Subjects of this Realm, to the intent that their aſſent and conſent might appear to concur with thus far as followeth of his Majeſties Declaration in this behalf; His Majeſty therefore thinketh convenient, afore his departure beyond Seas, That it be enacted by his Highneſſe and Parliament: And therefore be it enacted, That in caſe the Kings Majeſty and his onely Son Prince *Edward* ſhoud deceaſe without Heirs of either of their Bodies lawfully begotten, ſo that there be no ſuch Heir male or female of any of their two Bodies, to have and inherit the ſaid Imperiall Crown, and other his Dominions, according and in ſuch manner and form as in the aforeſaid Act, and now in this is declared, That then the ſaid Imperiall Crown, and all other the Premiſes ſhall be to the Lady *Mary* the Kings Highneſſe Daughter, and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten, with ſuch conditions as by his Highneſſe ſhall be limited by his Letters Patents under his Great Seal, or by his Majeſties laſt Will in writing, ſigned with his hand. And for default of ſuch Iſſue, the ſaid Imperiall Crown and other the Premiſſes ſhall be to the Lady *Elizabeth* the Kings ſecond Daughter, and her Heirs lawfully begotten, with ſuch conditions as is aforeſaid. Any thing in the Act made 28 *Hen.* 8. 7. to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Provided nevertheleſſe, That if the ſaid Lady *Mary* do not keep and perform ſuch conditions as the King ſhall declare and limit in manner aforeſaid; That then, and from thenceforth, for lack of Heirs of the ſeverall Bodies of the Kings Majeſty and Prince *Edward*, the ſaid Imperiall Crown and other the Pemiſſes ſhall be and come to the Lady *Elizabeth* and the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten, in ſuch like manner and form, as though the ſaid Lady *Mary* were then dead, without any Heir of her Body begotten.

And be it further enacted, That if the ſaid Lady *Mary* do keep

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keep and perform ſuch conditions which the Kings Majeſty ſhall hereafter declare and limit, in form aforeſaid; and that the ſaid Lady *Elizabeth* for her part do not keep and perform ſuch conditions which the Kings Majeſty ſhall declare and limit, in form aforeſaid, That then, and from thenceforth, for lack of Heirs of the ſeverall Bodies of the Kings Majeſty, and the ſaid Lord Prince, and the ſaid Lady *Mary* lawfully begotten, the ſaid Imperiall Crown and other the Premiſſes ſhall be and come to ſuch Perſon and Perſons, and of ſuch Eſtate and Eſtates as the Kings Highneſſe, in form aforeſaid, ſhall limit and appoint.

Provided, That if the Lady *Mary* do not keep and perform ſuch conditions which ſhall be limited and appointed as aforeſaid, and the ſaid Lady *Elizabeth* being then dead without any Heir of her Body lawfully begotten; That then, and from thenceforth, for lack of Heirs of the ſeverall Bodies of the Kings Majeſty and the ſaid Lord Prince lawfully begotten, the ſaid Imperiall Crown and other the Premiſſes ſhall be, come, and remain to ſuch Perſon and Perſons, and of ſuch Eſtate and Eſtates as the Kings Highneſſe by his Letters Patents ſealed under his Great Seal, or by his laſt Will in writing, ſigned with his Hand, ſhall limit and appoint.

Provided alwayes, and be it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That in caſe the Kings Majeſty do not declare and limit by his Letters Patents, or by his laſt Will, in form as is aforeſaid, any conditions to the Eſtates and Intereſts afore limited to the ſaid Lady *Mary* and Lady *Elizabeth*, nor to the Eſtate or Intereſt of any of them; That then every ſuch of the ſaid Lady *Mary* and Lady *Elizabeth* to whoſe Eſtate or Intereſt no condition ſhall be limited by the Kings Majeſty in form aforeſaid, ſhall have and enjoy ſuch Intereſt, Eſtate, and Remainder in the ſaid Imperiall Crown and other the Premiſſes, as is before limited by this Act, without any manner of condition. Any thing in this preſent Act to the contrary thereof notwithſtanding.

And foraſmuch as it ſtandeth in the onely pleaſure and will of Almighty God, whether the Kings Majeſty ſhall have any Heirs begotten and procreated between his Highneſſe and his moſt entirely beloved Wife Queen *Katherine*, or by any other his lawfull Wife; or whether the ſaid Prince *Edward*, the Lady *Mary*, or Lady *Elizabeth*, or any other, ſhall have any Iſſue of their Bodies lawfully begotten; and that if ſuch Heirs ſhould fail, and no proviſion made, this Realm after the Kings tranſitory life ſhould be deſtitute of a Governour to order and rule the ſame: Be it therefore enacted by the Authority of this preſent Parliament, That the Kings Highneſs ſhall have full power and authority to give, diſpoſe, appoint, aſſigne, declare

1544 and limit by his gracious Letters Patents under his Great Seal, or elſe by his Highneſs laſt Will made in writing and ſigned with his moſt gracious hand, at his onely pleaſure, from time to time hereafter, the Imperiall Crown of this Realm, and all other the Premiſſes, to be, remain, ſucceed and come after his deceaſe, and for lack of lawfull Heirs of either of the Bodies of the Kings Highneſſe and Prince *Edward* begotten; and alſo for lack of lawfull Heirs of the Bodies of the ſaid Lady *Mary* and Lady *Elizabeth* to be procreated and begotten (as is before limited in this Act) to ſuch perſon and perſons in Remainder or Reverſion, as ſhall pleaſe his Highneſſe, and according to ſuch eſtate, and after ſuch manner and form, faſhion or condition as ſhall be expreſſed, declared, named and limited in his Highneſſe Letters Patents, or by his laſt Will in writing ſigned with his moſt gracious hand (as is aforeſaid.) Any thing contained in this preſent Act, or in the ſaid former Act to the contrary thereof, in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

There followeth alſo in the ſaid Act a new form of Oath againſt the Authority of the Biſhop of Rome, and the penalty on thoſe who refuſed to take the ſaid Oath, or to interrupt this Act, or any eſtate limited thereby.

In another Act it was declared where, and before whom Treaſons committed out of the Realm ſhould be tryed. That the Kings Style alſo, of *England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England and alſo of Ireland, in earth the ſupreme Head*, ſhall be united and annexed for ever unto the Imperiall Crown of this Realm of *England*.

That no perſon ſhould be put to his triall upon an Accuſation concerning any of the offences compriſed in the Statute of the Six Articles 31 *Hen.* 8. 14. but onely upon ſuch as ſhall be made by the oath of twelve men before Commiſſioners authoriſed: and the Preſentment ſhall be made within one yeer after the offence committed. That no perſon ſhould be arreſted or committed to Ward for any ſuch offence before he be indicted. That if any Preacher or Reader ſhall ſpeak any thing in his Sermon or Reading contrary to any matter contained in the Six Articles, he ſhall be accuſed or indicted thereof within forty dayes, or elſe ſhall be diſcharged of the ſaid offence. And this alſo qualified a little the puniſhment of the Six Articles.

That the Lords and Commons ſhall remit unto the King all ſuch ſums of money as he had borrowed of them ſince the firſt of *January, Anno* 33 of his Reign.

That certain Tenures ſhall be reſerved (at the Kings pleaſure) upon houſes and lands, being ſometimes Abbey lands, under forty ſhillings a yeer.

That all Perſons which have any houſes, lands, gardens and other grounds in the Town of *Cambridge*, adjoyning upon every High-

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High-way, Street, or Lane, in his own Right, or the Right of his Wife, or, &c. ſhall cauſe the ſame to be paved with paving ſtone unto the middle of the ſame wayes, and in length as their grounds do extend, and ſo ſhall from time to time maintain them, upon pain to forfeit ſix pence for every yard ſquare not ſufficiently paved, to the King and Informer. And had this Statute extended to the other Cities and great Towns of *England*, it would have been much to the beauty of them, and the commodity of paſſengers.

That the King ſhall have authority during his life to name two and thirty perſons; *viz.* ſixteen Spiritual and ſixteen Temporal, to examine all Canons, Conſtitutions, and Ordinances Provinciall and Synodal, and to eſtabliſh all ſuch Laws Eccleſiaſticall as ſhall be thought by the King and them convenient to be uſed in all Spirituall Courts. But this (it ſeems) expired with the Kings life.

An Ordinance alſo (never ſufficiently commended) was made for preſervation of Woods, which being too long and particular to rehearſe, I ſhall deſire the Reader to peruſe in his place: There being no Law either more uſeful to this Kingdom (in regard of our Navie and otherwiſe,) or whereof the Infraction can with more difficulty be repaired; ſo many yeers, if not ages, being required before they can come to that growth, which any raſh hand may cut down in a very ſhort ſpace.

Some other Acts alſo paſſed, which the Reader may ſee in their place.

And now the Parliament ending *March* 29, 1544, That War which was denounced by our King againſt *Scotland* for the Treaty broken in ſome particulars, and the Law of Nations in others, appear'd in his Preparatives; and the Lord *Seimor* Earl of *Hertford* was ſhortly after conſtituted by our King Lieutenant General of the North, and ſent thither with a well-furniſh'd Army: for as it was onely a Quarrel of unkindneſſe with the Scots for their not admitting readily the loving offer he made of marrying his Son Prince *Edward* with their young Queen, none was thought more fit to determine, or if need were, to compoſe the Buſineſſe, then the Prince's Uncle. Beſides, the Duke of *Norfolk* (whoſe ſervice he had heretofore uſed in thoſe parts) was appointed to attend him in his journey to *France*. And now conſultation being had which way to invade *Scotland*, it was reſolved, by Sea; yet ſo, as the Kings Land-Army might make a diverſion on the Borders, and (if need were) joyn with the other Forces. The Fleet being ready (which was of two hundred Sail,) Sir *John Dudley* Lord *Liſle* (newly made Admirall of *England*) was appointed to conduct it; who ſetting Sail, ſhortly afterwards came to *New-Caſtle*, where the Earl of *Hertford*, *Francis Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and other principall per-

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sons with the Kings Army attended him. These being speedily shipped, came to *Grantham-Crag* neer *Lieth* the fourth of *May*, May 4. where spending some three or four days in disembarking their men, and taking out their Ordnance and Victuals, the Cardinal of Saint *Andrews* made provision to receive them: Our Armie marched in three Battels, whereof the Lord Admirall had the Van, the Earl of *Hertford* the middle, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* the Rear; who from thence going to the Town, encountred six thousand Horse, besides many Foot, led (as our Histories have it) by the Cardinal and divers Noble Persons: But as they judg'd themselves too weak, and consequently offered not much resistance, they were quickly discomfited, and their Ordnance taken. Whereupon our men entering *Lieth*, found more riches there (they said) then they could have easily imagined. Marching thence to *Edinburgh*, the Towns-men offered to yeeld themselves, when they might depart with Bag and Baggage; but this not being accepted, they prepared for defence. Nevertheless, our men both forc'd the Town, and burnt it for three dayes together: At which time *William* Lord *Ever* Warden of the East-Marches, and Governour of *Berwick*, making his way by land, did (notwitstanding all opposition) joyn his Forces with the rest. The Army thus greatned, burnt and spoiled all places about *Edinburgh* in a crueller manner then became such as would obtain the favour either of that Queen or Country for their young Prince. Nevertheless, as they could not take the Castle of *Edinburgh*, they retired to *Lieth*, where the Lord General having made divers Knights, they shipped their great Artillery, and among them some fair Pieces gotten in the Voyage; divers Ships also were taken. And now being ready to depart, they burnt the Town of *Lieth*, and the May 15. Peer of the Haven; and so on the fifteenth of *May* the Fleet set sail, while the Land-Army, desirous to commit further spoil, marched to *Seton*, and so to *Hadington*, and *Dunbarre*, which Towns they burnt. After which, coming to a Strait (which our Histories call the *Pease*) and a great mist happening, they made a Halt, being advertised that the Scottish Army would fall on them: But the Mist breaking up, they marched on without resistance, and so came to *Ranton*, within eight miles of the English Borders, which having ruined and burnt, they upMay 18. on the 18 of *May* entered *Berwick*, without having lost in all this Journey above 40 persons. Our Navie in the mean while, taking out of every Creek and Haven on the Scottish Coasts all the Ships and Boats they found there.

The Expedition thus gloriously ended, the King found his Businesse nothing advanced; he had done more then became a Suter for Alliance, too little for one pretending to Conquest. Neither had this Invasion other event then a generall detestation

on of a Marriage ſought for in ſuch rough and unuſuall terms: But our King, who underſtood the buſineſſe otherwiſe, ſaid, That ſince he could not obtain, hee would ſtrive to chaſtiſe. Howbeit, he omitted not to deviſe how he might raiſe a Faction in that Kingdom, whereof he might prevail himſelf. And becauſe the Earl of *Lenox*, now deſerted by the French, ſeem'd moſt proper for this purpoſe, he reſolv'd to admit a Treaty with him: which Affair alſo upon his misfortune, and the Retreat formerly mentioned, had been negotiated by the Earl of *Glencarne* and his Brother at *Carlile, May* 17 1544, (as I finde in our Records;) which again was ſeconded in that manner, that our Army now returning, he came by ſea to *Weſtcheſter*, and ſo to the Court, where hee was well received by our King: And at laſt this Treaty concluded betwixt them, by the name of *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, and *Thomas Wriotheſley* (lately made * Baron and * Chancellor upon *Audley*'s death,) the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Sir *William Paget*, by way of Indenture, *June* 26 1544. It is to this effect.

1544

May 17.

* Jan. 1.
* May 14.

June 26.

That for the ſecurity of the ſaid Earl of *Lenox* againſt the power of the Cardinal, and the Earl of *Arrain*, and the ſafety of the Realm of *Scotland*, It is agreed, That the ſaid Earl will obſerve the Articles agreed on his behalf by the Earl of *Glencarne* and others at *Carlile*, *May* 17 1544.

That he will be the Kings ſervant and Subject, and ſerve him againſt all that ſhall impugne his Graces Title and Authority in *Scotland*, or elſe-where.

That he will ſurrender into his Majeſties hand the Caſtle of *Dumbritton*, as alſo the Ile of *Bute*, and help him to win the Caſtle of *Roſſe* therein.

That when the King, having the direction of the Realm, ſhall have made him Governour, the ſaid Earle ſhall never call Parliament, nor do any matter of great moment without the Kings advice.

That he ſhall fore-ſee that the Kings Pronept be not conveyed out of *Scotland*, but ſtrive to get her perſon into his cuſtody, and to deliver her into the Kings hands.

That becauſe the King hath upon his earneſt ſuit given him leave to marry his Graces Neice the Lady *Margaret Dowglas*, the ſaid Earl bindeth himſelf to endow her with the yeerly value of 500 Marks Sterling.

That the King, in conſideration of the loſſe which the ſaid Earl ſhall ſuſtain in *France* by this Agreement, will give unto him and his Heirs poſſeſſions in *England* of 1700 Marks Sterling.

That the King wil aid the ſaid Earl in *Scotland* for two or three months with 500 men; beſides ſuch men as his Grace will ſend for to take and keep *Dumbritton*.

That

That the King having obtain'd direction of that Kingdom, will conſtitute the ſaid Earl Governour.

In which Treaty, though our King beſtowed the Lady *Margaret Dowglas* upon him, and that there wanted not ſome, who thought it beſt ſhe ſhould be reſerved upon all events, when the young Queen through any accident ſhould die, Hee choſe rather yet to gratifie this gentle Lord. And therein both put a perpetuall obligation upon him, and enabled him to be an Anceſtor of that happy Off-ſpring which hath followed ſince.

August. The Earl now poſſeſs'd of his Lady, was ſent ſhortly after into *Scotland* with twelve or fourteen Ships, and about ſix hundred men, under the command of certain *Engliſh* Knights: theſe coming to the Caſtle of *Dumbritton*, were received with great joy, and feaſted by *Striveling*, Concierge or Captain thereof: But when *Lenox* had privately told him that the Caſtle was promiſed our King, hee ſeem'd ſuſpended betwixt Affection and Duty. Though at laſt, conſidering that it neither ſtood with his honour, nor the ſafety of the Country, to ſurrender into any forrain hands, he took Arms, and forced *Lenox* and a few of the Engliſh who were with him to their Ships, whence they ſet ſail for the Iſle of *Arrain*, and burnt all the houſes there; and after to the Iſle of *Bute*. Some ſay yet that *Striveling* would have ſeiz'd on the perſon of *Lenox*, had he not fore-ſeen the danger, and eſcaped; and that he landed in the Earl of *Anguis* his Country neer the Caſtle of *Dunvin*, and afterwards burnt it; and took *Caintyr* and ſpoyled it, and all this with the help onely of 140 men more hee had out of his own Country: concerning which exploits, he advertiſed our King then at *Boulogne*, himſelf returning in the mean time to *Briſtol* (whence hee had his Ships) and ſtaying there till the Kings arrivall in *England*, who ſoon after commanded him, with ſome Ships, to ſcour the Scottiſh Coaſt.

Among the Kings Preparatives for War, that of Money was the moſt difficult: For though hee had much enrich'd himſelf with the Revenues of the ſuppreſt Abbies; and beſides, received great Subſidies and Loans from his Subjects; yet Fortifications, Shipping and other Proviſions had exhauſted his Treaſure. Beſides, hee found the money of his Kingdom much drayned away by his crafty Neighbors, while they cryed it up in their Country. For remedy of which inconveniences, he both enhaunced our Gold from forty five ſhillings to forty eight ſhillings the ounce; and Silver from three ſhillings and nine pence to four ſhillings: and together cauſed certain baſe moneys newly coyned to be made currant; though not without much murmuring: Which afterwards yet was cryed down in *Edward* the VI his time, and call'd in by Queen *Elizabeth*. Howſoever, it ſerv'd for the preſent to exchange both for commodities at home

Lefleus.

Hollinſh.

home and abroad. Though about two yeers after our Records mention, that the Low-Country men finding the Alloys (it ſeems) rejected it. 1544

Men and money being now provided, there remained yet not a few difficulties concerning the Government of the Kingdom in the Kings abſence. Among which, becauſe the greateſt was difference in Religion, he endeavoured to quiet all parts, as finding it impoſſible to unite them. That of the Roman Catholicks he had already ſo curb'd, as they could hardly make head again: and for the Reformers, he thought a little would give them contentment, as being at this time ſcarce more then pretenders. Therefore he cauſed a Letany or Proceſſion to be ſet forth in Engliſh, which much ſatisfied them, as hoping the reſt of Divine Service might follow in the ſame Tongue. And indeed, our Records tell us, that another Engliſh Proceſſion for Feſtival dayes was afterwards added. As for the Civill Adminiſtration of his Kingdom, it was ordered thus: The Queen was conſtituted General Regent of the Realm: Not yet ſo much, that her ſoft ſex was thought leſſe capable of Ambition, as that the Roman-Catholicks (whom he thought onely could ſtir) would take no dependance from her; ſhe being obſerved to incline a little to the Reformed. To direct her Counſels yet, the King appointed the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Earl of *Hertford*, the Lord Chancellor, *Thomas Thurleby* Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*, and Sir *William Petre* Doctor of Law, one of the principall Secretaries, to be joyned in Commiſſion for thoſe Affairs, and on ſome occaſions *William* Lord *Parre* of *Horton* to be called to them. It being provided further, if occaſion were given, that the Earl of *Hertford* ſhould be the Kings Lieutenant or principall Captain. Beſides which generall order for Affairs in his abſence, he particularly appointed certain Noblemen and Gentlemen in every Shire, who ſhould ſtay there and obſerve all motions: And for this purpoſe, the Biſhop of the Dioceſſe in every County (for the moſt part) and ſix or ſeven other Noblemen, or Juſtices of the Peace were nominated; *Francis Talbot* alſo Earl of *Shrewsbury* was made Lieutenant of the North. And now aſſurance being given that the Imperiall Forces were in readineſſe, hee commanded his Army (which conſiſting of thirty thouſand men, was divided into three Battails) to paſſe the Seas. The Van-gard apparrelled in blue-Coats-garded-with-red, with Caps and Hoſe party-coloured and ſutable (their Caps fitted to their Head-piece or Skull) were led by the Duke of *Norfolk*. The Rear in the like habit, by the Lord *Ruſſell*, lately made Lord Privie-Seal, with whom went *Henry* Earl of *Surrey* Marſhal of the Field, *John Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, Lord *Mountjoy*, Sir *Francis Bryan*, and divers brave Lords, Knights, Gentle-

July 9.

Dec. 6. 1542.

1544 June. Gentlemen and others, not a few Welsh and Irish filling up the numbers. These landing at *Calais* about Whitsontide, marched directly to *Montreuil*, where the Count *de Bures* Admiral of *Flanders* with ten thousand Foot, and about three or four thousand Horse joyning with them, they laid siege to the Town, which Monsieur *de Biez* Mareschal of *France* defended; while, at the same time, the Battel, apparelled in the like Bizarre fashion, (the Colours yet being red and yellow) passing over under the Conduct of *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk* the Kings Lieutenant, accompanied by *Henry Fitz-alan* Earl of *Arundel*, Marshall of the Field, *William Pawlet* Lord *St. John*, *Stephen* Bishop of *Winchester*, Sir *Anthony Brown* Master of the Kings Horse, and others, expected the Kings coming; a speedy advertisement whereof being given, he tarried not. But we will leave him a while, and see what the Emperor did.

Febr. 20. The Emperors Ambassadors formerly mentioned being returned from our King with good satisfaction and great Rewards, the Diet at *Spire* began, where the Emperor, *Ferdinand*, and all the Electors in person did meet: the Emperors chief business was, to require aid against the Turk and French their Confederate: which *Francis* also suspecting, sent an Herald to require a safe Conduct for his Ambassadors to come thither: but hee was rejected with ill words. And now the Emperour endeavouring to divide the Protestants, proposed so fair and advantagious a Treaty to the Duke of *Saxe*, that he obtain'd of him to acknowledge *Ferdinand* King of the Romans. Which Accord, though it were not communicated to, nor approved by the rest of the Confederates, yet they all at last condescended to a Contribution by Pole throughout all *Germany*, for a War against the Turk, and half a yeers pay for four thousand Horse, and four and twenty thousand Foot against the French. In regard whereof, the Emperor promised to commit the Business of Religion to certain good learned men, who should write some pious Reformation; wishing the Princes also to do the same: to the end, that upon comparison of them on all sides, some agreement might be made by common consent, which should be observed till a General Councel were held in *Germany*, or at least a Nationall: And that peace should be kept in the mean while on all parts, and the rigorous Edict of *Augsburg* suspended, and the Anabaptists punished. There was an agreement also to meet again (which followed at *Wormbs*) and so June 10. 1545. the Diet ended *June* 10.

The Pope being advertised of these passages at *Spire*, was mightily offended, as being resolved to tolerate no Reformation whereof himself was not Authour. Therefore he writ a sharp Letter to the Emperour, *Dat.* 25. *Aug.* wherein he remonstrateth the inconveniences would follow, if any thing were e-

stablisht

ſtabliſht in Religion without his intervention: excluding further the Proteſtants wholly from having any voice therein.

This while the French, under the conduct of *François de Bourbon Duc d' Anguien*, obtain'd at *Seriſoles* in *Piedmont*, a great Victory againſt the Spaniard, commanded by the Marqueſſe of *Guaſto*; wherein, as the Spaniards conceived, was ſome fatality; their Writers obſerving, that the Battell of *Ravenna* and *Gelves* were loſt upon the ſame day. Howſoever, the French were not a little glorious; yet, as *Francis* knew the League betwixt our King and the Emperour was directed chiefly againſt him, hee prepared for defence: And the rather, that he had heard of a ſecond Treaty, (which was at *Gonzaga*'s coming over into *England*, as I take it) wherein both Princes had agreed to march ſtrait on to *Paris* without beſieging any Town, or ſtaying by the way. Beſides, the Emperour had now recovered *Luxemburg*. This made *Francis* reſort to the extreme Remedy in caſe of Invaſion, called the *Ban and Arrereban*, by which all men holding under certain Tenures, are bound for a certain time, at their own coſts and charges to ſerve in perſon, or at leaſt to provide (according to their degree) Horſe and Foot againſt the Enemy: which *Francis* yet converted to a Foot only, and thus he got together an Army of about forty thouſand Foot, and ſix thouſand Horſe. As this yet could not ſecure him againſt two ſuch puiſſant Adverſaries, hee diſpatched ſeverall Ambaſſadors to both Princes, with power to offer great and advantageous Conditions of Peace, when either of them might be taken off. This while the Emperour (who promiſed our King to march directly to *Paris* with a great Army) had taken divers towns in *Champagne*, as the way unto it, though loſing unfortunately *René* Prince of *Orange* at *S. Diſier*, who was the ſecond of that Family that had died in his quarrell, his Mothers Brother *Philibert de Chaalon* having been ſlain at the Siege of *Florence*. And now both Armies marching ſo, as the Imperialiſts held the one ſide, and the French the other ſide of the River of *Marne*, news was brought to either Camp, that our Army was landed in *France*, and had beſieged *Bonlogne*. The particularities whereof, out of a Diary extant in our Records, I thought fit to extract, and chiefly follow in this Narration.

1544

April 11. *die Paſch.* Sandoval.

July.

1530.

Our King, who paſs'd the Seas in a Ship with Sails of Cloth-of-Gold, arrived at *Calais* the 14 of *July* with a Royall Train. July 14.
The next day the Emperor's High-Admiral attended him, and July 15.
gave account in what eſtate and forwardneſſe his Maſters Army and Affairs were about that time: he adviſed our King alſo to proceed to *Paris* without amuſing himſelf about any thing by the way. But he who knew well what Towns the Emperour had taken in his way, would not be diſſwaded from the ſame liberty: Therefore he ſent the Duke of *Suffolk* with Forces

1544 to inveſt *Boulogne*, in which Monſieur *de Verven* a young Gentleman, but aſſiſted by *Philip Corſe* a brave and old Souldier, commanded. His Forces conſiſted of a Gariſon of about two thouſand five hundred paid, and as many more able Townſmen.

July 21. The Duke in a ſhort ſpace took (notwithſtanding reſiſtance)

July 22. the lower Town, lying on the River of *Pont-de-bricq*, and the Watch-Tower before *Boulogne*, (call'd the *Old-Man*, or the *Tour d' ordre*, thought to be built by *Julius Caſar*;) This haſtened the

July 25. Kings coming; ſo that diſpatching the Emperour's Admirall, hee marched forward in this equipage, *July* 25: Firſt, the Drums, Viſleurs, Trumpeters and Officers at Arms, then the Barons, and after them Garter-Herald next before the King's Banner; after which followed *Don Bertran de la Cueva* Duke of *Alburquerque* (Commander of the Emperor's Auxiliary Forces;) next whom came the Kings Majeſty armed at all pieces, upon a great Courſer; then the Lord *Herbert* bearing the Kings Head-piece and Spear, followed by the Henchmen bravely hors'd and appointed. Marching thus out of *Calais* with a Princely Train, an hundred Horſe of *Alburquerques* Company (whereof ſix were barded with Cloth-of-Gold) met him: Alſo the Earl of *Eſſex* (chief Captain of the Men-at-Arms,) and Sir *Thomas Darcy* with many other Horſemen (who ſet themſelves in parade) ſo that the Light-Horſe and Demy-Lance went firſt, then the Guard on Foot, after them the Pike-men, amongſt whom the King rode before the men-at-Arms; for the Wings, fifty Archers on Horſeback, and as many Harquebuſiers were appointed, and ſo they came to *Marquiſe*, where the Army then encamped that night. The next day (being the 26) marching towards *Bou-*

July 26. *logne*, the Duke of *Suffolk* met the King, who took his Quarter on the Northſide of the Town neer the Sea; divers Skirmiſhes paſſing in the mean time.

July 28. The 28, *John* Viſcount *Liſle* Lord Admirall, the Lord *Clinton* and about 900 men, who had ſcowred the Seas towards *Scotland*, landed in the Haven at *Boulogne*.

July 29. The 29, Sir *Thomas Poynings* came to give the King account of all that paſs'd at *Monſtreul*, and in his return took *Hardelot* Caſtle.

Auguſt 3. The third of *Auguſt* our Battery began on the Eaſt-ſide of the Town, two Batteries more being afterwards planted againſt it.

Auguſt 6. The ſixth of *Auguſt* Monſieur *de Bures* came from *Monſtreul*; to whom our King gave a brave Courſer richly furniſh'd.

Auguſt 13. The 13 of *Auguſt* the Earl of *Hertford* came to the Camp; and divers Companies of Almaines and Flemmings joyned with our men: Many Sallies and Skirmiſhes (in the which the French ſtill had the worſe) paſſing in the mean while. Certain

Auguſt 19. French Troops alſo endeavouring early in the morning to get into

1544

into the Town, were defeated and kill'd; ſome nevertheleſſe eſcaping into it. Certain Troops of German Horſe came now alſo to the Camp, who were muſtered before the King the next day.

The 24 of *Auguſt* the Duke of *Norfolk* from before *Montreul* came and advertiſed the King how the Affairs paſs'd there. Auguſt. 24.

The 27, Alarm was given upon diſcovering of ſome French Troops. Auguſt 27.

The 29 and 30, our men approaching ſtill to the Wals, ſhort Skirmiſhes paſt. Aug 29, 30.

Septem. 1, our men got the Bray, not yet without loſſe of brave men on both ſides. Septemb. 1.

The ſecond of *September* ſome of our men giving a falſe Alarm to the Caſtle, at the breach which our Canon had made, other of our men brake up certain doors into the Caſtle; but they being barricado'd within, and well defended, wee retired with loſſe. Septemb. 2.

The third, Sir *Chriſtopher Norris* Maſter of the Ordnance, and chief director of the Batteries, was hurt with a ſhot from the Caſtle. While things paſs'd thus afore the Town, a Convoy of Victuals (being ſent from S. *Omer* to the Camp) was taken by the Enemy, and divers Imperialiſts kill'd. Nevertheleſſe, our Engliſh ſaved and reſcued ſome part. Septemb. 3.

The 4 of *Septemb.* the Pioneers having brought their Work to the Counter-mure of the Caſtle, two Mines were ſprung, which ſhivered the Wall; but made no great overture. Septemb. 4.

The fifth, our men ſapping the Wals, the French kill'd certain Pioneers. Septemb. 5.

The ſixth, another Salley was made, and ſome Workmen were kill'd. Septemb. 6.

The ninth, the Town being brought almoſt to terms of yeelding, certain Ambaſſadours from *Francis*, being *John* Cardinal *du Bellay*, *Pietre Raymond premier* Preſident of *Rouen*, and others, demanded Audience, their Buſineſſe being to treat of a generall Accord; concerning which the Earl of *Hertford*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Sir *William Paget* and Sir *Richard Rich* were appointed to negotiate with them at *Hardelot* Caſtle: our King not doubting in the mean time to carry the Town. Septemb. 9.

September 11, fire was given to the Mine under the Caſtle, the effect whereof the King went to ſee, not without ſome danger, the ſtones flying very far off: whereupon, our men preſently giving on, many were ſlain on both parts. Septemb. 11.

The 13, Monſieur *de St. Blimont*, and Monſieur *de Aix* came out of the Town, and treated of ſurrendring it. Septemb. 13.

The fourteenth, it was yeelded upon condition to depart with Bag and Baggage; but to leave the Victuals and Artillery behinde them. It was thought yet the place might have held Septemb. 14.

1544 out longer, but that *Philip Corſe* was kill'd, with whom (it ſeemed) both their courage and good fortune ended. And ſo, about two thouſand ſouldiers, and as many others going out of the Town, paſſed towards *Monſtreul* in our Kings ſight, beſides divers that eſcaped another way. And thus *Boulogne* was taken, without any mention in our Diary of Canon of Wood coloured like braſſe, which ſhould be planted againſt the Caſtle, as Tradition hath it. Septemb. 14. And now an horrible Tempeſt ariſing, threw down Tents and Pavilions, and ſhipwrack'd ſome part of our Navie in the Haven. Nevertheleſſe, the French Ambaſſadours came to the Camp that night; but as their Tents were blown down likewiſe over their heads, the King courteouſly permitted them to lodge in the Town.

Septemb. 18. *September* 18, the King (attended by *Alburquerque*) entred *Boulogne* triumphantly, The Duke of *Suffolk* (the Great Maſter, who was ſent before to take poſſeſſion thereof, meeting him at the Gate, and preſenting the keyes of the Town) where, after he had viewed the places that needed fortification, he gave Audience to the French Ambaſſadours: But they hearing the Emperor had condeſcended to a Peace (which was publiſhed about this time) did leſſe inſiſt upon a Treaty with us, and ſo returned by the way of *Heſdin Septemb.* 25. Septemb. 25. Some of the Spaniſh Writers yet uſe much art to palliate this abrupt Treaty: Therefore they ſay, that our King failed in his not going directly to *Paris* (as was agreed). Never conſidering in the mean while, that the Emperour (though having a much clearer way) had taken divers Towns in his paſſage: Beſides, they alledged, that our King would keep *Boulogne* for himſelf, not regarding the common Intereſt. All yet were but pretexts: whereas the reall cauſes were,

Firſt, That *Charles* had by this means taken off *Francis* from his League with the Turk.

Secondly, That he had engaged our King in a War againſt *France*, and thereby made himſelf the freer to purſue his own Deſignes in *Germany*, where he knew the Proteſtants would grow more refractory, as long as he was in War elſe-where.

Thirdly, That in the Wars of *Germany*, which hee now intended, he thought the French King could more hurt him, then our King do him good.

Septemb. 19. *The Articles of Peace concluded by theſe two Princes, were;*

Sandoval. I. That betwixt the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, and *Francis* the French King, and the reſt that will enter into this League, there be a firm and perpetuall Peace.

II. That the Subjects of both Princes pay Tributes, Rights, and Cuſtoms of Merchandize that they were wont to pay.

III. That

III. That all places which have been taken on one part or other ſince the Truce of *Nizza*, ſhall be reſtored: and that neither part may take thence more then their Victuals or Ordnance.

IIII. That the Duke of *Areſchot* ſhall enjoy his Right in the County of *Ligny*, *&c.*

V. That all Places and Fortreſſes that have been taken from the Duke of *Savoy* by either of the Parties, or from the Marqueſſe of *Montferat*, or the Duke of *Mantua*, Duke of *Lorain*, Duke of *Stenay* in *Luxemburg*, ſhall be reſtored.

VI. That the King of *France* ſhall leave and reſtore the Abbey and Lands of *Garagana* in the Emperors hands; as alſo certain Hoſtages for performance thereof, and that he ſhall give unto the Emperour the County of *Charlois* to him and his Heirs for ever.

VII. That the Emperor and French King joyn together in a War againſt the Turk; and that the King ſhall furniſh for this purpoſe ſix hundred Lances, and ten thouſand Foot.

VIII. That *Francis* ſhall renounce all the Right he pretends to hold in the Kingdom of *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Milan*, the Contado of *Aſti*, as alſo the Right of Soveraignty he had in *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Liſle*, *Doway*, *Orchies*, *Tournay*, *Mortaigne*, and *St. Amand*. Moreover, That the King leave unto the Emperor and his Succeſſors all the right that he can pretend in the Dutchy of *Guelders*, and County of *Zutphen*.

IX. That the Emperor likewiſe ſhall yeeld and paſs over all Action and Right that hee may pretend unto in any State or Seigniory of the King, except the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, the Vicounty of *Auſſone*, the Soveraignty of *St. Lawrence*, the County of *Maſcon*, *Auxerre* and *Bar* upon the River *Seine*. That he ſhould renounce alſo that Right he held in the Cities upon the Border of *Some*, *Peronne*, *Mondidier*, and *Roye*; as alſo the Counties of *Boulogne*, *Guienne*, *Pontheu*; excepting *Theruenne*, *Han*, and other places mentioned in *Sandoval*, and whatſoever in the Eſtate and Limits of *Arras*.

X. That the Vaſſals of either Prince ſhall be fully reſtored unto all that they had, although they had ſerved on the contrary ſide.

XI. That the Flemmings may enjoy the Heritage that their Fathers leave them, though themſelves have not been born in *France*: And that the cuſtome call'd *Droit D'aubene* ſhall not concern them.

XII. That the ancient and modern Priviledges on both parts ſhall remain in their force and vigour. To which purpoſe, the Emperor ſhall renounce (in favour of the King) the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, the Vicounty of *Auſſone*, Soveraignty of *St. Lawrence*, the County of *Auxerre*, *Maſcon*, and *Bar ſur Seine*; and within four

1544 four months after the publication of this Peace, he ſhall procure that his Son *Philip* Prince of *Spain* ſhall confirm the ſame.

XIII. That the Emperor in favour and confirmation of the Peace, ſhall give his Daughter the Infanta *Donna Maria*, or (in caſe he do not give her) the ſecond Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of the Romans, that ſhe may match with *Charles* Duke of *Orleance* ſecond Son to the King: And that he declare his minde therein within the term of four months after the publiſhing of this Peace. And that if the Emperor will marry his Daughter with Duke *Charles*, then he ſhall give them the Eſtate of *Flanders*, which at this preſent is under his Obedience, and moreover, the Dutchy of *Burgundy* and *Charolois* in Dowry; and that they ſhall enter into the poſſeſſion of theſe Eſtates after the Emperors death, to deſcend upon Duke *Charles* or his Heirs Males; and that the Emperor yet living, theſe States ſhall ſwear to the ſaid *Charles*; and that *Philip* Prince of *Spain* ſhall ſwear, confirm, and approve it.

XIIII. That the Marriage being made, the Emperor ſhall conſtitute Duke *Charles* in the Government of *Flanders*.

XV. That *Francis* and his Son the Daulphin ſhall renounce for ever, and depart from any right that they held, or may pretend to hold to the Dutchy of *Milan*, or the County of *Aſti*; and that they ſhall procure within eight dayes after the publication hereof, the Daulphin's Brother *Charles*, and Madame *Marguerite* to confirm and approve it.

XVI. That if *Mary* Daughter to the Emperor ſhall die without Iſſue Male, the Eſtate of *Flanders* ſhall revert to *Philip* Prince of *Spain*, and to his Heirs: And that the Duke of *Orleance* in this caſe may revive his right to the Dutchy of *Milan*, and Contado of *Aſti*: And that in this caſe the Emperor likewiſe may revive his right to the Dutchy of *Burgundy* and the reſt formerly mentioned.

XVII. That if Duke *Charles* ſhall marry with the ſecond Daughter of King *Ferdinando*, he ſhall give with her the Dutchy of *Milan*, with the Contado of *Aſti*, and all belonging unto them; the Emperor in the mean while retaining in his power the Fortreſſes of *Milan* and *Cremona*: and that the Emperor ſhall give to them and their Heirs Males the Title and Imperiall Collation of the State thereof. And that if the Duke of *Orleance* ſhall have no Heirs Males by this Marriage, nevertheleſs, that the ſaid Title and Eſtate ſhall remain to Duke *Charles*, and to his Heirs Males by a ſecond Marriage. Provided, that the ſecond Marriage be made with the good will and conſent of the Emperor and his Brother *Ferdinand*.

XVIII. That the Marriage with the Duke of *Orleance* ſhall not be deferred more then one yeer after the day of publication of theſe Preſents.

XIX. That

XIX. That *Francis* ſhall give unto his Son the Duke in Dote the Dutchy of *Orleance* and *Bourbon*, *Chaſtellerand*, and the County of *Angouleſme*; And that if theſe Eſtates mount not to the yeerly Revenue of 100000 *livres Tournois*, that they ſhall be made up out of the Dutchy of *Alançon*.

XX. That if the Duke of *Orleance* ſhall have onely Heirs Females, each of them ſhall have for their Portion in Marriage 100000 *livres Tournois*: And if there ſhall be but one onely Daughter Heir, they ſhall give her 100000 *livres* in ready pay; And that if the Duke ſhall die firſt, the Emperors Daughter ſhall have for her life 50000 *livres Tournois* yeerly; but if it be *Ferdinand* the King of Romans Daughter, 30000 onely.

XXI. That the King of *France* ſhall reſtore to *Charles* Duke of *Savoy* all the Lands that he hath taken from him (except *Montmelian* and *Piquerole*) in which the King may hold Gariſon all the time that the Emperor ſhall retain the Caſtles of *Cremona* and *Milan*.

XXII. That the Duke of *Vendoſme* ſhall hold the County of St. *Paul* with the ſame Right that he poſſeſs'd it before the War.

XXIII. That the King of *France* ſhall hold *Heſdin* till it be determined whoſe Right it is.

XXIIII. That in the Cauſe of *Henry de la Britt* pretended King of *Navarre*, *Francis* ſhall not interpoſe himſelf otherwiſe then a Pacifier; nor in the War that ſhall be for this Cauſe betwixt them; nor that he ſhall take any part.

XXV. That the King ſhall give unto the Emperor a Writing in due form, in which ſhall be declared, That Madame *Jone*, Daughter to *Henry de la Britt*, doth ſwear that ſhe will not conſent unto the Marriage agreed with *William* Duke of *Cleves*; and that ſhe never conſented to it.

XXVI. That the King of Romans (that was the principal Perſon in compoſing this Peace) ſhall enter into, and be comprehended in it; as likewiſe all other Chriſtian Princes and Republicks that will, keeping the obedience and ſubmiſſion that of Right they owe unto the Emperor. This being ſigned and ſealed by the Emperor and French King, and the other above named, theſe following Articles were added:

XXVII. That *Francis* ſhould reſtore to the Heir of *René* Prince of *Orange* the Principality thereof, in that manner that *Philibert Chaalon* enjoy'd it.

XXVIII. That to *Philip Croy* Duke of *Areſchot* entire ſatisfaction ſhould be made for all his pretenſions, according to the late Treaty of *Cambray*.

XXIX. That the King ſhall reſtore to the Duke all the Goods that on his Father's and Mother's ſide belong'd to him in *France*.

XXX. That

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XXX. That if *Maximilian* of *Burgundy* gain his ſuit in Law, the Places belonging to him ſhall be reſtor'd.

XXXI. That the Ranſom which *George* of *Auſtria* promiſed, ſhall be annulled and made void.

Septemb. 19. And this was the Subſtance of the League concluded at *Creſpie*, 19 of *Septemb.* 1544. Beſides which Articles, I finde by ſome, That it was agreed, they ſhould defend the ancient Religion, and reform the Court at *Rome:* Whereof the Pope being advertiſed, was not yet much troubled; as knowing their Intereſts ſo diverſe, that they could not long concur. Nevertheleſſe, he haſtened the intended Councel at *Trent*, both as the Emperor deſired it, and as he thought it ſafer to reform himſelf, then to be reformed. Therefore, having underſtood that both the Emperor had commanded the Divines of *Lovain* to reduce Religion into ſome Method and Articles; and *Francis* alſo had enjoyn'd the like to the *Sorboniſts*; he without more delay appointed the Councel to begin *March* 15, 1545, and his Legats there to be *Giovanni Maria di Monte*, Biſhop-Cardinal *di Paleſtina*, *Marcello Cervino* Prieſt-Cardinal *di Santa Croce*, *Reginald Poole* Deacon-Cardinal *di Santa Maria*, all faithfull to him, but *Marcello* moſt vers'd in Affairs, with Inſtructions at firſt, onely to obſerve the Emperors motions, and govern themſelves accordingly. For as he knew the Diet at *Wormbs* would ſhortly follow, he thought it concern'd him to be attentive; and the rather, that he was jealous leſt the Emperor, French King, and Proteſtants ſhould agree upon ſome form of ſetling Religion among themſelves, and not a little fearfull alſo leſt our King ſhould intervene: Beſides, it troubled him much how to comport himſelf with the Aſſembly at *Wormbs*, as doubting, that if he ſent a Legat thither, he might be neglected: wherefore he commanded the Cardinal *Alexander Farneſe* (his Grand-childe) to take that place as in his way to the Emperor, and his Nuncio reſident with *Ferdinand*, to go along with him to the Diet. And now to ſhew he proceeded really in calling a Councel, he gives his Legats order to repair to *Trent*, with authority (according to a Bull framed for that purpoſe) to propoſe, determine, and conclude all that was neceſſary for extirpation of Hereſie, to reform the Church, to ſettle Peace among Chriſtian Princes, &c. by the conſent of the Councel. Beſides which, he gave them a particular *Breve* to prolong, transferre, or diſſolve it, being the *Arcanum* of keeping all in his Arbitrement: Nor made he difficulty to begin with a few Italian Biſhops onely of his Party, as thinking they would be the better prepared when the reſt came in.

But to return now to the Emperor: The Treaty betwixt him and *Francis* being concluded, he ſent to *Spain* to be reſolved by the Prince and his Councel, which of the two Marriages were moſt

moſt convenient. But all came to nothing by the death of the Duke of *Orleance* within eight months following : Howbeit, ſome places taken on either ſide were reſtored, and the Emperors Auxiliary Forces before *Montreul* commanded to retire. Which being done, he went ſhortly after to *Bruxels*, whither his Siſter the Queen of *France*, *Charles* Duke of *Orleance*, and the two Sons of *Ferdinand* came to him. And now our King expoſtulating the matter with the Emperor; he, for excuſing himſelf, as well as ſatisfying our King, pretended to make ſome overture of receiving him into the League, as will appear hereafter; yet ſo, as it is probable he did not much labour to effect it. The Count of *Bures* and the Germans being now departed (but not the Duke of *Alburquerque* and ſome *Spaniards*, who (againſt the Emperors will) remained in our Camp) the King commanded the Duke of *Norfolk* (who had made Inrodes into the Country with good ſucceſſe) to raiſe the Siege from before *Montreul*, and retire to him. And now finding the ſeaſon to be far advanced, and little elſe to be done, our King (after he had Knighted certain perſons of worth) prepared to be gone, leaving the Lord *Liſle* to command *Boulogne* with ſufficient Forces, and directions what to do upon all occaſions. And thus 30 of *September*, he took ſhipping at *Boulogne*, and returned: The news whereof, being brought the Daulphin (who a good while ſince had raiſed a puiſſant Army) made him to advance. But the Vant-Coureurs were no ſooner deſcried neer the Town, but the two Dukes and Lord Privie Seal (who were behinde with the Army) made ready to fight, ſending firſt yet ſome to offer skirmiſh; but the French men fled. Our Army hereupon marching in good order to *Calais* (where ſhipping attended them) the Daulphin ſix dayes after attempted between force and ſtratagem to ſurpriſe *Boulogne*. For, being advertiſed by a Spy that our Approaches were not ſlighted or levelled, nor any of the three Breaches in the upper Town repair'd, and that the lower Town in many places lay open, He doubted not but to take it, and in it a great part of the Ordnance and Munition which our King left there. Thus coming neer with all his Forces about midnight, he commanded *Fouqueſolles*, *Tais*, *Monluc*, *d'Andelot*, *Moailles*, and certain French and Italian Troops under *Pede Marſa* and others, in ſufficient number, to give on. Theſe with their ſhirts over their Armour, coming ſuddenly neer the lower Town, ſent ſome before, who (as if in favour of us they would have given the Allarm) cryed *Bowes*, *Bowes*: hoping thus, that our men, ſuſpecting nothing, would open the gates, and thereby give them means to ſeiſe on it till the reſt did enter. The Invention was good, and had it been handſomly purſued, might have endangered us. But *Tais* and the Italians entering the lower Town in greater number

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then that they could be ſuppoſed people in their ſhirts, that roſe to give their fellows warning, Alarm was given. Nevertheleſs, they ſo ſurpriſed our Sentinels, as they kill'd all they met, and rifled the houſes without much oppoſition, becauſe the Pioneers (chiefly) and Victuallers of the Camp (who had no Arms to defend themſelves) were quartered there; our Souldiers ſcarce ſufficing to defend the Breaches and Gaps of the upper Town. Howbeit, divers of our men eſcaping, ran to the gate of the upper Town, and there demanded Arms wherewith to defend themſelves; which therefore were caſt to them over the Walls in ſuch quanttiy, as now taking courage, they fell on the French and Italians with that fury, as they kill'd Monſieur *de Fouqueſolles*, and divers others who reſiſted, and chaſed the reſt, wounding Monſieur *de Tais*, and taking divers priſoners: And this was the ſucceſſe of the attempt on the upper parts of *Boulogne*. As for that towards the Sea, which *Monluc* undertook not without hope (it ſeems) to fire ſome of our Ships, the French proſper'd as little, as being kill'd and taken in great number: Onely for *Monluc* himſelf, it may be doubted where he was in either of theſe Fights, ſince he makes no particular mention of them, nor gives any good account of his perſon. For though he ſaith, he came to the Italians, that made a ſtand neer the Church, it muſt be before our men fell on them. As for his Allegation, that ſome of the Engliſh ran away, they were no other then ſome part of the *Corps de Gard* which went to advertiſe the reſt; and for his telling the Colours of our Pioneers clothes (for teſtimony that he ſaw them in the dark) it makes little for him, ſince with more honour he might have told the colours of our ſouldiers Liveries, which were far different, had he ſeen them. Howſoever, he might ſtay ſafely in the lower Town after the ſlaughter committed by *Tais* and the Italians, till our men (as is before-mentioned) returned with Arms from the upper Town, gave them the chaſe; who yet could not have defeated them entirely, had not thoſe of the upper Town ſallied forth of their Breaches at laſt, to ſecond them. A little before which time, *Monluc*, ſuſpecting (it ſeems) that the Engliſh (upon the Alarm given) would fall on him, deſired (as he confeſſed himſelf) the Italians to make good their ſtand, while he kept one of the Breaches from being poſſeſſed by the Engliſh. But our Engliſh now charging *Monluc*, went further then it or the Town. Howbeit, to ſhew his care, he ſaith that he ſent an Horſeman back, to know what was become of the Italians. But he returning anſwer, that they were in the Church, or dead, *Monluc* and ſome other French provided for themſelves. For now Sir *Thomas Poynings* with a freſh Troop of Engliſh out of the upper Town had charged them. *D'Andelot*, *Noailles*, and divers others hereupon were adviſed by *Monluc* to ſave themſelves; as alſo certain

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certain Enſignes, who following his counſel, got up the hill towards their Army, while himſelf and a few with him, paſſed a ſhallow water, and ſo eſcaped by a longer, but a ſafer way. And thus the Daulphin, who prepared to ſend ſuccours, meeting the Run-awayes, deſiſted, and the Town was ſaved. But *Monluc*, to defend himſelf, ſaith, That for all the fear, he kept his wits ſtill about him, or elſe hee had been in danger never to have been Mareſchal of *France*. And to commend (it ſeems) his direction in running away, he ſhews how neceſſary it is for a man in danger not to be affraid; and ſays, that all the Enſignes had been loſt, had he not adviſed them to be gone; and that his counſell preſerved all: And ſuch Rodomontades as theſe did this Gaſcon uſe, who (it ſeems) was a braver man by day, then by night. All which I have more particularly obſerved out of our Hiſtories and Records, becauſe, notwithſtanding his ſhamefull flight, he ſtrives ſo much to vilifie our Nation. But how hee behaved himſelf in this Action may appear by the Daulphin's jeering him at his return, as himſelf confeſſeth; it being certain, that though hee came in later then his fellows, it was not becauſe he ſtayed longer there, but that he went a further way about. But *Monluc*, to excuſe himſelf, ſaid, It was the Daulphin's fault, that hee came not in with his whole Army: and therein he ſpoke rationally; for had the firſt Attempt been well ſeconded, hee muſt have carryed the Town in all likelyhood, one breach being open, and men ſurpriſed. Nor had he better fortune at *Guiſnes*, and other places which the French hoped to take in; for being beaten thence, he was conſtrained with his Army to retire, without doing more for this yeer. Nevertheleſſe, *Francis* had recourſe to thoſe wonted Arts, by which as much as by Arms he alwayes advantaged himſelf: Therefore he deſired that his Ambaſſadours and the Emperors might meet with our King's at *Calais*, to treat of a general Accord. Which offer being accepted, the Earl of *Hertford* and Sir *William Paget* were ſent thither: But their deſire being, that *Boulogne* might be firſt reſtored, the Earl of *Hertford* replyed, he had no ſuch Commiſſion, and ſo broke off the Treaty: The Imperialiſts ſeeming nothing ſcandalized, that it had no better effect. October 12.

While Affairs paſſed thus in *France*, *Barbaroxa* did much ſpoil on the Coaſts of *Italy*, taking Towns, and carrying Captives of both Sexes to the Grand Seigneur at *Conſtantinople*, where he ſhortly after died of a Calenture, being above eighty yeers old: a great age for ſuch a Pirate as ſpent almoſt all his time in fighting either with men, or the fierceſt Elements. There happened alſo in *July* this yeer upon the Coaſts of *Gallicia*, a Sea-fight between the Spaniſh and French, in which the Spaniard, under the command of Don *Alvaro Baçan* (Father of the July 25.

famous Marqueſſe *de Santa Cruz*) was ſuperiour, three thouſand French (as *Sandoval* hath it) being kill'd.

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The Emperor now in his wonted neceſſity for money, was adviſed by his Councel to ſeiſe on the Revenues of the Church: For which alſo he obtain'd a *Breve* from the Pope. Yet, as hee would hear what the Religious perſons of that Kingdom could object, he admitted their Deputies, who ſaid, the right of the Church-Goods was rather divine then humane; That the Church was Chriſts Spouſe, and ſhould be decked gloriouſly; That ancient *Rome* was Miſtris of the World heretofore, by S. *Auguſtine*'s confeſſion, becauſe the people were ſo devout to their gods, and ſo much honour'd Religion: Which reaſons yet (it was thought) would not have prevail'd, had hee not found other wayes to have ſupplyed his wants. Nevertheleſs, his Son *Philip* the Second ſeiſed on them, though in his Will he commanded them to be reſtored.

L. 5. *de Civit. Dei.*

The Glorious return of our King from *Boulogne* gave much ſatisfaction to his Subjects: yet, as he had drawn a puiſſant Enemy againſt him, he took order to fortifie his Kingdom. And becauſe the River of *Thames* was chiefly to be ſecured, he caus'd ſome Fortifications to be raiſed at *Graveſend*, as alſo at *Tilbury*, and afterwards at *Dover*, *Portſmouth*, and many other Places: hee took alſo an exact account of all his Ordnance, which hee diſtributed in the moſt neceſſary places, leſt upon an Invaſion, his Magazine being in the Tower of *London* onely, the remedy ſhould come too late. I finde alſo by our Records, that there were certain ſmall Pieces of Artillery, not unlike our Drakes, for defence of his Waggons, of his own Invention, as alſo certain forms of Bulwarks; for he was a great Souldier, and beſides, of a ſingular capacity in apprehending all the new devices which in theſe kindes now daily appeared: the Piſtol, among others, coming this yeer firſt in requeſt among the French Horſe; but not the Spaniſh, whoſe manner is, not to leave their ancient forms eaſily, when yet it were for their advantage.

Let us look a while on Scotland.

About the time that *Lenox*, on our Kings part, invaded the Weſt of *Scotland*, as is formerly related, our men on the other ſide entred the Country, and took *Jedburgh*, *Kelſo*, and then *Coldingham*: which being advertiſed to the Governour and Cardinal, they brought an Army of about eight thouſand, and ſome Artillery, to recover the Town. But the Governour ſuſpecting (as it was thought) ſome treachery among his men, poſted away ſuddenly: which cauſed ſuch a conſternation in the Scots, that they likewiſe were ready to diſband, and leave the Artillery then planted in Battery againſt the Steeple, had not the Earl of *Angus* ſtaid ſome, and with their help conduct-

June.

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ed it ſafe to *Dunbarre*. This news was brought to our King at his return from *Boulogne*; at what time alſo the Earl of *Lenox* came to Court, and acquainted him with his late Actions, and the Affairs of *Scotland*: whereupon, the ſaid Earl, the Lord *Dacres*, and Sir *Thomas Wharton* were diſpatched thither with competent Forces. For, though at the requeſt of the Scots by Sir *George Meldre* (ſent to him when hee was before *Boulogne*) King *Henry* had granted Truce for a time; yet being newly provoked, hee reſolved a War. Theſe entring *Scotland* on the Weſt Border, took *Dunfriſe*, and brought home great ſpoyls; conſtraining alſo the people of thoſe parts to condeſcend to a Treaty, and give Hoſtages for the obſerving thereof. Our men puffed up with this good ſucceſſe, reſolve upon another Expedition. Whereupon, Sir *Ralf Evers* (now Lord *Evers*, and Warden of the Eaſt-Marches) and Sir *Bryan Layton*, this Winter ſpoyling *Tiviot-dale* and other Places, and afterward returning to *London*, required a reward for their Service: which, by the Duke of *Norfolk*'s advice, being as much ground as they could win from the Scots, they entered the next Spring (1545); but were defeated, and ſlain in great number at *Ancram*; and among them *Evers* himſelf, a brave Lord: Divers alſo were taken priſoners, and particularly, one *Read*, Alderman of *London*; which, that it may not ſeem ſtrange, I have thought fit to tell the occaſion: Our King, for ſupply of his wants, having appointed certain Commiſſioners to receive a Benevolence from his Subjects, they began at *London* with the Lord Maior and Aldermen; Among whom, *Read* refuſing to pay his ſhare, was ſent in this Expedition, with ſo ill ſucceſſe to it and himſelf, as at laſt, he paid more then the money impoſed on him, in a Ranſom. As for others, they excuſed themſelves by their penury, in regard the King had taken up ſo much corn from them for his uſe this yeer, without repaying the price as yet; ſo that in effect this Benevolence paſſed with much grudging.

1544

March, 1545.

January.

The Daulphin and French Army being retired, as is formerly related, Monſieur *de Biez* Mareſchal of *France* having gathered ſome fourteen thouſand men together, encamped 26 of *Janury* 15$\frac{44}{45}$, neer *Portet*, a little Creek of the Sea, about half a mile from *Boulogne*, yet as he had the River of *Pont-de-Brique* betwixt him and the Town, it was not eaſie to diſlodge him. His deſigne was to build a Fort there, for holding the Haven of *Boulogne* in ſubjection: which the Earl of *Hertford* underſtanding, aſſembled four thouſand Foot, and ſeven hundred Horſe out of the Gariſons adjoyning, and with theſe conſtrained *Biez* to retire to *Hardelot*, by the way charging him often with that fury, as he kill'd many, took two braſſe Pieces, and five iron, and much Baggage, and with it ſome of Monſieur *de Biez* his Armour.

Jan. 26.

Hollinſhead.

1545

Armour. And now *Francis* finding that theſe enterpriſes ſucceeded not, makes huge preparations to recover the Town, hoping together to win *Calais*, and wholly to expulſe the Engliſh from thoſe Parts. Therefore he ſent to *Scotland* Monſieur *de la Broſſe*, and afterwards the Seigneur *de Lorges*, with an Army to joyn with the Scots for invading our Northern parts. On the other ſide, that he might ſhew how ſtrong he was by Sea, hee commanded a great Fleet to be equipped; for which purpoſe *Paulin* (his old Negotiator in *Turky*) brought with him five and twenty Galleys from the *Levant*: The Pope not omitting alſo to furniſh his part: So that he had in all an hundred and fifty great Ships, and ſixty of the leſſer ſort, beſides Galleys; his deſigne being to keep *Boulogne* from being relieved by Sea, while his Land-Forces beſieged it. He thought fit to begin yet with erecting the Fort before *Boulogne*, which being to be finiſhed (as was promiſed him) by Monſieur *de Biez*, before mid-*Auguſt*, he meant with a puiſſant Army to entrench himſelf before the Town: having for this purpoſe ſent to leavie twelve thouſand Lanſkeneets, and ſix thouſand Italians; with which, and his own Forces, he doubted not to recover all the Places we held in *France*. Laſtly, for the more encouraging his men, he reſolved in Perſon to be in, or at leaſt, not far from his Armie. Coming thus to *Havre-de-Grace*, and commanding his Fleet to ſet ſail, his faireſt Ship (being of eight hundred tun) taking fire, ſuddenly was burnt; yet the reſt went on, under the command of Monſieur *d' Annebault* Admiral of *France*. Coming thus to *St. Hellens* Point on our Coaſt, *Paulin* with four Gallies was ſent to diſcover the Iſle of *Wight*, and the countenance of our men: whereupon, ſixty of our Ships coming out of the Haven of *Portſmouth* in good order, exchanged ſome ſhot with the French, till night parted them. The next day, the Ship which carried their money ſank, the money being hardly ſaved. But one of our Ships through accident was loſt. Our King this while came to *Portſmouth*, as knowing of what conſequence the Place was, aſſembles men from all parts under the command of his Lieutenant the Duke of *Suffolk*: The French yet landed in three ſeverall places in the Iſle of *Wight*; but were as ſoon repuls'd: whereupon, *d' Annebault* having the winde fair, adviſed concerning fighting with us in the Haven at *Portſmouth*: But the channel being thought too narrow for them to enter in any great number, they conſulted of taking the Iſle of *Wight*: but as it was requiſite again to build many Forts for keeping thereof, they found that both men and time would be wanting. Howſoever, they reſolved to take in freſh water; which the Chevalier *d'Auxe* with ſome men attempting, was kill'd, and they routed; as alſo ſome others who landed afterwards in *Suſſex*. Theſe bad ſucceſſes made the French croſſe over to

July 18.

Portet

1545

Portet neer *Boulogne*, where they landed four thouſand ſouldiers, and all the Pioneers which they brought with them to fortifie thoſe places they ſhould have taken in *England*. And now the winde blowing from the Land, they ſet ſail again for our Coaſt, which our King underſtanding, commanded his Fleet (being an hundred Sail) to offer fight to them; which the French alſo had charge to accept; their King not fearing to loſe his hired Ships, as long as he had money to procure others: The onely difficulty was, in regard of the currents, how to uſe both Ships and Galleys together; for in calms, when the Galleys made way, the Ships could not ſtir; and without them they durſt not encounter us. And now the French Fleet having gotten a ſmall winde, and their Galleys coming on, made towards us: but the winde ſlackning again, their Galleys fel off; wherewith the winde coming about, and our Fleet inveſting them, an hot Fight of two hours paſſed betwixt them: but the night parting them, the French retired ſuddenly to *Havre de Grace*, and appear'd no more. Our Admiral yet went to *Treport* in *Normandy*, where landing, he burnt the Suburbs, took divers Barks out of the Haven, and ſo return'd. *D'Annebault*, as ſoon as he came on ſhore, went to the King at *Arques* the ſixteenth of *Auguſt*, expecting the Fort ſhould be finiſhed before *Boulogne*; but it was begun eight dayes onely before, and in another place, call'd *Outreau* neer low *Boulogne*, whence they might indeed annoy the Town, but not command the entry into the Haven. But Monſieur *de Biez* aſſuring the King yet it would be put in defence within eight dayes more, the French Army marched on, being four and thirty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, who ſhortly after encamped upon Mount *Lambert*, being ſo neer *Boulogne*, as they could ſhoot into it with their great Ordnance. The King yet was not in the Army, nor neerer then the Abbey of *Forreſt Monſtier*, which was eleven leagues off, whither his Son *Charles* Duke of *Orleance* coming, died (as is before touched) of a peſtilent Fever. This made him ſend ſhortly after *Claude d' Annebault* and others to the Emperor to renew his Alliance ſome other way: But the Emperor, who had now engaged our King and *Francis* to a War, and therein reveng'd himſelf on both, thought it ſafer to be neuter, then to declare himſelf either way: Howbeit, he told the French Ambaſſadours, that he would not begin with their Maſter. In the mean while, the Engliſh Gariſon in *Calais* and *Guiſnes*, making continuall Inrodes, kill'd Monſieur *Dampierre*, and defeated his men; which, together with the dry anſwer received from the Emperor, made *Francis* to retire to an Abbey neer *Amiens*; his Army yet continuing before *Boulogne*, without adventuring to lay cloſe Siege unto it. Onely, as all the young Nobles and Gallants of the French Court came thither,

Auguſt.

Septemb. 9.

Auguſt 16.

Septemb. 9.

Novemb. 1.

October.

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ther, divers ſkirmiſhes paſs'd; in one of which, *Francis* Duke *d' Aumale* eldeſt Son to the Duke of *Guiſe*, received a blow with a Lance between the eye and the noſe, which entered (as the French Writers have it) half a foot into his head, and there broke: nevertheleſs, he coming off, endured the taking it out, and was recovered; divers others of their principall perſons yet being kill'd. And now our King reſolving to diſlodge them, ſent into *Germany* to levie ten thouſand Lanſkneets, and four thouſand Horſe: who thereupon coming to *Fleurines* in the Country of *Leige*, required their pay, as was promiſed; but it not coming at the time appointed, they ſeiſed on our Commiſſioners, and returned, without permitting them to depart till they were ſatisfied. This while Monſieur *de Biez*, being commanded to enter *Terre d' Oye*, took a little piece of fortified ground; which our men coming to recover, were encountred by his Horſe, and defeated: yet ſo, as (though far leſſe in number) they kill'd many of their enemies.

The Gariſon of *Boulogne* finding the French Army thus departed, enterpriſed the taking of the Fort; but it was well defended, and they with loſſe conſtram'd to retire. The French Army alſo, through the much rain that fell, was forced to leave *Terre d' Oye*, being a mariſh ground, and full of deep ditches: Beſides, our men gathered towards them. And now this puiſſant Army returning toward *Boulogne*, did not think fit to beſiege it: which may ſeem the ſtranger, that wee neither had Forces in a readineſſe to fight with them, nor ſo ſtrong a place to defend, but that half their Army (according to reaſon of War) might have carryed it in a ſhort ſpace: Therefore they encamped themſelves onely afore *Portet*, untill the Fortification were finiſhed. This ſlackneſſe made our men ſo adventrous, that an Enterpriſe of theirs ſucceeded ill, as ſhall be told the yeer following.

July 2. Monſieur *de Lorges* (formerly mentioned) having brought his auxiliary Forces being five thouſand men) *July* 2, 1545, into *Scotland*, many Incurſions were made. Their Army yet incamped no neerer on the Engliſh ſide then *Tweed*, yet as they paſs'd it often, much harm was done. Whereupon, the King

Auguſt. ſent the Earl of *Hertford* with twelve thouſand men to *Scotland*; who deſtroying all the Towns on the middle Marches, paſſed thence to the Weſt, and committed great ſpoils: in requitall

Septemb. whereof, the Scots ſhortly after attempted to enter *England* on the Eaſt Borders; but were defeated, and many made Priſoners, and among them Lord the *Hamas* his Son, and a French Commander; and not long after the Lord *Maxwel's* Son: But they had their revenge; for five hundred Engliſh attempting the Weſt Borders, for the moſt part were taken or ſlain.

While our King was thus in war with *France* and *Scotland*, he

he and the Emperor were not in very good terms; Ships being arreſted on either ſide, upon occaſion (as I gather) that a Spaniſh Ship, coming from *San. Domingo* in the Weſt Indies, was taken by the Engliſh. But wee had likewiſe our complaints. Concerning which therefore a Meeting was appointed at *Borborch* in *Flanders*; alſo about taking certain Impoſts raiſed by the Emperor, contrary to the old Treaty of Commerce; which yet was little regarded, the Emperor endeavouring now nothing more then to get money. Which the Proteſtants underſtanding, and fearing he would make uſe thereof to invade them, did eaſily accept an intimate requeſt from *Francis*, for mediating a Peace betwixt our King and him: Whereupon, they ſent to *France*, *Veninger*, *Bruno*, and *John Sturmius*; and to *England*, *Bambach* and *John Sleidan* the Hiſtorian, who at length obtaining that Commiſſioners on both ſides ſhould meet neer *Ardres*, two months were ſpent in unuſefull Propoſitions; ſo they returned without effecting any thing. Our King, beſides that he would have *Ardres* for quitting the Arrears of his Penſion, being neither willing to reſtore *Boulogne*, nor to ſuffer the Scots to be comprehended in the Treaty.

1545

July 1545.

Novemb.

Jan. 1546.

And now the Emperor fearing leſt a Peace ſhould be made without him, thought fit to mediate (at leaſt in appearance) an Accord, on this occaſion; King *Henry* having ſent the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Weſtminſter*, and Sir *Edward Carne* to cleer ſome Articles of the Treaty of 1543 with *Charles*, *Francis* about the ſame time had ſent the Admiral *d' Annebault* thither, as is before related. Whereupon therefore he propoſed a General Treaty, though faintly, and in ſuch terms that it took no effect.

Novemb.

Febr. 11. 1545

This while, Arch-biſhop *Cranmer* making his advantage of *Wincheſters* abſence, endeavoured a further Reformation; which alſo our King once condeſcended to, and gave order for in great part: but before it was brought into Act, the King received Letters from him, That this League mediated by the Emperor would not proceed, if he ſuffered any Innovation; and ſo nothing was done. Little more happened this yeer worth relation (for home events) beſides the Parliament buſineſſe (whereof hereafter) but the death of *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, Great Maſter of the Kings Houſhold, a right hardy Gentleman (as our Hiſtorians term him;) yet withall ſo diſcreet and affable, as hee was beloved of all ſorts, and his death much lamented. Our King, for his more honour, cauſing him (at his own charge) to be honourably buryed at *Windſor*.

Fox.

Auguſt.

I ſhall return now to declare the Proceedings in matter of Religion among the Germans, and in the Councel of TRENT.

The Emperor with much induſtry and cunning having pro-

1545 cured a War between our King and *Francis*, did now leave them to decide their own Affairs, while himself attended wholly his occasions in *Germany*; his designes there being much facilitated by the recession of the Turk, who leaving the pursuit of his Conquests in these Northern Parts, meant to dilate himself in the warmer Climes of *Asia*: so that the Emperor having no more businesse, accounted this yeer the most quiet of many that had preceded: though yet he were not exempt from sundry cares, some Wars, and the Gout. And now, as he pretended principally to compose the differences of Religion, many Offices were passed with the Pope for advancing the Councel; which had his beginning and progresse after this manner:

The thirteenth of *March* 1545 the Cardinal *del Monte* and Cardinal *Santa Croce* being received by the Cardinal of *Trent*, made their publick entry into the City: But no Prelate being yet come, they sent to *Rome*, to desire that their restriction in the Bull (to the consent of the Councel) might be taken away, and absolute power given to propose, determine, &c. as is before recited: which the Pope granted. The place chosen was the Cathedral Church, capable of about 400 persons. Ten dayes after *Diego de Mendizza* the Emperors Ambassadour in *Venice* * came, and * shewed his Instructions; being, first, to promise that the Spanish Bishops should shortly be present: Secondly, to procure, that Reformation in Discipline and manners should be handled before Points of Doctrine. The Legats hereupon sent to the Pope to have publick Dispatches (when occasion was) to shew *Mendozza*, and other private Letters to follow. The eighth of *April*, *Ferdinand*'s Ambassadours came, the number of Bishops yet being very few. The first Controversie was concerning the Spanish Ambassadours pretence to precede the Cardinal of *Trent*: but the businesse was ordered so as no advantage appear'd. This preparative for a Councel being divulged, produced divers and contrary effects; some resolving to beleeve all they said, others little or nothing, others again intending to distinguish those parts that pleased them, from the rest. Howsoever, the Protestants in the Diet of *Wormbs* protested against it, as partiall and factious: while *Francis*, for the more endearing it, proceeded with Arms against the few *Waldese* that remained in his Kingdom in that violent manner, as without other warning or instruction, he permitted his Souldiers (having first committed all insolence in the mountain parts where they dwelt, towards *Provence* and *Languedock*) to destroy more then four thousand persons which made no resistance. In the mean time, the Cardinal of *Trent*, for the more security of his City, desired a Garison from the Pope: but was answered, That the Councel could not then seem free; which more imported him, then the safety of the City

* March 23.
* March 27.
April 8.
March 24.

City did the Cardinal. Matters being thus advanced, Cardinal *Poole* came, and ſpeech was had of opening the Councel. But as the Pope's deſignes tended another way, hee ſent the Cardinal *Aleſſandro Farneſe* his Grand-childe to the Emperor now at *Wormbs*, to offer a large Contribution of Men and Money for ſuppreſſing of Hereticks; promiſing alſo to procure help from other Italian Princes; and to proceed with Spirituall and Temporall Arms. He repreſented alſo how ill the Pope took the late ſpeech of a Nationall Councel, and that the Emperor in this Diet had promiſed another for the ſetling of Religion, in caſe the Councel of *Trent* took no order therein; in the mean while proteſting, that he would ſooner yeeld up his Keys to Saint *Peter*, then ſuffer ſuch an affront. Beſides which, he had private Inſtructions to procure that the right of Inheritance of *Parma* and *Piacenza* might be inveſted in his Nephew *Ottavio*, Son to his Brother *Pietro Aloyſio Farneſe* (natural Son to the Pope) now Duke thereof, in regard the ſaid *Ottavio* had married *Marguerite* natural Daughter to the Emperor: which at laſt alſo, upon the exchange of *Camerino*, was granted. And now towards the end of *May*, there were twenty Biſhops, five Generals of Orders, and one Auditor *de la Ruota* aſſembled; yet as the Councel began not, the Pope being deſirous firſt to ſee the ſucceſſe of the Diet at *Wormbs*, the Biſhops deſired to be gone, but were not permitted. Nevertheleſſe, *Mendozza* returned to his former Ambaſſage at *Venice*, deſiring nothing might be done in his abſence. The Biſhops alſo weary of their ſtay, or expence, reſolved at laſt to depart: which the Pope taking notice of, diſtributed ſome money among them. This while *Herman* Arch-Biſhop of *Colen*, having made a private Reformation by the means of *Martin Bucer* and *Philip Melanchthon*, his Clergy oppugning it, complained to the Emperor, who cited the Arch-biſhop: with which, though the Pope was offended, yet he did not ſo much expoſtulate the matter with the Emperor, as deſire to conſerve his own Authority: Therefore hee cited the Arch biſhop too.

1545

May.

1543.

1544.
June.

July 18.

And now in the Diet at *Wormbs* the Emperor required aid againſt the Turk; which the Proteſtants refuſed (as fearing it would be imployed againſt them) unleſs firſt good ſecurity were given for Peace in the Empire, and that this Councel at *Trent* ſhould be no prejudice to them. But to this the Emperor anſwered, That he could not exempt them from the authority of the Councel (eſpecially, being call'd for their ſakes;) yet if they had any juſt objections againſt it, that they ſhould come and produce them openly in the Councel, and they ſhould have an equal hearing. But the Princes and confederate Cities continuing to except againſt it, proteſted thoſe were not to judge of their Cauſe, who had already condemned it: Therefore, if a Councel were had, they ſhould make one part, and Pope and Roman Catho-

Sleidan.

1545

licks the other: And as for the manner and order, that the Emperor and Princes ſhould be Judges; but for the merit of the Cauſe, that it ſhould be determined onely by the word of God. The Emperor finding thus no likelihood of Peace, diſſembled his diſpleaſure till he had made peace with the Turk, (which he did by the means of *Francis* this yeer in *October*). And ſo the Diet ended the fourth of *Auguſt*, with a Decree to hold another at *Ratisbone* in *January* following. For which purpoſe there ſhould be a Conference of four Doctors and two Judges on either part, in *December*, to prepare Matters of Religion againſt that time. And now the Proteſtants put forth a Book, in which they again rejected the Councel, ſaying, it was not aſſembled in *Germany* (as was promiſed,) but in *Trent*, and by the Pope's power and command, without other pretext that it could be thought to be in *Germany*, then becauſe the Biſhop of *Trent* was a Prince of the Empire: Beſides, that the Pope (a party) ſhould not precide in it. Therefore, that the form and manner of holding a Councel ſhould be firſt diſcuſſed, and whence it had its Authority. But this reference of the Emperor to a future Diet, as it diſpleaſed the Pope and his Legats, ſince the Councel was imminent, and appointed for deciding Controverſies; ſo it made the Biſhops again take leave to be gone: and in effect, by the end of *September* few remained. The Pope finding theſe difficulties, knew not well what to reſolve; yet when motion was made for holding it in *Germany*, he refuſed, but ſent to the Emperor to adviſe with him concerning the opening the Councel, or ſuſpending it, or transferring it to *Italy*. The Emperor (as Affairs then ſtood) not much approving any of theſe Propoſitions, at laſt (in *October*) gave conſent the Councel ſhould open: Yet ſo, as they ſhould treat of matter of Reformation, and not of Doctrine, for fear of provoking the Proteſtants. This, again, gave the Pope no little jealouſie, leſt the Emperor would make his Eccleſiaſtical Authority obnoxious to the Diet and Conference. Howbeit, he commanded the Councel ſhould begin the thirteenth of *December*: The French Prelates, being but three, having written to their King moſt of theſe paſſages, were ſent for home; yet, at the interceſſion of the other Biſhops, two remained. The 13 of *December* being come, the Legats (after a ſolemn Faſt and Proceſſion) meeting in the Cathedral, opened the Councel, declaring, that it was aſſembled for three cauſes: 1. Deſtroying Hereſie. 2. Reforming Diſcipline. 3. Setling Peace: exhorting the Biſhops to labour ſeriouſly herein. After which, the Emperors Inſtructions to *Mendozza* (formerly mentioned) being again exhibited, the Legats ſaid, they would adviſe thereof: and ſo appointing the next Seſſion to be held *January 7* following, they aroſe, and preſently ſent to the Pope, declaring

Auguſt 4.

Sleidan.

Concil. Trid.

Septemb.

Octob. 31.

Decemb. 13.

claring what was done, and desiring to know how they should begin; whether with Heresies, and if so, whether they should touch the Heresies, or Persons, or both? whether they should send forth a Declaration that the Councel was begun, and invite the Princes and Nations that would, to come? whether they should hasten or delay their Proceedings? in what manner the Suffrages were to be collected? &c. The 18 of *December* they met in Congregation, and began to treat of a Reformation of Manners, Habits, &c. The Pope hearing thus the Councel was opened, writes, That concerning the matters to be handled, he is not yet resolved; in the mean time, that they should insist on the usuall Preambles: That they should follow in their manner of Suffrages, the last *Lateran* Councel: That they should invite no Prince or Prelate, since the Indiction of the Councel was sufficient: As for the charges of the Bishops, Exemption from payment of Tenths was granted, and some other Benefits, and money given to the poorer sort: All which I have set down with more particularity, that it may appear, both what a slow and uncertain beginning this great Councel had, and what a different end it took, from that it now seem'd to promise. Decemb. 18.

I will conclude this yeer with the businesse of our Parliament; which began the 23 of *November* 1545. Which, as it was the last the King call'd; so, supply of money being the principal Affair, it seem'd to comprehend all that could be given, at least of other mens: neither was there other excuse then the Kings necessities, which every man must think violent, when they trenched upon the reverend Foundations of Colledges, Free-Chappels, Chantries, Hospitals, Fraternities, Brotherhoods, Guilds, and stipendiary Priests which had continuance in perpetuity, together with all their Manors, Lands and Hereditaments, which now the Parliament committed to the Kings dispose, and that they should be in the order and survey of the Court of Augmentation; the Right of others being yet saved, and divers Provisions made. For motive whereof, the Kings great charges in his Wars with *France* and *Scotland* were alledged; as also the abuses of the Rulers and Governours of the said Colledges, &c. Upon which therefore, and his solemn promise to the Parliament, that all should be done to the glory of God, and common profit of the Realm, the Act passed. Novemb.

In another Act it was declared, how offenders in Usury should be punished; and a certain proportion of Ten in the Hundred was limited. Which yet, had it been lower, would have made Lands more valuable, Merchandize and Victuals cheaper, and adventuring by Sea more frequent: That lazy way of thriving being more opposite then any thing else to that

1545 that Induſtry by which all Kingdoms ſubſiſt and flouriſh.

That Doctors of the Civil Law, although Lay-men, whether married or unmarried, might exerciſe all manner of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction to which they ſhall be deputed.

That two Churches, being not above a mile diſtant, and one of them not above the yeerly value of ſix pound, may be united into one.

That where a full Jury did not appear, a *Tales* might be granted *de Circumſtantibus*: And this was much for the expedition of Juſtice.

That whereas the Lord Chancellor of *England*, Lord Treaſurer, Lord Preſident of the Kings Councel, Lord Privie Seal, and the two chief Juſtices, or five, four, or three of them ſhould have power by their diſcretions to ſet the prices of all kinde of Wines, as by the Act 28 *Hen.* 8. 14 appeareth: the time was now ſpecified to be betwixt the twentieth of *November* and laſt of *December*: And that if any Wine-ſeller ſhould ſell his Wine in groſſe at any other price, That the Maior, Bailiffs, Aldermen, &c. may enter into his houſe, and ſell it according to the rate ſet down.

A Subſidie alſo was granted by the Spiritualty of ſix ſhillings the Pound: and by the Temporalty of two ſhillings eight pence the Pound in Goods, and four ſhillings the Pound in Lands, to be paid all within two yeers. And ſo the 24 of *December* the Parliament was prorogued: At which time the Speaker of the Lower Houſe making an eloquent Oration, the King in Perſon made this enſuing Anſwer; being the more memorable, that it was both full of good intention and advice, and the laſt he ever ſpake in that place.

Decemb. 24.

ALthough my Chancellor for the time being hath before this time uſed very eloquently and ſubſtantially to make Anſwer to ſuch Orations as hath been ſet forth in this High Court of Parliament; yet is he not ſo able to open and ſet forth my minde and meaning, and the ſecrets of my heart in ſo plain and ample manner as I my ſelf am, and can do. Wherefore, I taking upon mee to anſwer your eloquent Oration (Mr Speaker) ſay, That where you, in the name of our wel-beloved Commons, have both praiſed and extolled mee for the notable qualities that you have conceived to be in mee, I moſt humbly thank you all, that you have put me in remembrance of my duty, which is to endeavour my ſelf to obtain and get ſuch excellent qualities, and neceſſary vertues, as a Prince or Governour ſhould or ought to have; of which Gifts I recognize my ſelf both bare and barren: but of ſuch ſmall qualities as God hath indued me withall, I render to his Goodneſs my moſt humble thanks, intending with all my wit and diligence to get and acquire to mee ſuch notable Vertues and Princely Qualities, as you have alledged to be incorporated

in

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in my Perſon. Theſe thanks for your loving admonition and good counſel firſt remembred; I eftſoons thank you again, becauſe that you conſidering our great charge, not for our pleaſure, but for your defence; not for our gain, but to our great coſt which we have lately ſuſtained, as well in defence againſt our and your Enemies, as for the conqueſt of that Fortreſſe which was to this Realm moſt diſpleaſant and noyſome, and ſhall be (by Gods grace) hereafter to our Nation moſt profitable and pleaſant, have freely of your own mindes granted to us a certain Subſidie, here in an Act ſpecified, which verily we take in good part, regarding more your kindneſſe, then the profit thereof, as He that ſetteth more by your loving hearts, then by your ſubſtance. Beſides this hearty kindneſſe, I cannot a little rejoyce, when I conſider the perfect truſt and confidence which you have put in me, and as men having undoubted hope, and unfained belief in my good doings and juſt proceedings for you, without my deſire or requeſt, have committed to mine order and diſpoſition all Chantries, Colledges, Hoſpitals, and other Places ſpecified in a certain Act, firmly truſting that I will order them to the glory of God, and the profit of the Common-wealth. Surely, if I (contrary to your expectation) ſhould ſuffer the Miniſters of the Church to decay, or Learning (which is ſo great a Jewel) to be miniſhed, or poor and miſerable people to be unrelieved, you might ſay, that I being put into ſo ſpecial a truſt as I am, in this caſe, were no truſty friend to you, nor charitable to mine, even as a Chriſtian, neither a lover to the Publick-wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whom account muſt be rendered of all our doings. Doubt not, I pray you, but your expectation ſhall be ſerved mo.e godly and goodly, then you will wiſh or deſire, as hereafter you ſhall plainly perceive. Now, ſith I finde ſuch kindneſs in your part towards me, I cannot chuſe but love and favour you; affirming, that no Prince in the world more favoureth his Subjects, then I do you; nor no Subjects or Commons more love and obey their Soveraign Lord, then I perceive you do; for whoſe defence my Treaſure ſhall not be hidden, nor (if neceſſity require) my Perſon ſhall not be unadventured. Yet although I wiſh you, and you wiſh me to be in this perfect love and concord; this friendly amity cannot continue, except both you my Lords Temporal, and my Lords Spiritual, and you my loving Subjects ſtudy and take pains to amend one thing, which ſurely is amiſs and far out of order; to the which I moſt heartily require you: which is, that Charity and Concord is not amongſt you, but Diſcord and Diſſention beareth rule in every place: Saint *Paul* ſaith to the *Corinthians* the 13 Chapter, *Charity is gentle*, *Charity is not envious*, *Charity is not proud*, and ſo forth in the ſaid Chapter. Behold then, What love and charity is amongſt

1545 amongſt you, when one calleth another Heretick and Anabaptiſt; and he calleth him again Papiſt, Hypocrite and Phariſee? Be theſe tokens of charity amongſt you? Are theſe ſignes of fraternal love betwixt you? No, no, I aſſure you, that this lack of charity among your ſelves, will be the hinderance and aſſwaging of the fervent love betwixt us (as I ſaid before) except this wound be ſalved and clearly made whole. I muſt needs judge the fault and occaſion of this diſcord to be partly by the negligence of you the Fathers and Preachers of this Spiritualty: For if I know a man which liveth in adultery, I muſt judge him a lecherous and carnal perſon: If I ſee a man boaſt and brag himſelf, I cannot but deem him a proud man. I hear daily, that you of the Clergy preach one againſt another, without charity or diſcretion; ſome be too ſtiffe in their old *Mumpſimus*, others be too buſie and curious in their new *Sumpſimus*: Thus all men, almoſt, be in variety and diſcord, and few or none preach truly and ſincerely the word of God, according as they ought to do. Shall I judge you charitable perſons doing this? No, no, I cannot ſo do: Alas, how can the poor ſouls live in concord, when you Preachers ſow amongſt them in your Sermons debate and diſcord? Of you they look for light, and you bring them to darkneſs. Amend theſe crimes, I exhort you, and ſet forth Gods word both by true preaching, and good example-giving: or elſe I, whom God hath appointed his Vicar and high Miniſter here, will ſee theſe Diviſions extinct, and theſe enormities corrected according to my very duty, or elſe I am an unprofitable Servant, and untrue Officer. Although, I ſay, the Spiritual men be in ſome fault that charity is not kept amongſt them: yet the Temporalty be not cleer and unſpotted of malice and envie: For you rail on Biſhops, ſpeak ſlanderouſly of Prieſts, and rebuke and taunt Preachers; both contrary to good order and Chriſtian Fraternity. If you know ſurely that a Biſhop or Preacher erreth, or teacheth perverſe Doctrine, come and declare it to ſome of our Councel, or to us, to whom is committed by God the high Authority to reform and order ſuch cauſes and behaviours: And be not Judges of your ſelves, of your phantaſtical opinions and vain Expoſitions. In ſuch high Cauſes you may lightly erre; and although you be permitted to read holy Scriptures, and to have the Word of God in your Mother-Tongue, you muſt underſtand, that it is licenſed you ſo to do, onely to inform your own conſciences, and to inſtruct your children and Family; and not to diſpute, and make Scripture a railing or taunting ſtock againſt Prieſts and Preachers, as many light perſons do. I am very ſorry to know and hear, how unreverently that moſt pecious Jewel, the Word of God, is diſputed, rimed, ſung, and jangled in every Ale-houſe and Tavern, contrary to

to the true meaning and doctrine of the ſame : And yet I am even as much ſorry, that the Readers of the ſame follow it in doing ſo faintly, and ſo coldly. For of this I am ſure, that charity was never ſo faint amongſt you, and vertuous and godly living was never leſſe uſed, nor God himſelf among Chriſtians was never leſſe reverenced, honoured or ſerved. Therefore, as I ſaid before, Be in charity one with another like Brother and Brother; love, dread and ſerve God; to the which, I, as your Supreme Head and Soveraign Lord exhort and require you: and then I doubt not but that love and league that I ſpake of in the beginning, ſhall never be diſſolved or broken betwixt us. 1545

To the making of Laws, which you have now made and concluded, I exhort you the Makers, to be diligent in the putting them in execution, as you were in the making and furthering of the ſame; or elſe your labour ſhall be in vain, and your Common wealth nothing relieved. And now to your Petition concerning our Royal Aſſent to be given to ſuch Acts as have paſſed both Houſes, they ſhall be read openly, that you may hear them. And ſo they being read, the King aſſented, and roſe.

The Parliament thus ended, and notice given to both Univerſities that the Colledges were at the Kings diſpoſe, that of *Cambridge* firſt implored his favour, Beſeeching him to defend their Poſſeſſions from the covetous and greedy mindes of thoſe who knew not Learning. That of *Oxford* alſo petitioned to this purpoſe ; and Doctor *Richard Cox* Dean of *Oxford*, the Prince's Tutor writ to Secretary *Paget*, to repreſent the lack of Schools, Preachers, Houſes and Livings for Orphans. And ſince the diſpoſition of Chantries, &c. was in the King's hands, to obtain that the Clergy might be provided for honeſtly, leſt Beggery ſhould drive them to Flattery, Superſtition and old Idolatry: which (ſaith he) I ſpeak not, as if I diſtruſted the Kings goodneſs, but becauſe there are ſuch a number of importune Wolves as are able to devour Chantries, Cathedral Churches, Univerſities, and a thouſand times as much: adding in concluſion, that Poſterity will wonder at us. Which particulars being in an Original from *Cox*, I have the rather inſerted, that it may be gathered what he was, to whom the tuition of the young Prince was committed by the King. But much intreaty needed not for the Univerſities; for in our Records, a Letter mentions, that the Univerſities did humbly thank his Highneſs for the continuance of their Houſes with their Lands; which, though I beleeve, the King never meant to take away, yet I finde two of the Profeſſions were in danger of being remov'd, the King having adviſed once of placing all the Civilians in *Oxford* in one Colledge, and the Phyſicians and Chirur- 1546

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gians in another. Howſoever, nothing was ſtirr'd or altered, that I can finde; the King being ſo far from diminiſhing thoſe famous Nurſeries of Learning and Piety, that he rather help'd to increaſe and augment them. Though yet forraign Parts were aſtoniſh'd not a little, why our Parliament ſhould put them in this hazard, they being uſefull on any part, and their Endowments not to be alienated without ſingular prejudice to their Founders; who having ſeparated them for the Service of God, and publick Education, laid heavie imprecations on any which ſhould divert them from that uſe; as appears in the ancient Charters.

The Earl of *Surrey* (who now commanded in *Boulogne*) hearing that a Convoy of Victuals was coming to the Fort at *Oultream*, reſolves to intercept it: But as the *Rhingrave* with four thouſand Lanſkeneets, together with many French under the Mareſchal *de Biez* ſtood firm, our men, not able to break them, were diſcomfited, and Sir *Edward Poynings* with divers brave Gentlemen ſlain; the Earl himſelf alſo being conſtrained to ſave himſelf as he could. Nevertheleſſe, by a Letter of his to the King, *Jan.* 8. 1546, it appears there were many kill'd on the other ſide; which yet did ſo little ſatisfie our King (who lov'd no noyſe but of Victory) that he ever after diſaffected him: for which cauſe alſo he was ſhortly removed, and the Earl of *Hertford* appointed to ſucceed. Whereupon Sir *William Paget* omitted not by Letter to admoniſh him to ſeek ſome eminent place in the Army under the ſaid Earls command, leſt (as he ſaid) he ſhould be unprovided in the Town and Field. But the Earl deſirous in the mean time to regain his former favour with the King, ſkirmiſhes with the French, and puts them to the worſt: But when together he certified that the French had made Canon of a greater Calibie then had been yet ſeen, wherewith they hoped to beat the Town to powder, and that it was worthy conſideration, whether low *Boulogne* ſhould ſtand, as being not defenſible, the Kings Councel wiſh'd him to repair home, that he might be further heard concerning theſe points. Whereupon the Earl of *Hertford* and Lord Admiral were ſent over with an Army of nine thouſand and three hundred men; whereof one thouſand five hundred were Spaniards, two hundred were Italians, three hundred Clevois, and three thouſand Lanſkeneets under *Conrad Pfenning*; a greater number of forraign Souldiers then ſtood with exact reaſon of War, where there is no aſſured ground of a vertuous emulation. With theſe the Earl encamped neer *Hambletveil*, betwixt *Calais* and *Boulogne*: for as the French intended to intercept all intercourſe betwixt both places, they would have fortified there; But our men got it two days onely before they came, and built two Forts on that Coaſt. Some fights paſs'd at Sea this while,

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where of one is memorable, of ſeven or eight Engliſh in a ſmall Veſſel, who being maſter'd by a far greater number of French, entred their Ship, as pretending to ſave themſelves out of their own Barque, which now began to ſink; but finding certain Lime-pots there, they by caſting water on them, raiſed ſuch a ſmoak, as, through their continuall throwing of them, blinded the French, and at laſt made them run under Hatches, where at length being ſhut up, their Ship was brought away. Much fighting alſo paſs'd betwixt our Ships and the French Galleys, in Calms, while through the benefit of their Oars they took and left as they pleaſed. And now, as the Strangers in our Army began to take head, the Lanſkeneets mutined, not without ſhew of falling on the Engliſh; but the Spaniards ſtanding firm to our ſide, all was compoſed.

The 21 of *May* the French Army came and encamped beyond *Boulogne*, neer the Church on the hill, their Fleet being in the Road under them: This made the Earl of *Hertford* come up and ſkirmiſh with them. The 23 they fought again, and took divers Priſoners of note. And now each ſide attending his advantage to fight, a Surceaſe of War for five or ſix dayes was concluded, and after it a Peace: Which, that it may ſeem leſſe ſtrange, I ſhall not ſo much alledge (for reaſon) that our Kings Treaſure was exhauſted (which the French pretend,) as that the conſideration of the imminent Councel gave all Chriſtian Princes occaſion to deſire good intelligence among themſelves, and our King particularly; who was advertiſed, that Cardinal *Poole* and others would labour to procure a Decree againſt him and his Poſterity: which, though our King regarded not otherwiſe then became a Prince of his courage; yet he thought it more conſiderable then the Pope's ſingle Bull; therefore he endeavoured to get him friends: And becauſe he was in good terms already with the Emperor, who for the ſetling of Religion each-where mediated a General Peace, he thought fit alſo to take in *Francis*; and the rather, that among certain private Conventions in the following Treaty, *Francis* had promiſed his aſſiſtance on all occaſions: and thus the Peace took effect. Which I finde was ſo politickly handled by our King, that had his Predeceſſors obſerv'd the rule he now held, the French Writers could never have ſo much gloried in their Treaties. For as he capitulated to hold the Town for eight yeers next enſuing, he got the preſent advantage; which as the eternall Maxime in matter of Treaties, to frame Counſels by, I recommend to the Genius of our Country; ſince by the practice thereof onely, I dare ſay, the French have uſurped and won ſo much upon us; as knowing it impoſſible, but that betwixt Neighbouring Princes, in a little ſpace, thoſe occaſions may be found or urged, which will help them to come off

May 21.

May 23.

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whenſoever they are diſpoſed. There will be no danger therefore to retort this Maxime: not yet that I approve a facility in diſſolving Leagues, which ſhould be inviolably kept, eſpecially while the cauſes remain; but that they being diſſolved, we may prevail our ſelves of the preſent occaſion; not omitting yet any circumſtance, to which in point of Oath and Honour we are obliged. This preſent Treaty (concluded the ſeventh of *June* 1546 at *Campe*, a place betwixt *Ardres* and *Guiſnes*) was of this Tenor:

I. That all Injuries and Affronts ſince the beginning of the laſt War, ſhould be forgotten, and Peace and Friendſhip re-eſtabliſhed.

II. That neither ſhould invade, nor procure nor permit to be invaded any of the Dominions, or Lands, or Cities which are now in the hands of the other.

III. That the Subjects of one ſhall have free commerce through the Dominions of the other, and free paſſage without ſafe conduct, ſo they exceed not the number of an hundred armed perſons.

IV. That during this Peace all Impoſitions which either Prince hath laid on the Subjects of the other within twenty yeers laſt paſt, ſhall be releaſed, and no new ones impoſed.

V. VI. That Rebels and Traitors ſhall not be entertain'd or protected: but delivered to their Soveraign within 20 dayes after requiſition.

VII. That no Letters of Repreſails or Merke, or counter-Merke ſhould be granted but upon the principal Delinquents and their Goods, and that, in caſe of open denyal of Juſtice; which ſhall be made plain by Letters of Summonition and Requiſition. And if any thing during this Peace ſhall be done contrary to it by any Subject of either Prince, the offendors to be puniſhed, and the Peace to remain.

VIII. That the Chriſtian King ſhall pay the King of *England* all Penſions due to him during his life, and alſo to his Succeſſors for ever, according to the Treaty at *More*, 30 *Auguſt.* 1525. As alſo that Penſion of Salt agreed on 30 *April*, 1527, and afterwards reduced to a certain Sum of Mony, (*viz.*) 10000 Crowns, which is to be paid yeerly at two payments during the natural life of *Henry* VIII, If the ſaid payment appear not to be perpetual: but if it be found to be perpetual, then the French King and his heirs and Succeſſors ſhall continue the ſaid Penſion for ever.

IX. The French King ſhall pay to the King of *England* on the Feaſt of Saint *Michael* (or within ten dayes after that day) which ſhall be *Anno Domini* 1554, for Arrerages, as well of Penſions not paid, as for his charges in Fortifications within the Town and County of *Boulogne*, ſince the beginning of the laſt

War,

War, either already rais'd, or to be built betwixt this time and the ſaid 1554, the ſum of two Millions of Crowns *de Soleil*, upon the payment whereof the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King ſhall be free from all former Arrerages whatſoever. 1546

X. Becauſe the King of *England* by vertue of certain Letters of the French King Dated 29 *Jan.* 1529, claims as due unto him the ſum of 500000 Crowns, *de Soliel*, 22 Sols and 6 Denyers: it is agreed that there ſhall be Commiſſioners appointed on both ſides (within three months hence) to hear and end that cauſe; which ſum the King of *France* (if it be ſo adjudg'd) ſhall pay when he pays the two Millions aforeſaid. But if the Commiſſioners conclude nothing, the matter ſhall be devolved to four Lawyers that are Subjects to neither Princes, to be choſen by them, and that ſhall ſtand which three of them determine.

XI. That the King of *France* ſhall ſuffer the King of *England* quietly to enjoy the Town of *Boulogne*, and the Caſtles and Territories thereof, within the Bounds following: *viz.* the Haven of *Boulogne* with the farther Shore, as far as the higheſt water comes; and the land in length as far as *Pont de Bricque*, which ſhall be the limit on that part, the River there remaining common to both Princes: All within theſe bounds the King of *England* ſhall quietly poſſeſſe, until the King of *France* hath fully paid the aforeſaid two Millions (as alſo the Sums expreſſed Article X) in the time, place and manner limited.

XII That when the ſaid Sums are paid, at the ſame time the King of *England* ſhall ſurrender *Boulogne*, with all the Territories taken by him in the late War, and all Fortifications built there by him ſince the taking thereof, ſo that no Fortification ſhall be impair'd. Neither ſhall the King of *England* be bound hereby in the reſtoring of the ſaid places, to leave behinde him any moveables.

XIII. That from the date hereof to the day of St. *Michael* 1554, neither of the two Princes ſhall raiſe any new Fortification within the County of *Boulogne* (but thoſe that have been begun already they may perfect.)

XIV. The Emperor is comprehended by both the Princes, by force of the perpetual Confederation.

XV. The Scots are comprehended in this Treaty, againſt whom the King of *England* ſhall not wage War, unleſſe new occaſion be given; in which caſe, this preſent comprehenſion of the Scots ſhall receive that interpretation which is contained in the Treaty of the Date of *April* the fifth, 1515: with this alteration, that although by the ſaid Treaty of 1515, fifteen days onely were preſcribed to the French King to intimate the ſaid Comprehenſion to the Scots; yet now, by reaſon of the diſtance of place, there is allowed thirty days, next following the concluſion hereof.

XVI. This

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XVI. This Treaty ſhall be ratified within forty dayes after the Date hereof.

Commiſsioners for our King were,

John Viſcount *Liſle*, Admiral;
Sir *William Paget*, Secretary; and
Doctor *Nicholas Wotton*, Dean of *Canterbury*.

And on *Francis* his part,

Claude d' Annebault Mareſchal and Admiral of *France*;
Pierre Raymond premier Preſident de Rouen; and
Guillaume Bouchecel, Secretary.

This peace being Proclaimed in *London* upon the thirteenth of *June*, a generall proceſſion was there made, and all the richeſt ſilver Croſſes out of the ſeverall pariſh-Churches carried, and the braveſt Copes worne, for the greater ſolemnity; But our Hiſtorians note it as fatal, it being the laſt time they were publikely uſed, ſince our King called them in ſhortly after, together with the Church plate, into his treaſury and wardrobe, without that other cauſe appeared thereof, then that he ſuſpected the warre would break out again, betwixt him and *France*, of which alſo this overture was given.

May 25. The Earl of *Hertford* being certified (during the Treaty) that the clauſe of not making any new fortification, would be prejudiciall, was commanded by our King to raiſe a fort according to a plot given; but ſuch was the prevention of this diligent Earl that he had already begun it about the thirtieth of *May*. Our King in the mean while proteſting that he liked not the Article. But the French as little liking our fort, (as collecting thence we meant not to reſtore *Boulogne*) ſome difficulty was interpoſed. Though as our King anſwered, he could not ſo much as hope to keep the Town, for the terme agreed unleſſe he had meanes to ſecure it, the Treaty held in manner above mentioned, and both Armies were diſſolved; the French yet, firſt as our King required, retiring. And ſo he remained in quiet poſſeſſion thereof, after the expence (as I finde in our Records) of 586718 li. 12 s. 3 d. $\frac{11}{12}$ in the winning thereof. The charges in keeping thereof being 755833 li. 11 s. 3 d. $\frac{11}{12}$, In all 1342552 li. 3 s. 7 d. $\frac{1}{3}$. An exceſſive ſum, to reape no benefit thence, but a landing place in *France*, which *Calais* formerly afforded. This peace was ſeconded by a kinde Invitation of *Francis* to our King to Chriſten the *Dauphines* Daughter, which being as lovingly accepted, Sir *Thomas Cheny* was ſent over, and the child called *Elizabeth*. The two Admirals alſo were ſent

July Auguſt

by

by their ſeveral Kings, to receive the oaths required for obſervance of this Treaty; and being richly rewarded returned. Howbeit this Peace was not intire; for if our King conceived it lawfull to finiſh the fort, he had begun before the Treaty, the French wanted pretexts for the like; Therefore when upon their erecting a fort at *Portet*, near the entry to the Haven (which they called *Chaſtillons garden*) our men took exceptions thereat, the *French* for their beſt Title alledged that Monſieur *de Biez* had formerly begun it by entrenching his men there; yet as this did not ſatisfie our King who knew well the difference betwixt a *Trench* and *Fortification*, He commanded Sir *William Paget* to write thus to *William Lord Gray of Wilton* who now commanded in *Boulogne*. 1546 Septem. 5.

After our hearty Commendations to your good Lordſhip, this ſhall be to ſignifie unto the ſame, That the Kings Majeſty being informed that the Frenchmen begin to fortifie at Portet, *which by their Treaty with his Majeſty they ought not to do, requireth your Lordſhip to ſpeak with the doers of the ſaid Works, and to tell them it ſhall be beſt for them to ſtay working any further untill they ſhall hear from their Maſter; which without doubt, is like to be very ſhortly; for that his Majeſties Ambaſſador hath charge to ſpeak with him in the ſame immediately. And in caſe they ſhall anſwer again, that either they will not, or dare not leave working without the knowledge of Monſieur* de Biez, *or (peradventure) of ſuch other whom they ſhall name to have the charge of the Works; and ſo go forwards ſtill in their Works: Then his Majeſty pleaſeth, that if you ſhall finde your ſelves able enough for the feat, you ſhall in the night overthrow that which they have wrought. And in caſe you ſhall finde your ſelves not able enough for the ſaid Enterpriſe; then to forbear the doing of it untill ſuch time as a ſtronger Force come to you from hence, which ſhall be ſent over with all diligence poſſible.*

This 5 of *Septemb.* 1546.

This alſo was ſigned by the King. Nevertheleſs, upon better advice, the King thought fit to ſend Sir *Thomas Palmer* with a Meſſage to the Lord *Grey*, commanding him immediately to demoliſh the Fort; who thereupon made that haſte, as before the Letters came he arrived at *Boulogne*, being the very day of his diſpatch; and preſently, by the aſſiſtance of the Lord *Grey*, Mr *Poynings*, and ſome others, the French-mens Work was levelled: and ſo *Palmer* return'd to certifie what was done. And now the Kings Letters being delivered, the Lord *Grey* writes, that before the receit of his Letters, he had (upon ſuch relation of his Majeſties pleaſure as was made by Sir *Thomas Palmer*) overthrown the Work at *Portet*, and therefore deſires his Majeſties Pardon. Which paſſage I have related more particularly Septemb. 5. Septemb. 6. Septemb. 7.

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ly out of our Records, that I might correct the error of ſome of our Hiſtorians, who would have our King deliver *Palmer* a Meſſage and Letter that were contradictory: whereas it appears by our Records, that the Meſſage was firſt delivered, and the buſineſſe done before the Letters came. Though I will not deny, but the Lords of the Councel, knowing the Letter was ſent, but not (perchance) any thing of the Meſſage, might have occaſion to think the Lord *Grey* more forward, then that he could well juſtifie it. Howſoever, Monſieur *de Bez* complains hereof to the Lord *Grey*, and deſires to know whether it were done by his Majeſties command. What he anſwer'd, I finde not: But it appears by the Inſtructions given to *Nicholas Wotton* the Kings Ambaſſadour with *Francis*; that he had charge to palliate the buſineſſe as handſomly as he could; which alſo ſo prevail'd, that no new Fortification was erected by the French during our Kings time. Beſides, our Records tell us, hope was now given, that *Francis* would renounce the Pope's Authority in his Kingdom: which, though much entertain'd at firſt by our King, and judg'd the more probable, that the Emperor and Pope did wholly govern the Councel, was not yet ſo throughly embraced, leſt (perchance) by Confiſcations, Suppreſſions, &c. *Francis* might become greater then ſtood with the Intereſt of State or Neighbourhood: And for *Paget*, he ſaid openly, it was but a trick to get *Boulogne* again; *Francis* being not able to give any ſecurity for performance of this offer, which might countervail the immediate ſurrendring of that Place. Howbeit, Arguments wanted not, that he was in earneſt, both as he treated of a Confederation with the Proteſtants at this time; who yet (as I finde by our Records) rejected it, unleſſe he relinquiſh'd the Papal Authority; And, as he lived in ſuch jealouſie of State with the Emperor; which together with the apprehenſion of the Aſſembly at *Trent*, now daily encreaſing, might for more then one reaſon diſpoſe him to ſeek Friends elſe-where, as well for defending himſelf againſt his Forraign Enemies, as eſtabliſhing an abſolute Power and Juriſdiction at home. And with this concurrs that which *Fox* relates: That during the ſtay of *d' Annebault* in this Court, Treaty was had betwixt both Princes of changing the Maſs in their Realms unto a Communion: and that both were ſo throughly and firmly reſolv'd therein, that they meant to exhort the Emperor to do the like in *Flanders*, and other his Dominions, or elſe to break with him; and that our King particularly had willed the Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer* (as himſelf confeſſed) to pen a form to be ſent to the French King to conſider of. But through the death of both Princes ſucceſſively not long after, theſe and all other their Deſignes ended: Though yet for the time which remained, their former love and correſpondence was

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Fox. Auguſt.

was ſo reviv'd, as *Francis* is ſaid (by the French Writers) never to have rejoyced heartily after the news of our Kings death was brought him. But I leave the cenſure of theſe paſſages free to the Readers judgment, without delivering any opinion, otherwiſe then as the Collections out of our Records ſeem to inferr. 1546 *Thuanus Hiſt.*

Let us ſee now what was done by the Emperor and the Councel of Trent.

THe Emperor in the later end of 1545, being in *Flanders*, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Weſtminſter* (formerly mentioned) reſided with him on our Kings part: And becauſe one of the Buſineſſes of the French about this time was to offer a Match betwixt the Prince of *Spain* and the Daughter of *Francis*, our King commanded *Wincheſter* to hinder it, and propoſe the Lady *Elizabeth*. Alſo ſpeech was had of a Marriage betwixt our Prince and one of *Ferdinand*'s Daughters: But becauſe neither of theſe took effect, I ſhall mention them no otherwiſe. Yet the Biſhop of *Weſtminſter* return'd not home, as being imployed by our King into *Germany*, to give intelligence of that which paſs'd. For now in *January* 1546 the Proteſtants met at *Franckfort*: And as they knew the Emperor intended a Voyage into *Germany*, they conſulted concerning their mutual defence, knowing that both the Spiritual and Temporal Sword ſhould be drawn againſt them. January.

This while the Aſſembly at *Trent* holding, the *Breve* for exempting the Biſhops from payment of their Tenths came: Yet as this did rather accommodate then ſecure them, 300 Foot and ſome Horſe, being gathered out of the County of *Trent*, were appointed to make a Guard as they paſs'd to Church, being now, beſides the Legats and the Cardinal of *Trent*, four Arch-Biſhops, twenty eight Biſhops, three Abbots, and four Generals (in all forty three;) among which was *Richard Pate*, heretofore Ambaſſador to the Emperor for our King, but now fallen to the Pope, and by him ſtiled Biſhop of *Worceſter*; and *Robert Venant* titular Arch-Biſhop of *Armach*; together with *Olaus Magnus* Arch-Biſhop of *Upſaile*; all which had been ſome yeers entertain'd with Penſions from the Pope: Beſides, there were about twenty Divines, which though they had no ſeat in the Councel, were admitted to ſtand there; as alſo ten Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood, of the Cardinal of *Trent*'s election: And moreover a ſeat was particularly appointed for the Ambaſſadors which ſhould aſſiſt there. Jan. 5. And now queſtion being of the Style of the Councel, the few French which were there, required, that to *Sacro-ſancta Synodus* ſhould be added *Univerſalem Eccleſiam repreſentans*: But this was rejected; both Jan. 5.

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to exclude the Proteſtants admittance under this Title, as alſo all Laicks; and, as it might be thought in ſome ſort prejudicial to the Pope's ſupreme Authority. And ſo, *Jan.* 7. (being the ſecond Seſſion) they decreed an Exhortation to the Prieſts and People to ſerve God in Prayer, Alms, Sobriety, &c. Jan. 7. Ses. II. The thirteenth of *January* it was moved that they would come to the Points contained in the Bull, being the Extirpation of Hereſie, Reformation of Diſcipline, and eſtabliſhing of Peace. Jan. 13. And concerning this there were four opinions. Jan. 18.

The Imperialiſts ſaid, before they touched matter of Doctrine, it was neceſſary to take away thoſe tranſgreſſions whence Hereſies have ſprung.

The ſecond opinion was, To begin with Doctrine, ſince Faith being the Baſis of Religion, it was a greater ſin to erre therein, then in Manners: and therefore that the Pope had placed it firſt in his Bull.

The third was, That the two Points of Reformation and Faith ſhould not be diſ-joyned, there being no Doctrine which hath not its abuſe, nor Abuſe that draws not after it an ill Interpretation of ſome Doctrine. And that this was the beſt way to give a ſpeedy and happy concluſion to the Councel, which they ſhould chiefly endeavour; there being no advantage likely to enſue to the Pope or Court of *Rome* by the protracting thereof.

The fourth ſort (and among them the French particularly) would have had the Point of Peace firſt treated of, and that other Princes might be required to ſend their Ambaſſadors and Prelats thither; And that the Lutherans might be invited to come and unite themſelves to the reſt of Chriſtendom. The Legats having heard their opinions, and commended their wiſdom, ſaid, that becauſe the hour was late, the deliberation important, and the opinions various, they would think upon it. Order alſo was taken to hold their Congregations weekly on Mundayes and Fridayes. The Legats hereupon advertiſed the Pope of that which paſſed, deſiring his advice, and that he would take order for ſupporting of the poorer Biſhops; it being better they ſhould not be there, then ill ſatisfied. Howbeit, the Pope delayed his Reply, as having his minde wholly bent to War, according to the Treaty which Cardinal *Farneſe* had with the Emperor the yeer preceding. This much perplex'd the Legats, as not knowing how to proceed: Nevertheleſs, upon private conference among themſelves, they agreed to treat of Matter of Faith and Reformation together: but withall, entertain'd the time, upon pretence that many Prelats were on their way. Jan. 22. Cardinal *Poole* propoſed, that ſince in all ancient Councels ſome Symbol of Faith was publiſhed, they ſhould do the like in this: But concerning this Symbol of

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Faith there was ſome difficulty; ſince to recite the old, would not convince the Lutherans, who believ'd it as well as the Catholicks: Beſides, that it were to confeſs, that they durſt not handle the controverted Points, or treat of a Reformation. But upon further diſpute hereof, it was reſolved by the Major part for the Affirmative; and in the Third Seſſion (*Feb.* 4.) the Creed was barely recited: the Cardinal *de Monte* diſliking that any Point ſhould be added afterwards, leſt ſome inconvenience ſhould follow. The next Seſſion was adjourn'd to *April* the 8, upon the aforeſaid pretence, that many Prelats were on their journey.

Febr. 4. Ses. III.

The Court of *Rome*, who now underſtood of that which paſs'd, (though heretofore much ſtartled at the name of a Reformation, as knowing not how far it might extend) yet generally liked this late Decree, as being worthy the proceeding of a General Councel: Others yet approving it onely as it was dilatory, while there wanted not ſome, who took occaſion to paſquil it.

Concil. Trid. *lib* 2.

This while the Emperor being in *Flanders*, prepares for *Germany*, both as the Diet and Conference of Divines was appointed at *Ratisbone*, and as the Councel of *Trent* did hold: Yet, leſt he ſhould alarm the Proteſtants, he took with him onely his ordinary Guard, being 500 Horſe. And now the Conference holding, and divers Propoſitions made on the Emperors part, the Affair inſiſted on was matter of Religion; where the Point of Juſtification being brought in queſtion, took up much time, without having other concluſion, yet, then perplex'd and abrupt: Inſomuch, that the Duke of *Saxe* recall'd his Divines, and *Martin Bucer* return'd to the Lantgrave of *Heſſe*; which, whether it were that the Proteſtants fore-ſaw the Emperors intention was to amuſe them with Conferences, while himſelf prepar'd for War; or that otherwiſe they found no hope of coming to an Agreement, is uncertain: Howſoever, the Emperor, when he came to the Diet, ſeemed much offended at their departure; though, as during theſe Conferences *Martin Luther* died in the LXIII yeer of his age, hee doubted not more eaſily to appeaſe Controverſies, as believing *Luther* to be of ſo violent a ſpirit, as he would interrupt any moderate Accord. Howbeit, for declining an affront, in caſe the Proteſtants ſhould come to no Agreement at the future Diet, he made Preparations for War; which yet he could not keep ſo ſecret, but the Proteſtants underſtood it, and fortified themſelves. Whereupon alſo *Philip* Count Palatine Nephew to *Frederic* the Elector, was diſpatched into *England* to intreat for Succours: He had beſides, his private Buſineſſe; which (as our Records tell us) was to obtain the Princeſs *Mary*, our Kings Daughter. Neither did our King ſeem averſe, when

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Frederic the Elector would perform certain Conditions required of him: but as this took no effect, I ſhall come to the particular of his publick Buſineſs, treated chiefly by *John Bruno*; which was a Confederation projected betwixt our King and the Proteſtants. The Conditions propoſed by our King were to this effect:

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That if the ſaid Princes would ſend ſome wiſe and diſcreet Agents fully inſtructed, and with them the names of the Members of the League, and what Aids every one is bound to give, and in what caſes, and whether they will ſtand to the old Rates or to new, now to be made when his Majeſty ſhall enter the League; his Majeſty would be pleaſed to enter a League with them defenſive againſt all men, and for all cauſes, and will be bound to ſuch a rate of Aid as may befit his Honour and Quality; So that he may have the firſt place in the League, which for more honour, ſhould be called *The League Chriſten*: with ſuch conditions likewiſe, That no other ſhould be admitted to this League, but ſuch as are already entertain'd into the ſame, without his Majeſties conſent. And becauſe they would look for a greater Aid at his Majeſties hands then of any other Prince or City in this League, his Majeſty would look by Covenant to have in all Meetings concerning the Confederacy, three Voyces to two of any other Prince. Concerning the union of the ſaid Princes together, and of his Majeſty with them all in Doctrine of Religion, his Majeſty thanketh them that they are content to follow the advice of his Majeſty upon ſuch conſiderations and Conferences as their learned Men and his ſhall have together in his Majeſties preſence, following the holy Scripture, or the determination of the Primitive Church, or General Councels had before five or ſix hundred yeers: For which purpoſe his Majeſty promiſeth to take pains to be preſent himſelf, and truſteth (ſuch men being ſent from them as be learned, and men of upright judgements, without affection, and of good conformity) to be the Cauſer of ſuch a conjunction in Religion in all Chriſtendom, as ſhall tend to the glory of God. For the which purpoſe his Majeſty requireth them now when they ſhall ſend ſome Commiſſioners to conclude the League Defenſive, to ſend alſo the names of ten or twelve men, to the intent his Majeſty may chuſe four, five, or ſix out of the ſame; which his Majeſty requireth to have ſent hither according to the promiſe already made, as ſoon as may be. To which the Proteſtants finally anſwered, That if our King would depoſitate an hundred thouſand Crowns in ſome part of *Germany*, where they might take it when they were invaded for Religion, then they would preferr his friendſhip before the French, who now treated with them. But this again was rejected by our King, ſince for a bold demand they offered

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nothing equivalent: yet he continued his Treaty with the Palatine, ſo far forth as he might detain the Proteſtants from ſuffering the French to gather men in *Germany* for the recovering of *Boulogne*, and from ſubmitting themſelves to the Councel of *Trent*, and encourage them to frame their Religion according to the Word of God, which, he ſaid, was the true Rule. But the Germans, who knew at what diſtance our King lived, did not much regard any advices which were not ſeconded with mony: therefore they truſted to themſelves, and our King (as above ſaid) made Peace with the French.

On the other ſide, as the Emperors preſence operated much in *Germany*, ſo the Match which *Ferdinand* had made of his Daughter *Anne* to the Son of the Duke of *Bavaria*, and *Mary* to the Duke of *Cleves*, did not a little ſtrengthen his Party. Beſide, the Pope offered him twelve thouſand Foot, eight hundred Horſe, and 300000 Duckats in money (as *Sandoval* hath it) and to procure him aſſiſtance from others, without omitting particularly to promiſe his beſt aſſiſtance in a Spiritual way; while, to make the Proteſtants more culpable of drawing this War upon them, he ſent to his Legats in the Councel of *Trent* to proceed calmly (without beginning any new difficulties) in matter of Faith: and to make no haſte in point of Reformation, though urged by the Emperor. Hereupon, the Legats commanded certain Fryars and Divines to extract thoſe Articles out of the Lutherans Books which ſeemed contrary to their Faith. Where (among others) the Authority of the holy Scriptures and Traditions was firſt examined. And here their Divines differed; ſome affirming they were all one, the Scripture it ſelf being derived unto us but by Tradition: Moreover, St. *Auguſtins* words were urged, *That he ſhould not beleeve the Scriptures, but for the authority of the Church.* Which therefore ſhould firſt be ſetled, and then uſed for deciding of Controverſies, and convincing the Lutherans. But then the queſtion was, Which, and what was the Church? and whether the Hierarchy, and more properly the Councel whereof the Pope was the Head? But it was not thought ſafe to call theſe things into doubt. Then they fell again to treat of the Scripture and Traditions; and whether it hath accidentally come to paſſe, that it being all taught, ſome part was not put in writing: Some holding, that the Church had its perfection before any of the Apoſtles writ, and would have continued ſo, if nothing had been ſet down in writing. But that this queſtion and the like being not formerly propoſed by the Lutherans, might well be omitted for Peace ſake; which clauſe was check'd by Cardinal *Pool*, who ſaid, it was fitter for a Conference in *Germany*, then a Councel: Adding, that one of two things was to be done, that is, either the Lutherans brought to receive all the Roman Doctrine;

Sleid. *li.* 17.

Febr. 22. I.

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II. Then it was reſolved, that a Catalogue of the Canonical Books of the Scripture ſhould be made as they are accepted by the Roman Church, without regarding whether the Jews received them or not. But here ſome difficulties were urged; ſome of thoſe Scriptures having been alwayes received, others (though doubtful) having by uſe yet obtained Canonical Authority: that is to ſay, the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, that of St. *James*, the Second of St. *Peter*, the Second and Third of S. *John*, that of St. *Jude*, and the *Apocalyps*, and ſome particles of the Evangeliſts. Beſides which, there were in the old Teſtament Seven Books never averred, and ſome Chapters of *Daniel* and *Heſter*, and eſpecially the Book of *Baruch*, as wanting his beginning; though ſome eſteem'd it a part of *Jeremiah*. At length, all the Books uſually put in the Latin Bible were judg'd Canonical, and Traditions to be of equall Authority with the Scripture: Nevertheleſs, doubts were raiſed concerning putting the Books of the Scripture into order. This while *Petrus Paulus Vergerius*, Biſhop of *Juſtinopolis* in *Iſtria*, coming to the Councel, was repulſed: For, as he had been imployed in *Germany* againſt the Lutherans with ſo little advantage to the Pope, as while he laboured to confute the Proteſtants, himſelf became one; ſo they would not admit him, though he pretended his buſineſſe was onely to purge himſelf, but remanded him to the Pope, who ſhortly after deprived him of his Biſhoprick.

March 8.

III. And now that being declared without more adoe to be holy Scripture, which the Roman Church had received, queſtion aroſe concerning the Tranſlation of it. Some ſaying, that to underſtand onely the Latin Text, was not to receive the infallible word of God, but that of the Tranſlator; and therefore that the Originals ſhould be viewed, and a Tranſlation made which the Councel ſhould declare Authentick. But if this ſhould ſeem a long Work, it were good (at leaſt) to verifie their Latin Tranſlation with the Original Text: Howbeit, the greater part ſaid it was neceſſary to hold the Latin Tranſlation to be Divine and Authentick, ſince otherwiſe they would be obnoxious to the Lutherans, and a gate opened to innumerable Hereſies: For if men might examine Tranſlations, All would be reduced to Pedantiſme, and now Grammarians would give the law. Beſides that, Inquiſitors could not convince Hereticks without knowledge of the Original Tongues. Many other Points coincident hereunto were likewiſe handled, too long to be here rehearſed.

IV. Then they came to the Expoſition of Scriptures, and the ancient Fathers were declared as the Rule thereof.

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In concluſion, it was required, whether all theſe determinations were to be enacted under the *Anathema* : In which, after much doubt, a middle courſe was held. So that the eighth of *April*, Seſſion IV, two Decrees were read; one to Authoriſe the Scriptures read in the Roman Church, and the Traditions received there, both concerning Faith and Manners : The ſecond to declare the vulgar Tranſlation to be Authentick, and that it ſhould not be expounded contrary to the ſenſe delivered by the Church, and unanimous conſent of the Fathers : The Penalty in the firſt Decree being *Anathema*, in the ſecond ſuch as pleaſed the Ordinary. And ſo the next Seſſion was deferred till the ſeventeenth of *June*, and theſe Decrees printed; which, at length, being publiſhed in *Germany*, it was thought ſtrange, that five Cardinals, and XLVIII Biſhops onely, ſhould ſo eaſily determine theſe great Points, without hearing what could be objected to the contrary.

Seſs. IV. April 8.

About this time our King was certified by *Edmud Harvel*, his Ambaſſador at *Venice*, that the French laboured to procure a Cenſure againſt him in the Councel. But as the Peace formerly mentioned between King *Henry* and *Francis* was ſhortly after concluded, ſo this took no effect.

And now the Pope thought fit to add divers to the number of thoſe Cardinals and Prelats at *Rome* he uſed to adviſe with concerning the Councel; admoniſhing the Legats together at *Trent*, Firſt, Not to publiſh any Decree henceforth, without approbation from *Rome*. Secondly, Not to ſpend time in Points not controverted. Thirdly, Above all things, to take heed of diſputing the Papal Authority. Which being done, he required the Biſhops and Abbots of the Swiſs to come to the Councel : he alſo proceeded againſt the Arch-Biſhop of *Colen*, condemning, excommunicating and depriving him for adhering to the Lutherans : Furthermore, he intreated the Emperor to execute the Sentence. But he conceiving the Arch-Biſhop was at his devotion ; and beſides, knowing that ſuch a rigorous proceeding would but Alarm the Proteſtants, and force the Arch-Biſhop to colleague with them, neglected to perform this requeſt : and the rather, that the Duke of *Saxe* had ſignified unto him, that he ſaw cleerly the Pope's intentions were wholly bent to eſtabliſh his own Authority : And therefore, that it was time to aſſemble a National Councel in *Germany*, or to treat ſeriouſly of matter of Religion in the Diet.

April 11.

April 16.

And now the Councel in Congregation propoſed the Point of Original Sin : But the Spaniſh Prelats deſired rather a Reformation of the abuſes in Preaching and Lectures ; Adding, that they had expreſs Letters from the Emperor, not to enter yet into matters of Doctrine : which alſo the intelligence found in our Records doth particulary affirm. The Legats (on the other

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ther ſide) urged the Pope's Bull. In concluſion, both Points were reſolved, and the Theologians enjoyned to handle matter of Faith among themſelves, and with the aſſiſtance of ſome Canoniſts to treat of a Reformation. According to which order, Lectures and Preaching being firſt ſpoken of, ſome diſſention appear'd: The Biſhops deſiring the ordering of theſe things ſhould immediately depend on them: But the Legats concluding to maintain the Pontificial Authority, by which theſe duties were committed to Friars Mendicants, &c. This Controverſie finding no iſſue, the Pope writ unto the Councel, that they ſhould begin with Original Sin; obſerving yet a due reſpect unto the Emperor. Notwithſtanding, the Legats thought fit the buſineſſe of Reading and Preaching ſhould firſt be diſpatched, which was not without ſome contention: For as it hath been an ancient *Arcanum Imperii* among the Popes for conſerving their Juriſdiction, to exempt Biſhops from their Arch-Biſhops, and Abbots and Friars again from Biſhops, &c. ſo ſome wrangling paſs'd; while each part ſtrove to maintain its Authority: The Biſhops complaining of the vanity and covetouſneſſe of the Preaching Friars; and theſe again objecting the negligence of Biſhops, and idleneſſe of Pariſh-Prieſts. But all at laſt, was (in a ſort) reconciled, the Biſhops being allowed Authority over the Regulars, onely when they would hold it as from the Pope. After which, the Point of Original Sin being brought into Examination, Cardinal *Paceco* a Spaniard, ſaid, it was not yet time, nor untill the buſineſſe of *Germany* were riper. Nevertheleſs, the queſtion was argued; yet ſo, as it was protracted, both by the many difficulties of it, and the Diet at *Ratisbone*; which, beginning towards the end of *May*, made the Prelats intentive to its Proceedings. Our King not omitting alſo to inform himſelf of what ſhould paſſe by the Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*'s means, whom he had imployed thither. But little good followed of this Diet: For while the Roman Catholicks would not allow that Controverſies of Religion ſhould be decided in a National Councel (as the Proteſtants deſired;) nor they again ſubmit to the Councel of *Trent*, being in their opinion, a moſt partial and factious Aſſembly, the Emperor knew not what well to reſolve: he would have been glad of ſuch a Peace as might have conſerved his Authority, without caring much to hear of Errors diſcovered in either of the oppoſite Parts; or that they had found out ſome witty and new diſtinction. But there is not any thing more hard then to deviſe how a free and equall Councel may be held, or who ſhould be a competent Judge of the emergent differences; ſince, as any of thoſe who are Parties in the Buſineſſe, cannot properly exerciſe that Function; ſo, to appeal to any other that were of a different Religion, ſhould be not onely to call the parts, but the whole

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whole into queſtion. Nevertheleſſe, it may be demonſtrated, that a more even courſe may be kept herein then hath been hitherto practiſed, and a more indifferent for all mankinde: Which as it is deeply concern'd in all the rigid Decrees of Religion, ſo in ſome ſort or other ſhould intervene; In which caſe, certainly the Spirit of God would preſide.

The Emperor this while having made many ſecret Proviſions for War, certain notice thereof came to the Proteſtants at the Diet, who becauſe hee had made Peace with *France*, and Truce for one yeer with the Turk, did eaſily conjecture it was intended againſt them; eſpecially it being related that the Pope and *Ferdinand* did arm; ſo that every thing was in confuſion. The Emperor uſed much induſtry to draw all thoſe Proteſtants who were not Colleagued with the reſt at *Smalcald*, nnto his party, telling them this War was onely againſt Rebels, and promiſing them the Exerciſe of their Religion. June.

The Proteſtants, on the other ſide, declared in a publick Remonſtrance, That the Emperors intentions were far other then he pretended; exhorting therefore both them and one another to ſtand firm.

This while the Councel held the Fifth Seſſion, and two Decrees paſſed: 1. Concerning *Originall Sin*, and the *Benefit of Baptiſme, &c.* 2. Concerning *Lectures and Preaching*; wherein the Biſhops and Clergy were commanded to be diligent and carefull. This being done, the French Ambaſſador *Petrus Daneſius* made a long and eloquent Oration, ſhewing the affection their Kings had ever born to the Chriſtian Religion: and how that *Gregory* the Firſt had for this cauſe given the Title of *Catholique* to *Childebert*; And that his King had therefore ſent him Ambaſſadour thither, deſiring firſt, that ſome determination might be made in Religion; then that thoſe Priviledges ſhould be conſerved, of which *Lodovicus Pius* was in Poſſeſſion, and all the ſequent Kings; and that the Priviledges and Immunities of the Church of *France* might be confirmed. To whom no Anſwer was given but a Complement. Ses. V.

The Decrees being now printed and publiſhed in *Germany*, gave much occaſion of diſcourſe and unſatisfaction. The Emperor himſelf not liking that in the buſineſſe of Reformation, the ſmaller Points had been handled, and the greater pretermitted; and that the Controverſies in matter of Faith had been thus ſtirred, and eſpecially that of Original Sin, as being almoſt reconciled in ſome former Conferences in *Germany*. And now the Cardinal of *Trent* having abſolutely concluded that League betwixt the Pope and the Emperor againſt the Proteſtants, and thoſe which refuſed the Councel of *Trent*, (which by the Cardinal *Farneſe* his means was formerly treated June 26. Sleid. l. 17.

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of) all ſides prepar'd for War : The Pope alſo ſending men and money in that proportion which is above mentioned, or (as ſome will have it) beſides the twelve thouſand Foot, only five hundred Horſe, to be maintained for ſix months at his charge, and 200000 Crowns in money. Moreover, he granted the Emperor (for the preſent yeer) the half of all the Revenues of the Churches of *Spain*, and that he might alienate of the Rents of the Monaſteries of theſe Kingdoms, to the value of five hundred thouſand Crowns, upon condition that during the ſaid ſix months, the Emperor might make no Accord with the Proteſtants without him ; and that of all which was gotten, hee ſhould have a certain portion : And that when the time was expired, if the War did continue, they ſhould treat of new Conditions. It being free for the Emperor (in the mean while) to try all fair means for reducing the Proteſtants to ſubmit to this Councel : for which end alſo he treated with them, profeſſing that he did not undertake this War for cauſe of Religion, but reſpects of State, and becauſe ſome denyed to obey his Laws, and had confederated themſelves mutually, and with Strangers againſt him, and uſurped other mens Poſſeſſions, and chiefly Eccleſiaſtical, procuring to make Biſhopricks and Abbeys hereditary to their Families ; and that having divers ways endeavoured to reduce them, they were ſtill more inſolent. The Proteſtants, on the other ſide, did ſtrive to clear themſelves unto the World from imputation of Rebellion, ſhewing, that Religion onely was cauſe of this War, which the Pope and Councel of *Trent* had kindled againſt them : Requiring from the Emperor performance of the Oath he took upon receiving his dignity in *Francfort*, which they pretended he had broken in this abrupt making of War. They ſent alſo to *England* and *France* (being newly reconciled) to borrow mony. But our King anſwered, That the courſe of things being now altered, he could not reſolve on any thing without better information. Nevertheleſſe, that upon their ſtanding firm together, he might furniſh ſome money upon fitting conditions. This cauſed the Proteſtants to make new Levies at home : And the rather, that the Pope had about this time by Bull publiſhed, that the War was for Religion.

Sleidan. *Concil. Trident.*

Sleidan. l. 17.

July 4.

July.

And now *Philip* Lantgrave of *Heſſe* having his Forces ready, comes into the Field, and the Duke of *Saxe* after ; whereupon they both were proſcrib'd by the Emperor (then being at *Ratisbone*) who breaking up the Diet, commanded another to be held the firſt of *Febr.* 1547.

July 11.
July 20.

June 18.

This while the Councel of *Trent* ſitting, the Secretary declared (in the name of the Legats) that the next point to be examined, was that of *Divine Grace* ; and they ſhould the rather follow

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follow this Order, becauſe it was uſed in the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion, which they intended to condemn. Nevertheleſſe, the the Imperialiſts urged ſtill a Reformation: But being overruled, certain Theologians were appointed to gather the Lutherans opinions.

That of Juſtification, Faith and Works was propoſed in XXV Articles. But when the point of Juſtification by Faith was urged, the word FAITH was found ambiguous; yet at laſt all agreeing, that Juſtifying Faith was an Aſſent to all things revealed by God, and propoſed by the Church as neceſſary. It was further diſtinguiſhed into a ſolitary, dead, meerly Hiſtorical Faith, and a lively one working by Charity. Then was diſputed which of theſe did juſtifie; and ſome affirmed both: the firſt whereof was to be underſtood yet as the Baſis and Ground of the later: And here many School ſubtilties ariſing, were hotly purſued by the Dominicans on the one ſide, and Franciſcans on the other; the former holding (with *Luther*) that all our Works without Faith are ſin; the Franciſcans oppoſing, that man by his naturall free-will may obſerve the Law, and do good, and thereby prepare himſelf, *ex congruo*, for Grace, ſince God fails not him who doth what hee can. After this they fell to examine the nature of Grace, of Juſtification, of Imputation, &c. Concerning which the Reader may finde more *in Concilio Tridentino.* Onely I ſhall obſerve (as conducing to my Hiſtory) that theſe Diſputes were thus purpoſely ſpun out, partly, by the procurement of the Emperor, who ſtill deſired that nothing ſhould yet be decreed in matter of Faith; and partly by the induſtry of the Court of *Rome*, who ſtudied to hinder the Reformation.

The Emperor now, that he might divide the Proteſtants, encourageth *Maurice* Duke of *Saxe* Coſen-German to the Elector, and Son-in-law to the Lantgrave, to invade the States of thoſe proſcribed Princes: to which alſo he was ſufficiently diſpoſed. This while the Pope did a little temporize: For though he knew the Emperor would be obnoxious to him, as long as there was ſo manifeſt an uſe of his Aſſiſtance; yet withall, he did not deſire *Charles* ſhould be too abſolute in *Germany*, leſt afrerwards he ſhould turn his Arms upon *Italy*, and give the Law to his Country and Religion, upon pretence that there was no other way to conſerve Peace. Neither were the Catholicks themſelves in *Germany* over forward to take his part, leſt under colour of reducing Religion to its former ſtate by Arms, he would overthrow their Liberty. For preventing whereof, as well as divers other ſuſpicions among the Proteſtants (that the Councel of *Trent* was aſſembled onely to condemn them) he ſent again to the Pope, to deſire that the Coun-

1546 cel might continue, and the Legats might treat onely of a Reformation. To which, becauſe he knew ſome were averſe, he directed a particular Meſſage unto the Cardinal *Santa Croce*, telling him, that if he offered to diſſolve the Councel, he would cauſe him to be thrown into the River *Adice*. The Pope finding the Emperor thus in earneſt, continues the Councel; writing yet to the Legats, that they ſhould entertain the time: And for this purpoſe Faſtings, Prayers, and a Jubile (now publiſhed for the good ſucceſſe of this War) did ſerve. Neither was it without cauſe; the Proteſtants Army being
July 10. now drawn neer *Tiroll* to hinder the Italians from joyning with the Imperialiſts. The danger whereof being magnified by the more timorous ſort of Biſhops, many were deſirous to retire, while ſome fled from the Councel. But the Cardinal of *Trent* newly returned from *Rome*, comforted thoſe which remained. And now the Pope's and other the Italian Auxiliary Forces paſſing by *Trent* into *Germany*, another way then the Proteſtants
Auguſt 15. expected, they at laſt at *Landſhut* in *Bavaria* joyned with the Emperor; who beſtowed upon *Ottavio Farneſe* (their General) the Order of the *Toiſon*, and took a muſter of his men: The Proteſtant Army being at *Donawert*, which they had newly taken, and in that readineſs, that they attended only their advantage to fight.

But we will leave them in this poſture a while, to tell a notable accident which happened at *Malines* in *Brabant*, 7 *Auguſt*,
Auguſt 7. 1546. Certain barrels of Powder, to the number of ſeven hundred, being ſtowed in the bottom of a great Tower, Lightning falling thereon, and kindling it, the Tower was raiſed from his foundations on high, and ſcattered in the air; the ſtones whereof flying every way, threw down two hundred houſes in the City, and as many in the Suburbs, kill'd five hundred men, and hurt two thouſand; the winde whereof brake glaſs-windows every-where, and opened many locks. Beſides which, it had this prodigious effect, that it dryed up all the water in a ditch adjoyning, being a Pike deep, and levelled the earth, rooting up together many trees; of which kinde, it was obſerved, that thoſe which loſt onely their leaves and fruit, budded again, and bore in Autumn.

Stow. But it ſeems more ſtrange which *Stow* relates, that in *England* this yeer a Potter falling aſleep *April* 27. could not be wakened in fourteen dayes and nights, finding himſelf yet afterwards as if he had taken but one nights reſt.

The Duke of *Saxe* and Lantgrave of *Heſſe*, who commanded the Proteſtant Army, being compoſed of ſeventy or eighty thouſand Foot, and ten thouſand Horſe and an hundred Canon, thought it unjuſt to begin the War till they had ſent the Emperor a Defie: Stiling him yet therein not by that name; but

as

as a Pretender to be Emperor. He on the other ſide, little regarding the Language, endevoured one while to overthrow, and another while to divide them. The whole paſſage whereof may be ſeen in *Luys d' Avila*, to whom I refer the Reader. And the rather, that his Excellence Prince *Maurice de Naſſau*, did recommend the Book to me, more then once, as a Maſter-piece in its kind.

While theſe Armies coaſt each other, the Legats in *Trent* (now free from the Soldateſq;) adviſed how to delay the time, admitting new matters, which alſo their intemperate diſputes did furniſh. The Cardinal *Santa Croce* projecting alſo, That the former Controverſie ſhould be renew'd of Preparatory Works, Obſervance of the Law, &c. Whereupon the point of Free-will was brought into queſtion, and certain Opinions of the Reformers, therein odiouſly propoſed. From whence aroſe a queſtion, whether Believing and not believing were in our power? and many things ſaid thereupon, (it ſeeming at laſt equally abſurd to believe all things to be in our Power, and nothing.) Theſe Points again begot diſtinctions, and at laſt brought in the Article of Predeſtination, which with the conſequences was ſo hard, as being diſputed by the Prelates and Divines in a hundred Congregations, and afterward reduced into a form of Decree by the Cardinall *Santa Croce*: yet he had ſo much ado to content all ſides, that from the beginning of September to the end of November, each day ſome words therein were altered; yet ſo, as at length it paſt, and was ſent to the Pope, who remitted it to the learned men at *Rome*, by whom it was approved, as being conceived in ſuch terms. that all parts might fit and apply it to their own Opinions. In the point of Reformation, the qualities required for the Promotion of Prelates was handled, and many good things ſaid, but the means how to obſerve them were as little found, as how to bind their ſuperiours to do always that which was fitting. So that after divers diſcourſes, it was thought fit to leave off this Point: Much was ſaid alſo, concerning Matters of Reſidency; The particulars whereof produced that Controverſie, as in the year 1562. and 1563. came to a great height. The preſent contention was between the Spaniſh Prelats; who for the magnifying of the Epiſcopall dignity, held that Reſidence was *Ex jure Divino*; and the Italian Biſhops, who for ſuſtaining the Popes Authority, ſaid, It was Commanded by him only, and therefore might be diſpenſed with, &c. But this diſpute being put off by the Legats, the Ancient Canons for Reſidency were Revived, and ſome new ones enacted, which were the more willingly accepted, in that the abuſe of Exemptions of Regular and Secular Prieſts from the Juriſdiction of their Ordinary, was moderated.

Auguſt 20.

The

1546 Septemb. The Emperor now having heard that our King treated with the Proteſtants, expoſtulated the matter with him. But the King denyed, He intended any Aid to the Proteſtants; ſaying yet, that if he ſought Friendſhip abroad he was not to be blamed; ſince the Emperor in his new Treaty with the Biſhop of *Rome*, had agreed to fall on thoſe that refuſed the Biſhops Authority, and the Councel of *Trent*; wherein, though the King were not particularly named, yet that He was taken for a Lutheran. Nevertheleſs, that He Treated not with the Proteſtants, and therefore wiſh'd the Emperor to have a better opinion of him, ſince if He would have given credit to his advice, He needed not to have entred thoſe dangers He was in. And now the Pope hearing how things paſs'd, commanded the Cardinal *Farneſe* to return. For though the Emperor by ſecret fomenting that emulation for Command which paſſed between the Duke of *Saxe* and *Lantgrave*, was in a good way to compaſs his ends; yet becauſe He made not an overt War of Religion, the Pope both recall'd the Cardinal, and permitted ſome of the Italian Gentry to come with him. Nevertheleſs, about the midſt of October, the two Armies met ſo near together about *Giengen* in *Suabe*, that only a little River parted them. Where alſo the Proteſtants omitted a notable Opportunity of falling on the Imperialiſts; ſome blows yet paſt, and *Donawert* was regain'd by *Ottavio Farneſe*: Shortly after which the Duke of *Saxe* was conſtrain'd to retire to his own Country, for the defence thereof, againſt *Ferdinand* and *Maurice* who invaded it; and the *Lantgrave* to his. Of which our King was particularly advertiſed by *Somerſet* his Herauld, who accompanying *Bruno*, (now returning from *England* to the Proteſtant Army) obſerv'd all Occurrences. The Proteſtant Forces now being withdrawn, divers Princes and Cities of that League, treated of an Accommodation with the Emperor, when they might have ſome honeſt Caution for the exerciſing of their Religion. But the Emperor would give none by writing, though otherwiſe promiſe was made by the Imperiall Miniſters, that they ſhould not be moleſted. And thus the Emperor recovered much great Ordnance, and huge ſumms of Money from ſome Cities by way of Reparation for their faults, and reſted abſolute Soveraign of the upper and greater part of *Germany*; whereby he was enabled to give Law to the reſt, and to conſtrain *Herman* Archbiſhop of *Colen* (which had lately appeal'd from the Pope to a lawfull Councell in *Germany*) to ſurrender his Archbiſhoprick. Which ſtate of things being advertiſed hither, Our King thought fit to comply with the Emperor, for this purpoſe alſo acquainting him with ſome Paſſages, which might give him juſt occaſion to be Jealous of *Francis*. For though (by the advice of the Cardinal of *Tournon*) to make his Authority at home

Records.

October

October 13.

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home more entire, He had lately Condemned to the fire certain Citizens of *Meaulx*, who Combin'd for a private Reformation in Religion, yet He treated with the Proteſtants at this time. 1546

The Pope alſo hearing of that which paſs'd, began to think of his own Affairs, before all *Germany* were reduc'd to the Emperors obedience: Inſomuch, that though His Forces were much diminiſhed, (between thoſe that return'd with the Cardinal, and others that ran away) He yet recall'd the reſt about the middle of December, upon pretence that they had ſtayed the 6 Months which he had promiſed; Alleadging for further excuſe, That he was not able to ſuſtain the Charge. But this being ill taken by the Emperor, ſince the heads of the Rebellion (as he termed them) were not yet taken in; the Pope for his further Juſtification, replyed, That he was not made partaker of the Accord betwixt the Emperor and the Cities and Princes: And that it was much to the prejudice of the Catholique Faith, in tolerating Hereſie, which might have been exterminated. Beſides, that according to the Articles of their Treaty, he ſhould have participated of the Profits and ſpoils of the Warr. And not content herewith, he denyed the Emperor the further Revenues of the Spaniſh Clergy. So that though the Imperiall Miniſters at Rome told him, He had done nothing unleſs he perfected his Work, they could not prevail. For further teſtimony alſo of his diſpleaſure to the Emperor, raiſing a Faction in *Geneva* againſt the *Dorcaes*, being the Emperors friends. Sleid.

Neither did he (as ſome have it) fear, that the Emperor (having ſo much to do in *Germany*) could haſtily invade him, or trouble him, otherwiſe then by according with the Proteſtants, and cauſing them to repair to the Councel of *Trent*, which yet he thought not fit to diſſolve, though Seven months had paſt, without publiſhing any thing treated therein. So that, notwithſtanding he knew that the Emperor would be diſcontented at his rigid proceedings in matters of Doctrine, he uſed the Florentine Motto, *Coſa fatta capo ha:* And thereupon writ to the Legats, that they ſhould hold a Seſſion, and publiſh the Decrees already made; which alſo was done, the Proteſtants yet queſtioning the Authority of them. Among the Cities of *Germany* that ſubmitted, *Ulms* was one; where alſo the Emperor wintered, with intention to continue War the next Spring; which the Proteſtants underſtanding, thought fit (though once ſuing for Peace) to ſend ſeverall Ambaſſadors into *England* and *France* to demand ſuccours (though in vain) both Kings dying ſhortly after. Decemb. January. 13.

While buſineſſe of Religion was thus treated of abroad, our king by Proclamation did ſeverely forbid the Tranſlation of July 8.

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Regn. 38.

of the New Teſtament, by *Tindal* and *Coverdale*, or any other then is permitted by Parliament: As alſo the Engliſh Books of *Frith*, *Wicklife*, *Tindal*, &c. which our King moſt ſtudiouſly ſuppreſt; both that becauſe he would have his Subjects decline the bitter language and Doctrine to be found in ſome of them, and that hee would introduce his own, or at leaſt a more ſober Reformation. Whereof alſo hee was more ſenſible, that women began now ordinarily to diſpute controverſies, and urge the Text: inſomuch, that *Anne Askew*, a Gentlewoman, defended her ſelf therewith againſt her perſecuters; July 16. though not ſo, but that ſhe was burnt for it. Beſides, the Queen her ſelf did this yeer run no little danger: for as ſhe began about this time to give ear unto thoſe who declaimed againſt the abuſes of the Roman Church, ſhe thought her ſelf ſo well inſtructed in Religion, that ſhe would debate with the King thereof: which yet the King did but impatiently hear; both as the anguiſh of a ſore leg he had at this time made him very froward, and as he loved not to be contradicted in his opinions, eſpecially, as he ſaid, in his old age, and by his Wife. This again was exaggerated by *Stephen Gardner* Biſhop of *Winchester* ſo far, that by repreſenting the hazard ſhe incurr'd by contrarying the Six Articles, and the late Proclamation, in reading of forbidden Books, and teaching openly her doctrine, the King gave *Winchester*, and *Wriothesley* the Chancellor, and others leave to conſult about the drawing of Articles againſt her, which they failed not to preſent unto the King, who ſubſcribed them: Inſomuch, that her enemies expected onely a Warrant for carrying her by night to the Tower. Which the Queen accidentally having notice of, fell into that paſſion and bitter bewailing her misfortune, that the King hearing the perplexity ſhe was in, ſent his Phyſicians, and after came himſelf to her Chamber, where compaſſionating her eſtate, he uſed ſuch kinde words as did help to recover her. Inſomuch, that the next night, being attended by the Lady *Anne* her Siſter, Wife to Sir *William Herbert* after Earl of *Pembroke*, ſhe went unto the Kings Bed-chamber, where he courteouſly welcomed her, and began again to talk of Religion.

But ſhe wittingly excuſing her ſelf by the weakneſſe of her Sexe and Judgement, ſaid, ſhe would refer her ſelf in this and all other cauſes, to his Majeſties wiſdom. Not ſo (by Saint *Mary*) quoth the King, you are become a Doctor, *Kate*, to inſtruct us (as we take it) and not to be inſtructed or directed by us. But the Queen replying, that what ſhe ſaid was rather to paſſe away the time and pain of his infirmity, then to hold argument; and that ſhe hoped by hearing his Majeſties learned diſcourſe, to receive ſome profit thereby. The King anſwered, And is it even ſo (Sweet-heart?) then are we perfect friends again:

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again : which alſo he confirmed by divers teſtimonies. But as her Maligners knew nothing of this reconcilement, they prepared the next day to carry her to the Tower, at a time limited by the Kings Warrant. This being come, and ſhe happening to be merrily talking with him in his Garden, the Lord *Wriotheſley* with forty of the Guard comes in ; whom the King ſternly beholding, and after calling to him (at ſome diſtance from the Queen) ſo expoſtulated the matter, as at laſt he reviled, and commanded him out of his ſight and preſence. Nevertheleſſe, at the Kings return, ſhe was an humble ſuter for his pardon. But the King anſwered no otherwiſe, then that ſhe (poor ſoul) did not know how evil he deſerved this grace at her hands. And thus, by her opportune ſubmiſſion ſhe eſcaped : Though yet ſome beleeve, it was not ſo much the Kings intention herein to uſe the rigour of the Law, as to deter her from reading forbidden Books. Howſoever, if he were not in earneſt, it was thought a terrible jeſt, eſpecially to a Queen, that had the reputation of a vertuous, humble, and obſervant Wife. But *Wincheſter*, who (it was thought) chiefly endeavoured her ruine, did himſelf not long after fall into the Kings diſfavour, as by his ſubmiſſion extant in our Records doth appear : though whether on this occaſion, or that he was a ſpeciall friend to the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was now alſo in diſgrace with the King (as ſhall be told hereafter), or any other cauſe, is not there determined. Howſoever, the King excluded him out of the number of thoſe whom he appointed his Executors, and Counſellors to his Son and Succeſſor, *Edward* VI.

Decemb. 2.

Concerning Scotiſh Buſineſſe this yeer, little paſs'd worth the writing, that I can find, ſave onely that King *Henry* ſent the Earl of *Lenox* into *Ireland* with Command, that together with the Earl of *Ormond*, and a certain Lord of the out-Scotiſh Iſles (as he termed himſelf) who had adhered to our King, ſhould fall upon *Scotland* : But as the Enterpriſe was diſcovered, they were forced to retire to *Dublin*, where the ſaid Scotiſh Lord, who brought three Galleys with him for this Enterpriſe, died.

This while Cardinal *Beton* perſecuting thoſe of the Reformed Religion in that Countrey, was himſelf ſlain at St. *Andrews* in his Caſtle, by certain Gentlemen who ſurprized the place ; and after defended it, until the Governour beſieged and (at laſt) took it by the help of ſome ſuccour which the French ſent them in their Galleys. That kinde of Shipping being ſo built in thoſe dayes, that they brook'd our Seas with no little advantage, when the times were fair.

May 19.

I ſhall conclude this yeer with the diſaſter of the renowned Lord the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the execution of his Son *Henry*

1546 the Earl of *Surrey*, which paſs'd in this manner, as our Records tell us.

The Dutcheſſe *Elizabeth* Daughter to *Edward Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, having for many yeers entertained ſo violent jealouſies of the Duke her Husbands matrimoniall affection and loyalty, as it broke out at laſt to open rancor, divers occaſions of ſcandal were given: Inſomuch, that not being content with having ſurmized a long while ſince two Articles againſt him, ſhe again in ſundry Letters to the Lord Privie Seal, both averr'd the Articles, and manifeſtly accuſed ſome of his Minions, repeated divers hard uſages ſhe pretended to receive from them, and briefly diſcovered all the ordinary paſſions of her offended ſex. This again being urged in a time when the King was in his declining age, and for the reſt, diſquieted with ſcruples, that the Duke's Greatneſſe or Intereſts in ſequent times might interrupt the order he intended to give, was not unwillingly heard. So that notwithſtanding his many important and faithfull Services, both in War and Peace, at home and abroad, he and his Son *Henry* Earl of *Surrey* were expoſed to the malignity and detraction of their accuſers. This again fell out in an unfortunate time: For beſides that the Lady his Dutcheſſe had now for above four yeers been ſeparated from him; his Son the Earl of *Surrey* was but newly, and perchance, ſcarce reconciled with him; his Daughter *Mary* Dutcheſſe of *Richmond* not onely inclined to the Proteſtant party, (which loved not the Duke) but grown an extreme enemy of her Brother: ſo that there was not onely a kinde of inteſtine diviſion in his Family, but this again many ſecret ways fomented.

Among which, the induſtry of one Mrs *Holland*, thought to be the Duke's Favourite, appeared not a little, as deſirous (at what price ſoever) to conſerve her ſelf. Beſides, divers at the Kings Counſel diſaffected him, and particularly the Earl of *Holland*, as knowing that after the Kings death (now thought to be imminent) none was ſo capable to oppoſe him in the place he aſpired to of Protector. All which circumſtances concurring, and being voyced abroad, incouraged divers of his Adverſaries to declare themſelves: And the rather, becauſe it was notorious, how the King had not onely withdrawn much of his wonted favour, but promiſed impunity to ſuch as could diſcover any thing concerning him.

Decemb. 2. The firſt that manifeſted himſelf was Sir *Richard Southwell*, who ſaid that he knew certain things of the Earl, that touched his fidelity to the King: The Earl, before the Lord Chancellour *Wriotheſley*, the Lord *St. John*, the Earl of *Hertford*, and others, vehemently affirmed himſelf a true man, deſiring to be tryed by juſtice, or elſe offering himſelf to fight in his ſhirt with *Southwell*: But the Lords for the preſent onely committed them.

Decemb. 2.

them. The Duke this while, hearing his Son was in trouble, ſends to divers of his Friends to know the cauſe, and particularly to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*: Thoſe Letters yet (it is probable) fell into the King's Councel's hands; but could not preſerve him from being involved in his Son's fortune: ſo that he was ſent for, and the ſame day, not long after his Son, committed to the Tower. Divers perſons alſo were examined concerning his Affairs. Mrs *Elizabeth Holland* being depoſed, confeſs'd, that the Duke had told her, that none of the King's Councel loved him, becauſe they were no Noble-men born themſelves; as alſo becauſe he beleeved too truly in the Sacrament of the Altar. Moreover, that the King loved him not, becauſe he was too much lov'd in his Country; But that he would follow his Father's leſſon, which was, That the leſſe others ſet by him, the more he would ſet by himſelf. As alſo, that the Duke complained that he was not of the moſt ſecret (or, as it is there term'd, the Privie privie) Councel. And that the King was much grown of his body, and that he could not go up and down the ſtairs, but was let up and down by a Device. And that his Majeſtie was ſickly, and could not long endure; and the Realm like to be in an ill caſe through diverſity of opinions. And that if he were a young man, and the Realm in quiet, he would ask leave to ſee *Vernacle*; which he ſaid, was the picture of Chriſt given to women by himſelf as he went to death. As touching his Arms, that ſhe had not heard the Duke ſpeak of his own, but of his Son's, that he liked them not, and that he had gathered them himſelf knew not from whence; And that he placed the *Norfolk*'s Arms wrong, and had found fault with him: And therefore that ſhe ſhould take no pattern of his Son's Arms to work them with her needle in his houſe, but as he gave them. Furthermore, ſhe confeſſed that the Earl of *Surrey* lov'd her not, nor the Dutcheſſe of *Richmond* him; and that ſhe addicted her ſelf much to the ſaid Dutcheſs.

1546 Dece[illegible]

Decemb. 12.

Mary Dutcheſs of *Richmond* being examined, confeſs'd, That the Duke her Father would have had her marry Sir *Thomas Seymor*, Brother to the Earl of *Hertford*, which her Brother alſo deſired, wiſhing her withall to endear her ſelf ſo into the King's favour, as ſhe might the better rule here as others had done; and that ſhe refuſed: And that her Father would have had the Earl of *Surrey* to have matched with the Earl of *Hertford*'s Daughter, which her Brother likewiſe heard of (and that this was the cauſe of his Father's diſpleaſure) as taking *Hertford* to be his Enemy. And that her Brother was ſo much incenſed againſt the ſaid Earl, as the Duke his Father ſaid thereupon, His Son would loſe as much as he had gathered together.

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Moreover, That the Earl her Brother ſhould ſay, Theſe new men loved no Nobility; and if God call'd away the King, they ſhould ſmart for it. And that her Brother hated them all ſince his being in cuſtody in *Windſor* Caſtle; but that her Father ſeemed not to care for their ill will, ſaying, His truth ſhould bear him out. Concerning arms ſhe ſaid, that ſhe thought that her Brother had more then ſeven Rolls; and that ſome, that he had added more of *Anjou*, and of *Lancelott Du-lac*. And that her Father ſince the Attainder of the Duke of *Buckingham*, (who bare the King's-Arms) where the Arms of her mother (Daughter to the ſaid Duke) were rayned in his Coat, had put a blank-quarter in the place, but that her brother had reaſſum'd them. Alſo that in ſtead of the Dukes Coronet, was put to his Arms a Cap of maintenance purple, with powdered Furr, and with a Crown, to her judgment, much like to a cloſe Crown, and underneath the Arms was a cipher, which ſhe took to be the Kings cipher, *HR*. As alſo that her Father never ſaid that the King hated him, but his Counſellors; but that her Brother ſaid, the King was diſpleaſed with him (as he thought) for the loſſe of the great journey. Which diſpleaſure, he conceived, was ſet forward by them who hated him, for ſetting up an Altar in the Church at *Boulogne*. And that her Brother ſhould ſay, God long ſave my Fathers life; for if he were dead, they would ſhortly have my head. And that he reviled ſome of the preſent Councel, not forgetting the old Cardinal. Alſo that he diſſwaded her from going too far in reading the Scripture. Some paſſionate words of her Brother ſhe likewiſe repeated, as alſo ſome circumſtantiall ſpeeches, little for his advantage; yet ſo, as they ſeemed much to cleer her Father.

Sir *Edmund Knevet* being examined, he knew no untruth directly by the Earl of *Surrey*, but ſuſpected him of diſſimulation and vanity: And that a ſervant of his had been in *Italy* with Cardinal *Poole*, and was received again at his return. Moreover, that he kept one *Paſquil* an Italian as a Jeſter, but more likely a Spy, and ſo reputed. He mentioned alſo one *Peregrine* an Italian entertain'd by the ſaid Earl; adding, that he lov'd to converſe with Strangers, and to conform his behaviour to them. And that he thought he had therein ſome ill device.

One *Thomas Pope* alſo informed the Councel, that *John Freeman* told him, that the Duke (at *Nottingham*, in the time of the Commotion of the North) ſhould ſay in the preſence of an hundred perſons, that the Act of *Uſes* was the worſt Act that ever was made, and that *Freeman* affirmed thoſe words before the Lord *Audeley*, late Lord Chancellor. Theſe depoſitions, together with others (as it ſeems) being brought to the King's Judges at *Norwich*, they ſignified by their Letter unto the Lords of the Councel, dated *Jan.7*. that the King's Solicitor and Mr.

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Stamford had brought the Inditements, and that they were found true, and the Duke and his Son indited thereupon of High Treaſon; and that they made haſte to bring the ſaid Inditement to *London*; deſiring further to know whether Sir *Thomas Paſton*, Sir *Edmund Knevet*, Sir *John Peer* and others ſhould be of the ſame Jury. Upon the 13 (the King being now dangerouſly ſick) the Earl of *Surrey* was arraigned in *Guild-hall* in *London*, before the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Maior, and other Commiſſioners. Where the Earl, as he was of a deep underſtanding, ſharp wit, and deep courage, defended himſelf many ways: ſometimes denying their accuſations as falſe, and together weakning the credit of his adverſaries; ſometimes interpreting the words he ſaid, in a far other ſenſe then in that in which they were repreſented. For the point of bearing his Arms (among which thoſe of *Edmund* the Confeſſor are related) alledging that he had the opinion of Heralds therein. And finally, when a witneſſe was brought againſt him *vivâ voce*, who pretended to repeat ſome high words of the Earls by way of diſcourſe, which concern'd him nearly, and that thereupon the ſaid Witneſſe ſhould return a braving Anſwer; the Earl replyed no otherwiſe to the Jury, then that hee left it to them to judge, whether it were probable that this man ſhould ſpeak thus to the Earl of *Surrey*, and he not ſtrike him again. In concluſion, hee pleaded not guilty; but the Jury (which was a common Inqueſt, not of the Peers, becauſe the Earl was not a Parliament Lord) condemn'd him. Whereupon alſo judgment of death was given, and he beheaded at Tower hill. And thus ended the Earl; a man learned, and of an excellent wit, as his compoſitions ſhew. January. 19.

This while the King (though his ſickneſſe encreaſed) omitted not to give order to ſeize on the Duke's goods, and together to inform himſelf of all which might be materiall againſt him. Not forgetting alſo to cauſe *Wriotheſley* to adverтiſe the King's Ambaſſadours in forreign Parts, that the Duke of *Norfolk* and his Son had conſpired to take upon them the Government of the King during his Majeſtie's life, as alſo after his death to get into their hands the Lord Prince; but that their devices were revealed, and they committed to the Tower. And that for preventing uncertain bruits, they were willed to communicate the premiſſes. But the Duke, who had now as much merit of ancient ſervice to plead for him, as any Subject of his time could pretend to, thought fit from the Tower to write unto the King in this manner.

Moſt gracious and mercifull Soveraign Lord, I your moſt humble Subject proſtitute at your foot, do moſt humbly beſeech your Highneſs to be my good and gracious Lord. I am ſure ſome great Enemy of mine hath informed your Majeſtie of

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of ſome untrue matter againſt me. Sir, God doth know, in all my life I never thought one untrue thought againſt you, or your Succeſſion, nor can no more judge or caſt in my mind what ſhould be laid to my charge, then the childe that was born this night. And certainly, if I knew that I had offended your Majeſtie in any point of untruth, I would declare the ſame to your Highneſſe. But (as God help me) I cannot accuſe my ſelf ſo much as in thought. Moſt noble and merciful Soveraign Lord, For all the old ſervice I have done you in my life, be ſo good and gracious a Lord unto me, that either my Accuſers and I together may be brought before your Royall Majeſtie; or if your pleaſure ſhall not be to take that pains, then before your Councel: Then if I ſhall not make it apparant that I am wrongfully accuſed, let me, without more reſpite, have puniſhment according to my deſerts. Alas, moſt mercifull Prince, I have no refuge but onely at your hands, and therefore at the reverence of Chriſt's Paſſion have pity of mee, and let me not be caſt away by falſe enemies Informations. Undoubtedly, I know not that I have offended any man, or that any man was offended with me, unleſſe it were ſuch as are angry with me for being quick againſt ſuch as have been accuſed for Sacramentaries. And as for all cauſes of Religion, I ſay now, and have ſaid to your Majeſty and many others, I do know you to be a Prince of ſuch vertue and knowledge, that whatſoever Laws you have in times paſt made, or hereafter ſhall make, I ſhall to the extremity of my power ſtick unto them as long as my life ſhall laſt. So that if any men be angry with me for theſe cauſes, they do mee wrong. Other cauſe I know not why any man ſhould bear me any ill will: and for this cauſe I know divers have done, as doth appear by caſting Libels abroad againſt me. Finally, (moſt gracious Soveraign Lord) I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to have pity of me, and let me recover your gracious favour, with taking of me all the Lands and Goods I have, or as much thereof as pleaſeth your Highneſſe to take, leaving me what it ſhall pleaſe you to appoint; and that according as is before written, I may know what is laid to my charge, and that I may hear ſome comfortable word from your Majeſtie. And I ſhall during my life pray for your proſperous eſtate long to endure.

Your moſt ſorrowfull Subject,
THO. NORFOLK.

To the Lords he wrote thus:

Item, Moſt humbly to beſeech, my Lords, That I might have ſome of the Books that are at *Lambeth*; for unleſſe I may have

have Books to read ere I fall on ſleep, and after I awake again, I cannot ſleep, nor did not this dozen yeers.

Alſo to deſire that I might have a Ghoſtly Father ſent to me, and that I might receive my Maker.

Alſo that I might have Maſſe, and to be bound upon my life to ſpeak no word to him that ſhall ſay Maſſe; which he may do in the other Chamber, and I to remain within.

Item, To have licence in the day time, to walk in the Chamber without, and in the night to be lock'd in, as I am now. At my firſt coming I had a chamber without adayes. I would gladly have licence to ſend to *London* to buy one Book of St. *Auſtins, de Civitate Dei*; and of *Joſephus, de Antiquitatibus*; and another of *Sabellicus*; who doth declare moſt of any Book that I have read, how the Biſhop of *Rome* from time to time hath uſurped his power againſt all Princes, by their unwiſe ſufferance.

Item, For ſheets.

Nevertheleſſe, the Duke remained as condemn'd to perpetuall priſon, without that his great Services formerly rendered, or his ſubmiſſion on this occaſion could reſtore him; which was in theſe words, as I finde by our Records in an Originall.

I THOMAS Duke of *Norfolk*, do confeſſe and acknowledge my ſelf moſt untruly, and contrary to my Oath and Allegeance, to have offended the King's moſt excellent Majeſtie, in the diſcloſing and opening of his privie and ſecret Counſel at divers and ſundry times, to divers and ſundry perſons, to the great perill of his Highneſs, and diſappointing of his moſt prudent and Regal Affairs. *T. N.*

Alſo, I likewiſe confeſs, That I have concealed high Treaſon, in keeping ſecret the falſe and traiterous Act, moſt preſumptuouſly committed by my Son *Henry Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, againſt the King's Majeſtie and his Laws, in the putting and uſing the Arms of St. *Edward* the Confeſſor, King of the Realm of *England* before the Conqueſt, in his Scutchion or Arms: which ſaid Arms of St. *Edward* appertain onely to the King of this Realm, and to none other perſon or perſons; whereunto the ſaid Earl by no means or way could make

1547 make any claim or title, by me, or any of mine or his Anceſtors.

T. N.

Alſo, I likewiſe confeſs, That to the peril, ſlander, and diſinheriſon of the King's Majeſtie, and his noble Son Prince *Edward*, his Son and Heir apparant, I have againſt all right, unjuſtly, and without authority, born in the firſt quarter of mine Arms, ever ſince the death of my Father, the Arms of *England*, with a difference of the *Labels* of Silver, which are the proper Arms of my ſaid Prince, to be born for this Realm of *England* only; whereby I have not only done prejudice to the King's Majeſtie and the ſaid Lord the Prince, but alſo given occaſion that his Highneſs might be diſturbed or interrupted of the Crown of this Realm, and my ſaid Lord Prince might be deſtroyed, diſturbed and interrupted in fame, body and title, of the inheritance to the Crown of this Realm. Which I know and confeſs by the Laws of the Realm to be high Treaſon.

T. N.

For the which my ſaid hainous offences, I have worthily deſerved by the Laws of the Realm to be attainted of high Treaſon, and to ſuffer the puniſhment, loſſes and forfeitures that appertain thereunto. And although I be not worthy to have or enjoy any part of the King's Majeſtie's clemency and mercy to be extended to me, conſidering the great and manifold benefits that I and mine have received of his Highneſs: yet I moſt humbly, and with a moſt ſorrowfull and repentant heart, do beſeech his Highneſs to have mercy, pity and compaſſion on me. And I ſhall moſt devoutly and heartily make my daily prayer to God for the preſervation of his moſt noble Succeſſion, as long as life and breath ſhall continue in me.

T. N.

Written the 12 day of the Month of *January*, in the yeer of our Lord God, 1546, after the computation

tation of the Church of *England*, and in the 38 yeer of our Soveraign Lord *Henry* the VIII, by the grace of God King of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, defender of the Faith ; and of the Church of *England*, and alſo of *Ireland* the ſupreme Head. In witneſſe of all the premiſſes, I the ſaid Duke have ſubſcribed my name with my own hand, in the preſence of the Lord *Wriotheſley* Lord Chancellor, the Lord *St. John* Lord Preſident of the Councel, the Earl of *Hertford* Lord great Chamberlain, the Viſcount *Liſle* Lord high Admiral, Sir *Anthony Brown* Maſter of the Horſe, Sir *William Paget* Secretary, Sir *Richard Rich*, Sir *John Baker* of our ſaid Soveraign Lords privie Councel, Sir *Richard Liſter*, Sir *Edward Montague* the two chief Juſtices. 1547

Without compulſion, without force, without advice or counſel, I have and do ſubſcribe the premiſſes, ſubmitting me onely to the King's moſt gracious pity and mercy, moſt humbly beſeeching his Highneſs to extend the ſame unto me his moſt ſorrowfull Subject.

By me THO. NORFOLK.

Thomas Wriotheſley Chancellor,
William St. John, *E. Hertford*,
John Liſle, *Anth. Browne*,
William Paget, *Richard Rich*,
John Baker, *Rich. Lyſter*,
Edward Montague.

Notwithſtanding all which ſubmiſſions, joyned with the merits of his Services, it was thought that the Duke would hardly eſcape, had not the King's death, following ſhortly after, reſerved him to more mercifull times. For our King having long laboured under the burden of an extreme fat and unwieldy body, and together being afflicted with a ſore leg, took (at the Palace of *Weſtminſter*, in *January*, this yeer) his death bed ; being for the reſt not without ſenſe of his preſent condition. For he both cauſed a Church of the Franciſcans in *London* (lately ſuppreſt) to be opened again, and made a Pariſh

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Church, endowing it with 500 Marks *per annum*; and beſtowed both the ground and buildings of the ſaid *Covent*, as alſo the adjoyning Hoſpital of St. *Bartholomew*, on the City, for the relief of the poor: where now is the fair Hoſpital called Chriſt-Church: ſuppreſs'd the Stews on the Bank-ſide, and made his laſt Will and Teſtament, the Originall whereof yet having not ſeen, I ſhall mention no otherwiſe.

As for *Sanders* affirmation, that he was not deſirous to be reconciled to the Roman Church; and that his Courtiers (eſpecially thoſe who had profited themſelves of Abbeys) did divert him; and that the Biſhops reſted doubtfull what to anſwer, leſt they ſhould be entrapped; and how *Wincheſter* did cunningly evade the danger, I leave to his credit. Others affirming, that he deſired to ſpeak with *Cranmer*, who yet not coming ſooner then that the King was ſpeechleſſe (though in good memory) the King extended his hand to him; and that thereupon *Cranmer* beſought him to give ſome ſigne of his truſt in God by Chriſt, and that the King ſhould ſtrain his hand. Howſoever, it may be collected, that he died religiouſly and penitently, when he had reigned ſeven and thirty yeers, nine months and ſix days; and after he had lived five and fifty years and ſeven months; and was carryed to *Windſor*, where he had begun a fair Monument, and founded a Colledge for thirteen poor Knights, and two Prieſts to pray for his ſoul.

Jan. 28. 1547.

And now if the Reader (according to my manner in other great Perſonages) do expect ſome Character of this Prince, I muſt affirm, (as in the beginning) that the courſe of his life being commonly held various and diverſe from it ſelf, he will hardly ſuffer any, and that his Hiſtory will be his beſt Character and deſcription. Howbeit, ſince others have ſo much defamed him, as will appear by the following Objections, I ſhall ſtrive to rectifie their underſtandings who are impartiall lovers of truth; without either preſuming audaciouſly to condemn a Prince, heretofore Soveraign of our Kingdom, or omitting the juſt freedom of an Hiſtorian.

And becauſe hi s moſt bitter cenſures agree, that he had all manner of perfection either of nature or education; and that he was (beſides) of a moſt deep judgement in all Affairs to which he applyed himſelf; a Prince not onely liberall and indulgent to his Family, and Court, and even to ſtrangers, whom he willingly ſaw; and one that made choice both of able and good men for the Clergy, and of wiſe and grave Counſellors for his State-Affairs; and above all, a Prince of a Royall courage: I ſhall not controvert theſe points, but come to my particular obſervations. According to which, I finde him to have been ever moſt zealous of his Honour and Dignity; inſomuch,

that

that his moſt queſtioned paſſages were countenanced either with home or forraign Authority : ſo many Univerſities of *Italy* and *France* maintaining his repudiating of Queen *Katherin* of *Spain*; and his Parliament (for the reſt) authorizing the Divorces and decapitations of his following Wives, the diſſolutions of the Monaſteries, and divers others of his moſt branded Actions : So that by his Parliaments in publick, and Juries in private Affairs, he at leaſt wanted not colour and pretext to make them ſpecious to the World ; which alſo he had reaſon to affect : Outward eſteem and reputation being the ſame to great Perſons which the ſkin is to the fruit, which though it be but a ſlight and delicate cover, yet without it the fruit will preſently diſcolour and rot.

As for matter of State, I dare ſay, never Prince went upon a truer Maxime for this Kingdom ; which was, to make himſelf Arbiter of Chriſtendom : And had it not coſt him ſo much, none had ever proceeded more wiſely. But as he would be an Actor (for the moſt part) where he needed onely be a Spectator, he both engaged himſelf beyond what was requiſite, and by calling in the money he lent his Confederates and Allyes, did often diſoblige them when he had moſt need of their friendſhip. Yet thus he was the moſt active Prince of his time. The examples whereof are ſo frequent in his Hiſtory, that there was no Treaty, or almoſt Conventicle in Chriſtendom, wherein he had not his particular Agent and intereſt ; which, together with his intelligence in all Countries, and concerning all affairs, and the penſions given for that purpoſe, was one of his vaſt ways for ſpending of money.

Again, I obſerve, that there never was Prince more delighted in Interviews, or (generally) came off better from them. To which alſo, as his goodly perſonage and excellent qualities did much diſpoſe him, ſo they gave him a particular advantage and luſtre. Howbeit, as theſe Voyages were extreme coſtly, ſo when he made uſe thereof to conclude a Treaty, it did not alwayes ſucceed ; eſpecially where credit was yeelded to any ſingle and private word. Inſomuch, that at his laſt being with *Francis* (where he intended, upon his bare promiſe, *lier la partie* for the moſt import Affairs of Chriſtendom) he found himſelf ſo much fruſtrated and deceived.

At home it was his manner to treat much with his Parliaments ; where, if gentle means ſerved not, he came to ſome degrees of the rough : though more ſparingly, that he knew his people did but too much fear him. Beſides, he underſtood well, that fowl wayes are not always paſſable, nor to be uſed (eſpecially in ſuſpected and dangerous times) but where others fail. However, it may be noted, That none of his Predeceſſours underſtood the temper of Parliaments better then

himſelf, or that prevailed himſelf more dexteriouſly of them. Therefore, without being much troubled at the tumultuous beginnings of the raſher ſort, he would give them that leave, which all new things muſt have, to ſettle. Which being done, his next care was to diſcover and prevent thoſe privie combinations that were not for his ſervice. After which, coming to the point of Contribution, he generally took ſtrict order, (by his Commiſſioners) that Gentlemen in the Country ſhould not ſpare each other; but that the true or (at leaſt) neer approaching value of every mans Goods and Lands ſhould be certified. And this hee did the rather, becauſe hee knew the cuſtome of his people was to reckon with him about their Subſidies, and indeed, rather to number, then to weigh their Gifts.

As for his faults, I finde that of opiniate and wilfull much objected: Inſomuch, that the impreſſions privately given him by any Cout-whiſperer, were hardly or never to be effaced. And herein the perſons neer him had a ſingular ability; while beginning with the commendations of thoſe they would diſgrace, their manner was to inſinuate ſuch exceptions, as they would diſcommend a man more in few words, then commend him in many: Doing therein like cunning wreſtlers, who to throw one down, firſt take him up. Beſides, this wilfulneſſe had a moſt dangerous quality annexed to it (eſpecially towards his later end) being an intenſe jealouſie almoſt of all perſons and affairs, which diſpoſed him eaſily to think the worſt. Whereas it is a greater part of wiſdome to prevent, then to ſuſpect. Theſe conditions again being armed with power, produced ſuch terrible effects, asſtiled him both at home and abroad by the name of *Cruell*; which alſo hardly can be avoyded; eſpecially, if that Attribute be due, not onely to thoſe Princes who inflict capitall puniſhments frequently, and for ſmall crimes, but to thoſe who pardon not all that are capable of mercy. And for teſtimonies in this kinde, ſome urge two Queens, one Cardinal (*in prodictu*, at leaſt) or two (for *Poole* was condemned, though abſent); Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, and Earls Sons, twelve; Barons and Knights eighteen; Abbots, Priors, Monks and Prieſts ſeventy ſeven; of the more common ſort, between one Religion and another, huge multitudes. Hee gave ſome proofs yet that he could forgive; though, as they were few and late, they ſerved not to recover him the name of a Clement Prince. As for Covetouſneſſe, or Rapine, another main fault obſerved by *Sanders*, as extending not onely to a promiſcuous overthrow of Religious Houſes, but a notable derogation of the Title of Supreme Head of the Church in his Dominions. and the rather, that he ſtill retained the ſubſtance of the Roman

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Catholick Religion) nothing, that I know, can on thoſe terms palliate it, unleſſe it might be collected, that the Religious Orders in his Kingdom would have aſſiſted thoſe who threatned Invaſion from abroad, and that hee had no other extraordinary means than their Revenues then left to defend himſelf. For certainly, the publick pretext, taken from their exceſſive numbers in proportion to a well compoſed State, or the inordinate and vitious life of the general ſort, cannot ſufficiently excuſe him; ſince, together with the ſupernumerary and debauched Abbeys, Priories and Nunneries, he ſubverted and extinguiſhed the good and opportune; without leaving any Receptacle for ſuch as through age or infirmity being unapt for ſecular buſineſſe, would end their dayes in a devout and a retired life. Nevertheleſs, as he erected divers new Biſhopricks, increaſed the number of Colledges, and the ſtipend of Readers in the Univerſities, and did many other pious works, it is probable he intended ſome reparation. Though (as the Roman Catholick party conceives it) they were neither ſatisfactory for, nor equivalent to the deſolations and ruines hee procured, when yet he ſhould pretend that the Revenues and number of the Gentry and Soldateſque of the Kingdome were augmented thereby. Howbeit, as in this act of overthrowing Monaſteries, his Parliaments were deeply engaged, it will be dangerous to queſtion the authority thereof, ſince things done by publick Vote, where they finde not reaſon, make it; neither have many Laws other ground then the conſtitution of the times; which yet afterwards changing, leave their interpretation doubtfull: Inſomuch, that Poſterity might juſtly abrogate them when the cauſes thereof ceaſed, had they the power to do it. For which regard alſo I ſhall not interpoſe my opinion otherwiſe, then that this King had met with no occaſion to do that which hath cauſed ſo much ſcandal to him and his Parliaments.

But whereas *Sanders* hath remarked Covetouſneſſe as a great vice in this King, I could wiſh it had been with more limitation, and ſo as he noted the other extreme (being Prodigality) for the greater fault: The examples of both being ſo pregnant in the King's Father and himſelf. The firſt, by an exact inquiry into the corruptions and abuſes of his Officers and Subjects, and the prevailing himſelf thereof to bring all into good order; and the getting of money together, whether by ordinary or extraordinary means (onely when they were not manifeſtly unjuſt): and laſtly, by frugality, acquiring to himſelf the name of *prudent* at home, and *puiſſant* abroad; as being known to have in his coffers always as much as would pay an Army Royall. Whereas this King, ſo often exhauſting his Treaſury, that he was conſtrained at laſt to have recourſe

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to unuſuall and grievous ways for relieving his wants, did not onely diſaffect his Subjects in great part (as appeared in the Rebellion of the Northern men and others, though to their confuſion) but expoſed his Kingdom to the Invaſion of his Neighbours: who knowing (as all Princes do) to about how much their Revenues amount, and that there remained no longer any ready way to improve them, did collect thence what forces he could furniſh; and conſequently, would have aſſayled him at home, but that mutuall diviſions did hinder them. Whereby it appears, that what in *Henry* VII is call'd by ſome Covetouſneſſe, was a royall Vertue: whereas the exceſſive and needleſſe expences of *Henry* VIII drew after them thoſe miſerable conſequences which the World hath ſo much reproached. Howbeit, there may be occaſion to doubt, whether the immenſe Treaſure which *Henry* the VII left behinde him, were not (accidentally) the cauſe of thoſe ils that followed: while the young Prince his Son, finding ſuch a maſs of money, did firſt careleſly ſpend, and after ſtrive to ſupply as he could.

As for the third vice, wherewith he was juſtly charged, being Luſt and Wantonneſs; there is little to anſwer, more then that it was rather a perſonall fault, then damageable to the Publick: Howbeit, they who reprove it, ought not onely to examine circumſtances (which much aggravate or extenuate the fact) but even the complexions of men. That concupiſcence which in ſome is a vice, being in others a diſeaſe of Repletion, in others a neceſſity of nature. It doth not yet appear that this fault did haſten the death of his Queens; he being noted more for practiſing of private pleaſures, then ſecret miſchiefs: ſo that if any undue motive did cooperate herein, it may be thought an inordinate deſire to have Poſterity (eſpecially maſculine) which might be the undoubted Heirs of him and the Kingdom, rather then any thing elſe.

With all his crimes yet, he was one of the moſt glorious Princes of his time: Inſomuch, that not onely the chief Potentates of Chriſtendome did court him, but his Subjects in generall did highly reverence him, as the many tryals he put them to, ſufficiently teſtifie: which yet expired ſo quickly, that it may be truly ſaid, All his Pomp died with him; his Memory being now expoſed to obloquy, as his Accuſers will neither admit Reaſon of State to cover any where, or Neceſſity to excuſe his Actions. For, as they were either diſcontented Clergy-men (for his relinquiſhing the Papall Authority, and overthrowing the Monaſteries); or offended Women (for divers ſevere examples againſt their Sex) that firſt oppos'd and cry'd him down, the clamour hath been the greater: So that although one *William Thomas* a Clerk to the Councel to *Edward*

the

the Sixth, and living about the later times of *Henry* the Eighth's Reign, did in great part defend him in an Italian Book, printed *Anno* 1552, it hath not availed. 1547

But what this Prince was, and whether, and how far forth excuſable in point of State, Conſcience or Honour, a diligent obſervation of his Actions, together with a conjuncture of the times, will (I conceive) better declare to the judicious Reader, then any factious relation on what ſide whatſoever. To conclude; I wiſh I could leave him in his grave.

FINIS.

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Practice of Vertue and Piety is alone a juſt excuſe for a well conſtituted Common-wealth.

Fortitude not always ſucceßfull, nor Temperance ſafe, nor Juſtice it ſelf opportune.

Untill a due election be made, Vertue her ſelf is obnoxious.

Counterpoiſes of Reward and Puniſhment are the beſt weights to make the great Clock of the Common wealth go aright.

The firſt part of Wiſdom is to be able to give good Counſell, the ſecond to take it.

As Kings have their arts to govern Kingdoms, ſo Courtiers have their arts to govern Kings; and theſe arts are hopes and fears, which as doors to the heart, are ſo guarded by their vigilancy, that they can let themſelves in, and keep others out.

Church men are like coins, to which Vertue gives the ſtamp, but Humility ſhould give the weight.

Many a ſeed that will make any thing ſpring up in a corrupt mind.

Outward eſteem to great Perſons, is as the skin to fruit, which though it be but a ſlight and delicate cover, yet it preſerveth the fruit from rotting.

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In regard that this Impression passing in Presse through the hands of divers Printers, divers pages are mis-cyphered, and others have none at all, this *Index* could not be made so exact as it might have been made otherwise.

FINIS.